

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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A

SHORT VIEW

OF

THE HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

FROM ITS

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT TO THE PRESENT CENTURY.

BY THE

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Third Edition.

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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

MYSTERIOUS are the decrees of God with respect to man ; often slow in their operation, but always certain in their effect. Man had lost himself by sinning, God promised him a Redeemer, but a period of about four thousand years elapsed before that promise was fulfilled. Our first parents, Adam and Eve, were originally created in a state of innocence, and were finally designed by their bountiful Creator for the supernatural enjoyment of his glory in heaven. They had the garden of Eden, a paradise of earthly delights, allotted them for a temporary abode, till their translation into the heavenly mansions of everlasting bliss. They were endowed with free will, that they might have the merit of obeying and honouring their Creator by choice : for the merit of their obedience they had but one easy precept to observe, and that was, to abstain from the fruit of a certain tree, under the penalty of death.

Such was their primitive situation. A fallen angel, envious of their happiness, resolved to attempt their ruin. He entered the garden in a serpent's form, addressed himself to Eve in a most artful manner, and by deceitful assurances at last persuaded her to eat the forbidden fruit. She prevailed on Adam to eat also. By this deliberate act of disobedience, they both incurred the penalty denounced against it : in vain did they try to shift the blame from one to another ; they were driven out of paradise, loaded with shame and remorse, and condemned to drag out life in painful labour, till death should reduce their bodies into dust again, out of which they had been first formed. The gate of heaven was moreover shut against them, and against their whole posterity, until full atonement should be made for their transgression. Great was their affliction for the evil they had done ; but God was pleased to comfort them with the promise, that the time would come when the woman's offspring should crush the serpent's head.*

Human nature being thus tainted with sin in its very root, a vicious race of mortals soon began to spring up and multiply. The corruption of their hearts and morals provoked the vengeance of an insulted Deity. God deluged † the earth with one universal flood, and in the watery abyss buried every living creature that was not in Noah's Ark. Of all mankind only eight persons escaped destruction ; these re-peopled the earth with new inhabitants, not better than the former. In the space of a single century their progeny became too numerous for the spot they inhabited. Necessity compelled them to separate in quest of other settlements. But before their separation they undertook to build ‡ a tower in defiance of the Almighty, should he ever visit them with a second deluge ; it is

* Gen. iii. 15.

† A. M. 1656.

‡ A. M. 1757.

called the tower of Babal. God baffled their insolent undertaking by confounding their language.

The dispersed colonies being no longer awed by the presence of their patriarchs, most lamentably fell into vice and ignorance, forgot the God who made them, and paid idolatrous worship to fancied deities of their own invention. In the course of three hundred years the generality of them became blind idolaters; few retained the principles of true religion, and they were chiefly of the branch of Heber. Among these faithful believers was Abraham, the tenth in a lineal descent from Noah, and the sixth from Heber. This extraordinary man was settled with his father, Thare, in Ur, a city of the Chaldeans, when God appeared* to him, and commanded him to go out of that country, and to seek the land of Chanaan. In obedience to the divine call, Abraham immediately departed with Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son. After his arrival in Chanaan, God appeared to him again and again, on different occasions, promised to put his posterity in possession of all that country, and finally assured him, that in "in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed."†

Abraham in his new settlement became very rich both in lands and cattle, all which fell to his son Isaac, and after him to his grandson Jacob. Jacob in a heavenly vision was commanded to take the name of Israel, from which circumstance his descendants are called Israelites. This holy patriarch in the course of a long life experienced many laborious trials of his fortitude and patience. The supposed death of his favourite son Joseph was a subject of bitter grief to him for many years. Joyful tidings at last of his being not only alive, but governor of Egypt, wiped away his tears; at Joseph's invitation he removed his whole family from the land of Chanaan, and went into Egypt,‡ where he spent the last seventeen years of his life. When confined to his bed, and ready to expire, he called his sons together, and pronounced over each one of them a special blessing. The prophetic words he uttered over Juda are remarkable: they express, that when the sceptre shall be wrested from the hand of Juda, and a leader of his race shall fail, then shall come the promised Messiah, and he shall be the expectation of nations.§

The Israelites in Egypt enjoyed every earthly comfort as long as Joseph lived. But after his death they experienced cruel treatment. Their increasing progeny in fact gave great uneasiness to the Egyptians. With a view of breaking down their constitutions, and of lessening their numbers, the king ordered them to be employed in the public works, to be loaded like slaves with heavy burdens, and all their male issue to be strangled in the birth. Under this slavery the wretched Israelites groaned for a length of years, when God was pleased at last to listen to their moans, and to provide for their delivery. Moses, the great grandson of Levi, was divinely commissioned for the execution of this important work. Supported by the powerful arm of God, he defeated all the efforts made by Pharaoh to prevent his undertaking, collected all his people together, led them forth into the wilderness, and made the best of his way towards

* A. M. 2088. † Gen. xxii. 28. ‡ A. M. 2298. § Gen. xlix. 10.

the Red Sea. Pharaoh pursued him with a numerous army; in that critical situation Moses boldly advanced to the water's edge, stretched out his hand by the command of God, and, behold, the waters of the deep instantly divided, and opened to him a dry passage to the opposite shore. Pharaoh with his host attempted to follow, the waters closed, and every Egyptian perished.*

The Israelites had hitherto been guided in their religious and moral conduct by the law of nature, and the traditions of their patriarchs; they now received a written law, which God himself delivered to Moses in an awful manner upon Mount Sinai. It is called the Old or the Mosaic law: besides the ten commandments, which have been since confirmed by our blessed Saviour, it contained many ordinances, both of a religious and civil nature, peculiar to the Hebrew people: these special ordinances have given way to the universal law of grace, and they cease to bind any longer. From the mountain of Sinai, which is in Arabia, the Israelites, under the command of Moses and Aaron, continued their journey through the desert, towards the promised land of Chanaan. Their battles and their conquests, their successes and defeats under the judges, the kings, and other leaders of the Jewish nation, from Moses to Simon, the last of his illustrious brothers the Machebees, containing a period of thirteen hundred and near fifty years, are recorded in the Holy Bible.

Simon was succeeded† in the supreme command by his son John, and after him by his grandson Aristobulus, who assumed the crown and title of king. Alexander his brother reigned after him, and left two sons, Hircanus and Aristobulus, competitors for the sceptre. Civil discord divided the force of the country, and enabled the Romans to make a complete conquest of it. Pompey reduced it to an aristocratic state, and Mark Antony not long after obtained a grant from the Roman senate for Herod, an Idumean, to be crowned king of Judea. The Jews were now no longer governed by a prince of Juda's race; the translation of the royal power to an alien, marked the time which the patriarch Jacob had specified for the coming of the Messiah.

In the thirty-seventh year of king Herod's reign, and about the four thousandth of the world, Jesus Christ our Redeemer was born of the Virgin Mary, in Bethlehem, a city of Judea, as God himself had long promised in holy writ by the mouth of his Prophets.

God the Son, the second Person of the most adorable Trinity, became man not only to redeem our souls from sin, but also to teach us the way to heaven by the practice of good works. He has done the first by dying upon the cross; he has provided for the second, by revealing to us a religion the most sublime in its belief, the most awful in its mysteries, the most holy in its precepts, the most rational in its practice, the most comfortable in its promises. This is the religion, upon the principles of which is formed the Christian Church, that is, an universal congregation of true believers, the professed followers of Jesus Christ our Lord God.

The Church of Christ as St. Gregory remarks,‡ is frequently called by the Evangelists the kingdom of God; a kingdom purely spiritual, not founded by military achievements upon the basis of

* A. M. 2513.

† A. M. 3861.

‡ Hom. xi. in Evan.

worldly power, or human policy, but upon the infallible word of God, by the humility of the cross, by the grace and virtue of Jesus Christ. The end of its institution is to enlighten and sanctify mankind; its empire is that of justice and truth. Christ reigns over the minds of men by faith, and he reigns in the hearts of men by charity, which teaches us to love God above all things, and our neighbour as ourselves.

To trace the rise and progress of the Catholic Church through a series of eighteen hundred years, is the comprehensive subject of ecclesiastical history. It comprehends a variety of arduous undertakings for the propagation of the Gospel, a succession of interesting events, a multiplicity of persecutions, of combats, and struggles, which the Church has had to undergo in every quarter of the globe against the rude attacks of Pagans, Jews, Heretics, and Schismatics, who have never ceased to oppose her progress, and to assail the integrity of her faith. In the execution of a task so multifarious and so extensive in its object, some writers have spun out their narrative into so voluminous a length, while others have thrown their materials together in so confused and discouraging a manner, that although they copy truth, few readers have the inclination to purchase, or the leisure to peruse their bulky compilations.

Other authors, not less to their own discredit than to that of history, have written volumes upon a different plan, and have wasted much of their time and study to disguise and puzzle ancient truth. By mutilating or curtailing texts and records, by misinterpreting or by falsifying the authorities they quote, they dress up a plausible story of their own, and thus lead their readers into a labyrinth of pernicious errors. The facts they state are frequently misrepresented, their assertions rash, and their inferences false. This charge lies heavy upon the centuriators of Magdeburgh: it lies more or less heavy upon the many writers of that school, who have ventured to exercise their talents upon the subject of ecclesiastical history. From this charge even the celebrated Abbé Fleury is not exempt.

This smooth historiographer of suspicious memory, is more upon his guard than Illyricus the centuriator, more temperate in his language, and more refined in the turn of his expressions, though not less dangerous in the tenor of his maxims. Under the modest declaration of writing purely to edify, he passes the most insulting censures upon the highest authorities, when adverse to his own private system, and peremptorily pronounces almost every thing wrong in point of discipline, which has not the practice of wise antiquity for its sanction. As if no change of times and circumstances can ever authorise a change of discipline for the spiritual benefit of the Faithful, and for the encouragement of virtue, as if the Church had either lost or abused the power which she received from her divine Founder to govern and instruct, or as if she were no longer guided by that unerring Spirit, which by Christ is promised to remain with her through every age to the end of time,* Monsieur Fleury has the assurance to assert, that through the undue influence of her school divines, through the forgeries of her librarians, through the

* Matt. xxviii. John xvi.

ignorance, in fine, and supine negligence of her bishops, the Church has fatally deviated from the path of wise antiquity. The acrimony, which he expresses at every turn against the sovereign Pontiff, or what he malignantly calls the court of Rome, flashes upon the sight through his whole composition. The sarcasms and insolent reflections, with which his Discourses and his History abound, can have no other tendency than to strip the holy Father of his spiritual prerogatives, to depreciate the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See, to encourage the cabals of ecclesiastical democracy, and to rob the Faithful of that filial respect which is due to the vicar of Jesus Christ. What the Abbé's intention may have been, we presume not to judge, but of his History sound critics have pronounced, that in many instances it as strongly favours the erroneous principles of modern times, as if it had been written for the purpose. "Monsieur Fleury," says the learned author of *Jansenisme Demoli*, "is their most ardent friend,"* speaking of the Jansenists: "he is the Matthew Paris of the present age."†

For the verification of these remarks, the reader is referred to a small treatise, printed with licence at Mechlin, in 1733, and written by the R. F. Baudouin de Houta of the Order of St. Augustin: it has for title *La mauvaise Foi de Monsieur L'Abbé Fleury prouvée par plusieurs passages des S. S. Peres, des Conciles, et d'autres auteurs ecclesiastiques, qu'il a omis, tronqués, ou infidèlement traduits dans son Histoire.*‡

In a country like this, (England) where the Catholic religion is not the religion of the state, where the establishment of the national Church has been raised by human hands upon the basis of the civil power, and where the received laws of ecclesiastical discipline are allowed to have

* Part II. page 152.

† Ibid, page 165.

‡ The learned Dr. Lingard, in a note, p. 147, Vol I. of the *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, blames the author, with some severity, for the character which he here traces of Fleury. If that penetrating writer had inquired into the sentiments of various Catholic critics, and, in particular, if he had studied the *Critica della Storia ecclesiastica e de' Discorsi del Sig. Abate Claudio Fleury Dal Dottor Gio. Marchetti Venezia, 1785*, probably he would have softened the severity of his censure. The learned Monsieur Emery, editor of the *Nouveaux Opuscules de Monsieur L'Abbé Fleury*, 1807, has thrown light on the real principles of the French historian, by discovering the frauds practised by Jansenists and others, in the editions of his works; and he has afforded grounds to conclude rather that the writings of Fleury favour the cause of the Jansenists, than that the author of them was personally attached to their errors. The author of *Jansenisme Demoli*, the learned Marchetti, Cardinal Orsi, and others, formed their judgments on the text, as it is presented to the public: but without impeaching the orthodoxy either of Fleury or of the famous Bossuet, it may be truly said, that their several writings in disparagement of the authority of the holy See, favour the cause of Jansenists, inasmuch as they present to them a station, a post of defence, from which, in these Gallican principles, they cannot be dislodged. It is the persuasion of many learned Catholics, that the noted Gallican propositions of 1682, without bursting the bond of Catholic union, have inflicted the sorest wound that the Church has endured since the days of Luther. The *Critica* of Marchetti, the *Nouveaux Opuscules* by Emery, and in addition to them, the masterly new work, *Du Pape*, of Monsieur le Comte de Maistre, are here mentioned and recommended, because they may possibly be among the very few works of ecclesiastical literature which have escaped the researches of the acute writer of the *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*.

no other force than what they derive from the political legislature, little is the need, and less is the encouragement for those who are content with the present state of things, to pry into what passed in the Church before the days of John Huss, or of Martin Luther. Upon the credit of slanderous publications, composed by the first reformers to colour their secession from the Catholic Church, they take it for granted, without further examination, that the Church had actually fallen into idolatry, and wanted a reform. Whether that really was the case, or whether that could be the case consistently with Christ's promise to his Church,* few inquire; thus the real principles and doctrines of the Catholic religion remain in a manner unknown to all who are not of that communion. The generality of readers rest contented with the scraps of spurious information which they fortuitously meet with in the works of political and of party writers. Upon the bare assertion of a Fox, the romancing martyrologist, of an apostate Jewel, of a Burnet, a Hume, a Robertson, a Guthrie, and of such popular retailers of religious calumny, they gave implicit credit to the fictitious absurdities, maliciously cast upon a religion which they have been taught in the very nursery to decry and execrate, without knowing what it is.

To remove the veil of misrepresentation, and to show, by facts, what the Roman Catholic Church for eighteen centuries has uniformly believed and taught, this historical epitome was first undertaken, and is now offered to the public. It is executed upon the same plan as the Historical Abridgment of the Old and New Testament, published some years ago by the same author. It is divided into centuries, and the centuries are subdivided into paragraphs, with a chronological date of the most remarkable events. In the statement and relation of facts, truth alone is the author's aim, for the attainment of which he has had recourse to the authentic records that lay within his reach; and where he could not have that advantage, he has impartially followed those authors who stand foremost in repute for genuine information and veracity.

The author has confined his View to the one holy Catholic Church, which all Christians profess to believe as often as they piously recite the Apostles' Creed. This is the Church of Christ; for Christ has but one Church. This Church he has built upon a rock, and promised to preserve inviolate against all the infernal powers.† To say then, that the holy Catholic Church has ever fallen from the purity of her primitive faith into any error of doctrine, is in other words to say, that Jesus Christ has either broken or forgot his promise, that he has deceived the world in promising infallibility to his Church, and consequently that he meant not, or could not perform what he promised. Nor on any better ground can it be pretended, that any order of men, however high in authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, is empowered to alter or annul any one of Christ's institutions, to reform his doctrine, to rescind his commandments, or to blot out so much as a single iota from his holy law.‡

* Matt. xvi. 18.

† Matt. xvi. 18.

‡ Matt. v. 19.

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A SHORT VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

First Century.

SECTION I. *Character of the Christian Church.*

BEFORE entering upon the history of the Church, it may not be deemed superfluous, nor foreign from the purpose, briefly A. D. 30. to say, what the Church is. By the word Church we here understand an assemblage or congregation of people, called together and united into one body, under one supreme visible head, in the profession of one and the same faith. The establishment of this Church is clearly foretold by the prophet Isaiah, when he says,* that “in the last days the mountain of the house of our Lord shall be prepared on the top of mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it: and many people shall say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us his ways. For the law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” By this memorable prophecy we are informed, that in the latter days, when the time of the old law should be past, the house of the God of Jacob was to be built as it were upon a mountain above the top of all mountains, visible to the whole world, and open to receive all nations of the earth, that should flock to it; that from thence the new law was to come forth, and the word of the Lord to teach us his ways. From Sion and from Jerusalem the word of God was to be first announced; but the house of the God of Jacob was to raise its lofty top upon a mountain above the hills, in the capital seat of the Roman empire.

In the history of the Christian Church, we manifestly see how this ancient prediction of Isaiah is literally fulfilled. The sacred marks, that distinguish this mystical house of God, are so clearly specified, that no one can possibly mistake them. This house is but one, and it is the house of our Lord: this house is visible, being prepared on the top of the mountains; this house is universal, it receives all nations within its precincts; this house, in fine, is holy, because from it comes forth the law, and the word of God, teaching the rules and

* Chap. ii. ver. 2.

doctrine of a holy life. The founder of this house or church, which is so characteristically described by the prophet, is our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the Most High, who shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever.* From Jerusalem the Christian Church first began, for there Christ our Lord preached the word of eternal life, there he suffered, there, by his death upon the cross, he consummated the work of our redemption.† Being desirous that all men should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved, he commissioned his Apostles to go and teach all nations the observance of all his precepts and commands.‡ For the observance of right order, and the establishment of ecclesiastical government, he gave a special commission to St. Peter, by which he made him head of all the rest, and appointed him supreme pastor to feed his whole flock, both lambs and sheep.§ This was the completion of that promise, which he made him before his passion.¶ “Because thou art Peter, that is to say a rock,” said our Saviour to him, “upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.” Here we see a promise of indefectibility made by Christ himself to his Church which, he afterwards confirmed, by assuring his Apostles, that he and the Holy Spirit of his Father should remain with them, and teach them all truth to the end of the world.

St. Peter, being thus appointed to govern the Church after the ascension of his divine Master into heaven, directed his course to Rome, where he fixed his apostolical Chair, and sealed his faith by a glorious martyrdom under Nero. From this singularly privileged Apostle, the subsequent Bishops of Rome, in one uninterrupted line of succession, inherit the spiritual supremacy, which unites the whole Catholic Church of Christ into one compact body of faithful believers, under one head: this body is the one, the holy, the Catholic or universal, the Roman in fine, and the apostolic Church. These distinctive marks, so clearly pointed out in the inspired writings, characterised the Church of Christ from the earliest period of her divine institution, they characterised her through every succeeding age, they characterise her still.

The design of her institution being no other than to establish the true worship of God by the overthrow of idolatry, and to sanctify a chosen people for everlasting life by the purest virtues of religion, we are not to wonder if Satan, the jealous enemy of human happiness, should exert his utmost powers to obstruct the benevolent design. In the common course of events it was necessary, that persecutions, heresies, schisms, and domestic scandals should happen; but Jesus Christ has assured us, that all the united powers of hell never shall prevail against his Church. The Pagan tyrants of the earth may rage; the courage and patience of her martyrs will triumph and multiply. Heresies may start up in various forms, and for a while seduce thousands into error; they will at length sink back again into the dark abyss, from whence they first emerged. Guided by the Spirit of Truth, and confirmed in the unity of her belief,¶ the

* Luke i. 32.

§ Matt. xvi. 18.

† Matt. xxviii. 20.

‡ Matt. John.

¶ John xxi. 17.

¶ Eph. iv.

Church will ever successfully oppose to their impotent attempts the promises of her divine Founder, the antiquity of her faith, the consent of nations, the splendour of her hierarchy under one supreme Pastor, the visible successor of St. Peter, the holy severity of her discipline, the catalogue of her Saints, the written evidence in fine of her doctors, and the decisions of her Councils. Schisms may at times perplex and divide the faithful; the Church by her authority will either close the breach, or separate the refractory members from her communion. The vicious lives of many of her children may contradict and disgrace the character of their Christian profession, they may violate her laws, they may insult her authority, and invade her sacred rights: they never will be able to overturn her ministry, to shake her hierarchy, or to alter her doctrine. She will never cease to warn sinners of their duty, to correct, to instruct, and direct mankind in the way of salvation. By her persevering zeal for God's honour, by the force of her exhortations, by the solemnity of her public service, by the morality of her precepts, and the practice of the evangelical counsels, she will continue to prepare souls for Heaven, while she exhibits to the world a rich assemblage of the most heroic virtues.

"I have chosen you," said our blessed Lord to his Apostles,* "and I have appointed you, that you go and bear fruit, and that your fruit remain. If the world shall hate you, remember it has first hated me; if it has persecuted me, it will likewise persecute you. But lose not courage; I have overcome the world." How Christ has conquered, and how he continues still to conquer, we learn from the faithful records of ecclesiastical history. To convey this Christian knowledge in as clear and as succinct a manner, as the extent of it will allow, is the design of this short View. To trace the marks, which distinguish the holy Catholic Church through every age of her existence, is an object the most interesting and important to all who are desirous to know and follow the living guide, which Christ has appointed to direct them in the way to eternal life. Protestant Divines agree with Catholics on the necessity of having a living guide to salvation, and of holding with the Catholic Church. The learned Doctor Pearson, Bishop of Chester, in his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, says, that "the necessity of believing the holy Catholic Church appears in this, that Christ has appointed it as the only way to eternal life." Calvin affirms,† that "out of the bosom of the visible Church no remission of sins, no salvation is to be hoped for." His disciple Beza asserts,‡ "that there is only one true Church; that there always was, and always will be a Church, out of which there is no salvation." The Protestants of Switzerland and of Scotland,§ in their professions of faith, say the same thing in almost the same words. "We firmly believe," say they, "that there was from the beginning, that there now is, and that to the end of the world there will always be one Church, which is the Catholic, that is, the universal Church, out of which Church there is neither life nor everlasting happiness." The Church of England admits the same doctrine in admitting the

* John xv.

† Inst. I. iv. c. I.

‡ Conf. Fidei.

§ 1568.

Athanasian Creed, which shuts the gate of salvation against all those, who hold not the Catholic faith whole and entire. For this faith is but one ; * it admits of no division ; without this faith it is impossible to please God.† “ But whoever believes not, shall be condemned,” says our Saviour Christ.‡ For God requires not only the homage of our actions, but of our very thoughts, of our free will and judgment in submitting to his revealed truths. By this humble submission we become true adorers of the Father in spirit and in truth.§

SECTION II. *Progress of the Church.*

ON the day of Pentecost, ten days after the ascension of our Lord, the Apostles, being indued with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, entered upon their mission, and in the streets of Jerusalem promulgated the law of Jesus Christ. No less than three thousand souls were converted by St. Peter’s first discourse. Subsequent miracles confirmed the truths he announced. Miracles are speaking signs of the divine power ; they are no where seen but in the Catholic Church. The number of the faithful daily increased ; the Jewish rulers grew jealous, they dreaded the abolition of the Mosaic law, and of their own consequence : by threats and penalties they strove to reduce the Apostles to a timid silence. Men, full of God, knew not what it was to fear. Heedless of chains and prisons, they persisted in proclaiming the divinity of Jesus Christ. A violent persecution ensued ; Stephen, one of the seven deacons, fell a sacrifice to its fury, and is honoured as the first martyr of the Church. The other deacons fled from the scene of blood into the adjacent country of Judea and Samaria. There they preached, and many of the Samaritans embraced the faith of Christ. The Apostles remained with their new converts in Jerusalem : they took that opportunity of establishing James, the son of Alphaeus, the first bishop of that holy city.

The persecution still continued with great violence, chiefly at the instigation of Saul, a fiery zealot and enthusiastic stickler for the traditions of his forefathers. This man, not satisfied with the cruelties he had committed in Jerusalem, petitioned and received a commission from the High Priest to seize and drag to prison all the Christians he might find in the town of Damascus. Thither he hastened, breathing nothing but threats and bloodshed against the followers of Christ. It happened, as he approached the town, that a sudden flash of light struck him blind in an instant, and cast him from his horse to the ground : he heard a voice at the same time calling to him, “ Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me ?” His attendants raised him up and conducted him to the town. He passed three days in prayer, without eating or drinking, when, by divine admonition, he received a visit from Ananias, a religious convert. Ananias consoled him in his distress, restored his sight, and baptized him. Saul was now changed into a new man ; from being a persecutor he became an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and some time after took the name of Paul.

* Eph. iv.

† Heb. xi. 6.

‡ Mark xvi. 16.

§ John iv. 23.

The persecution ceasing at Jerusalem, St. Peter made an excursion into the towns of Samaria, Judea, and Syria, as far as Antioch, where he fixed his episcopal chair. But his zeal for the salvation of souls never let him rest long in any one place. He traversed many provinces of Asia Minor, preaching to the dispersed Jews in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. For he confined his instructions to the Jews only, and to them he addressed his first Epistle, as we find in the Testament. The Gentiles of those countries, being void of all religion themselves, gave no disturbance in religious matters to those strangers who came to settle among them. But at Jerusalem, where the civil magistrates were all Jews, the followers of Christ were exposed to incessant difficulties and dangers. St. Peter often interrupted his distant missions, and went to visit his suffering brethren in that city. His visits gave offence to the jealous Jews; they complained of him to Herod, and Herod at their instigation caused him to be arrested and cast into prison, intending to put him to death after the Easter holydays were over. The Apostle was kept in close confinement, loaded with chains, and two centinels standing over him. But on the very night before he was to be led out to martyrdom, an angel entered the prison, loosened his chains, and rescued him from the tyrant's hand.

About that time St. Paul, who had been introduced to the Apostles, was with Barnabas ordained bishop, and sent to preach among the Gentiles. Barnabas accompanied him for some time in his apostolical travels. Paul was a chosen vessel of divine grace, singularly destined to carry the name of Christ before kings and nations, and the children of Israel. He entered the provinces of Asia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia, converting thousands, as he passed, to the Christian religion. He then cast his eye on Greece. Greece had long been renowned for science, for eloquence, and the finer arts. There the Apostle resolved to introduce a more sublime and more precious knowledge, the knowledge of one only true God. His zealous labours were crowned with the success he wished: flourishing Churches rose in the great towns of Corinth, Philippi, Thesalonica, Athens, and Ephesus. From Greece he stretched his course to Rome, and carried the knowledge of Jesus Christ into the apartments of Nero's palace.

St. Peter had already been there before him, about the year forty-four. Rome, the seat of empire, opened a communication with the most distant provinces; this induced the Apostle to remove his episcopal chair from Antioch, and to place it at Rome, wisely judging, that from the capital the light of the gospel would more quickly spread through the whole Roman empire. Some Protestant controvertists * have ridiculously asserted, against the evidence of all ancient writers,† that St. Peter never was at Rome. But others of their brethren,‡ less prejudiced or more enlightened have fully refuted the insolent assertion.

While the two chief Apostles were thus labouring to diffuse the

* Barrow, Salmasius. † St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, Eusebius, St. Jerom. ‡ Bishop Pearson, Baratier.

rays of truth through the western world, the other ten extended their zeal to the southern and eastern regions, as far as Ethiopia and India. Having composed their symbol of faith, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, all twelve set out to announce the gospel to a Pagan world. Tradition tells us, that St. Thomas preached in India, St. John in Asia Minor, St. Andrew in Seythia, St. Philip in Upper Asia, St. Bartholomew in Great Armenia, St. Matthew, in Persia, St. Simon in Mesopotamia, St. Jude in Arabia, St. Mathias in Ethiopia. To what particular spot they extended their labours, we cannot say, but St. Paul assures the Colossians, that the gospel was then actually announced with great success to the whole world; and in his Epistle to the Romans,* he applies to the Apostles these words of the Psalmist: "Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the whole world."

This rapid and extensive propagation of the gospel, by a few obscure men, without learning, without credit, or any human support, can be no other than the miraculous work of God's own hand. To that divine power alone, which searches and directs the motions of man's heart, must be ascribed this wonderful triumph of religion. Allured by no earthly advantages, and subdued by no other force than that of truth, the learned and ignorant, the Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians, meekly bend their necks to the yoke of Christ, shake off their ancient prejudices, and profess themselves the followers of a crucified God.

SECTION III. *Virtues of the Primitive Christians.*

IN the practice of religion nothing can appear more charming
A. D. 36. than the picture drawn by St. Luke, of the infant Church, in his Acts of the Apostles. He assures us, that of the vast numbers who believed in Jesus Christ, there was but one heart and one soul. All being animated with the same spirit, they were united in the same bonds of perfect charity. No one appropriated the least thing to himself, exclusive of his neighbour: for all things were common amongst them. They who sold their lands or houses, brought their money to the Apostles for the public use, that each one might be relieved according to his wants. Each one's wants were no sooner known, than charitably removed. The consolation of the Holy Ghost dwelt amongst them; their placid looks indicated the spiritual sweetness that replenished their souls. Their fervent piety embraced every kind of public virtue in an eminent degree. Their hospitality, their attention to the social duties of fraternal charity, their daily presence in the Temple at the stated hours, their devout behaviour during the solemn service of religion, drew respect from all who beheld them.

Such is the character St. Luke has given us of the first Christians of Jerusalem. The virtues of the converted Gentiles were not less solid, as we gather from the epistles of St. Paul, though perhaps not so sublime upon the whole. Before the Apostle came amongst them, the Gentiles had imbibed no principle of true religion, and

* Chap. x. ver. 18.

had seen no exercise of that pure worship, by which the sovereign Lord of all things is duly honoured in spirit and in truth. Bewildered in the labyrinth of infidelity, and debauched by the licentious absurdities of idolatry, they were not only destitute of real virtue, but deeply tainted with almost every vice incident to corrupt nature. But no sooner were they instructed in the principles of Christianity, and cleansed from sin in the waters of baptism, than they became the faithful imitators of their evangelical teachers. A total change of principle and manners made them objects of admiration to the former companions of their irregularities. The lewd became chaste and temperate, the boisterous meek and patient, the ambitious sought no other glory than that of subduing their own rebellious passions. Prayer was the occupation of their leisure hours, and a sincere desire of doing the will of God in all things sanctified their most ordinary actions of the day. Tertullian* speaks of the pious custom they had of making the sign of the cross on every occasion, as a mark of their lively faith and confidence in the merits of their crucified Redeemer. Hence, in the midst of temporal concerns they never lost sight of eternal goods; while their hands were at work, their hearts aspired to heaven. The prospect of an everlasting reward, which they knew God had prepared for them in his kingdom of glory, quickened their diligence in the discharge of every civil and religious duty. Which of the two are we to admire most, the bounteous liberality of God in thus communicating his graces to those fervent Christians, or the fidelity of those Christians in thus co-operating with the divine gifts? To our humble admiration of the first, let us join our imitation of the second, we then shall pay due honour to them both.

SECTION IV. *Council of Jerusalem.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the bright virtues, which adorned the general conduct of the primitive Christians, certain blemishes at A. D. 51. times appeared in the deportment of individuals. Whether from jealousy, or misguided zeal, many of the Jewish converts proposed it as a matter of obligation, that the Gentiles who became Christians, ought to submit to the law of circumcision, if they hoped to be saved. The proposition was first started at Antioch by some proselytes, who came thither from Judea. Warm disputes in consequence arose; divisions ensued, religion as well as charity were likely to suffer. St. Paul and Barnabas were luckily there. They remonstrated with their countrymen on the unreasonableness of their pretensions, and represented to them, that the necessity of circumcision was incompatible with the grace of Jesus Christ. They argued in vain: words made no impression upon men wedded to their own opinion by prejudice and the force of education. They agreed, however, to refer the matter to those Apostles, who were in Jerusalem. St. Peter happened to be there at the time on a visit from Rome.

St. Paul and Barnabas then repaired by common consent to Jeru-

* De Corona militis.

saalem, to have the question formally decided. They were received in a very friendly manner: they informed St. Peter and the other Apostles of the business they came upon. The Apostles therefore, and the priests met in council to debate the subject in dispute. Having conferred together for some time upon the nature of the question, St. Peter rose and related what things God had wrought by his ministry among the Gentiles, and from evident marks of the divine approbation in their regard, concluded, that no superfluous burden of the ancient law ought to be imposed upon them. Paul and Barnabas then recounted what wonders God had also done by their hands, in favour of the Gentiles. The assembly listened in profound silence and attention. St. James concluded the debate by expressing his approbation of the decision given by St. Peter, that such of the Gentiles, as in future should embrace the Christian faith, were not to be molested about any ceremonial practices of the law, which did not regard them.

The whole council being of the same opinion, they formed a decree to the following effect:—"It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, not to lay any further burden on you, our brethren of the Gentiles in Antioch, in Syria, and Cilicia, than that you abstain from things offered to idols, from blood, from strangled meats, and fornication." The council judged it necessary to caution them against the ~~same~~ ^{guilt} of which was not well understood among the Gentiles. To abstain from blood and strangled meats was a temporary injunction, enacted with a view of gaining the good-will of the Jews, and of weaning them by degrees from their religious prejudices in favour of the ancient observances of the Mosaic law.

In this first Council of Jerusalem, the Apostles established a judicial form of acting, which the Church has followed ever since in deciding all questions that relate to faith and discipline. A dispute, important in its consequence, had arisen amongst the Faithful; private authority, even that of St. Paul, had not sufficient weight to silence the contending parties: deputies were named to consult the church of Jerusalem, where the gospel was first planted, and where Peter, the Head of the Apostles, was then present. The Apostles and Ancients of the Church assembled; St. Peter presided; he stated the subject of dispute, and was the first who spoke and delivered his opinion upon it. Each one, who chose to speak, had his turn in due order. The question being regularly argued and discussed, all unanimously agreed in one opinion, and formed a dogmatical decree upon the subject. Two deputies, Judas and Silas, were commissioned to carry the decree, accompanied with a letter, in the name of the Council, to Antioch. The Faithful received it with equal joy and respect. The subject of disagreement was removed, and we hear no more of their disputes.

In all subsequent ages of Christianity, as well as in the first, the Faithful have ever respectfully received the dogmatical decisions of the Church, as most certain truths, dictated by the unerring Spirit of God. Their submission and respect for what the Church teaches, is the pious result of that firm persuasion, which every Catholic has, that the Church is infallible in her doctrine, and being always guided

by the Spirit of truth, can teach nothing false. The divine author of our religion having engaged his word for this effect, they are sure of not being deceived. "I will ask the Father," says he,* "and he will give you another paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of truth. But when this holy Spirit of truth, the paraclete, shall come, and the Father will send him in my name, he will teach you all things." "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations. Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."† This promise is the promise of Jesus Christ the God of truth: it is clear, it is absolute, it extends through all ages to the end of time. Omnipotent is the God who has made this solemn promise. Will any Christian dare to say, that Christ meant nothing by his promise, or that he has not the power or the will to execute what he promised? Dare he give so blasphemous a lie to the eternal Word? Shame on those who with bold impiety assert, that Jesus Christ has let his beloved Spouse bow to the idols of a false worship, and, contrary to his promise, has suffered the gates of hell to prevail against her.‡

SECTION V. *Martyrdom of St. James the Less.*

THE incredulous Jews beheld the progress of Christianity with an evil eye. Their animosity had been much inflamed by St. A. D. 62. Paul's appeal to the tribunal of Cæsar. Festus, the Roman Governor, had hitherto prevented them from carrying their designs to the last degree of violence against the Apostle. But Festus was then dead, and his successor not arrived. That circumstance gave them a favourable opportunity of renewing their hostilities against the Church. Ananus, the High Priest, called the Sanhedrim together: James, the bishop of Jerusalem, was desired to attend. This was James the Less, so called to distinguish him from the other James, whom Herod Agrippa, in compliment to the Jews, had put to death about twenty years before. The surname of Just had been also given him, on account of his exemplary piety and extensive charity.

St. James having taken his seat among the elders, Ananus thus addressed him:—"An opinion prevails among the people, that Jesus the crucified is the Messiah, long foretold by our ancient prophets. They are undoubtedly in an error. The respect they bear you, gives you great sway over them. It behoves you to set them right. A public declaration of your belief must have its due effect." To bereave the Apostle either of his faith or of his life was the wicked design, which the High Priest here had in view. He flattered himself, that human respects or the fear of suffering might induce the Apostle to deny or to dissemble the truth, by either of which he would have gained his ends. But should the Apostle publicly proclaim Jesus to be the true Messiah, he was sure of a plausible pretext to take away his life. That the declaration might be as public as determined malice could devise, he commanded the Apostle to ascend the battlements of the Temple, and from thence declare his sentiments to the surrounding multitude.

* John xiv. 16, 26.

† Matt. xxviii.

‡ Ibid. xvi. 18.

The venerable Confessor no sooner appeared, than a stationed groupe of Scribes and Pharisees loudly called upon him to declare what he thought of Jesus. The Saint then collecting all his strength, in an audible and distinct voice, replied, "Jesus the son of man is now sitting at the right-hand of the Father, as the Son of God, and will hereafter come upon the clouds to judge the living and the dead." A declaration so expressive of the divinity of Jesus Christ, animated the courage of the Christians, who were present, into an open profession of the same truth. In a joyful shout they all exclaimed, "Glory to the son of David, honour and glory be to Jesus." The enraged Pharisees, on the other hand, cried out, "The Just has erred; let him be instantly flung down, and stoned upon the spot." It was no sooner said than done. The holy Apostle was flung headlong down from the battlements, and received at the bottom with a discharge of stones from the hands of a furious populace. That did not kill him. Life was still in him, and he had strength sufficient to put himself upon his knees. In that humble posture he prayed aloud for his wicked murderers, after the example of his divine Master, and besought God to forgive them, because they knew not what they did. While he thus prayed, a savage fuller stepped forward with a mallet in his hand; a single stroke upon the head put an end to the Saint's life and sufferings. His body was honourably interred in the spot where he suffered, and a column erected over it. This was a public tribute of respect, which the repute of his exalted sanctity justly merited. To the crime of having murdered so just a man, Josephus attributes the ruin that befell his country, ten years after, from the Roman arms. The remark of the Jewish historian may testify the general esteem in which St. James was held by his countrymen, but we know from higher authority, that the subversion of Jerusalem was in punishment of crimes still more enormous, of which the Jewish nation stood guilty in the sight of an insulted Deity. They had slain the prophets, they had stoned to death those whom God had sent for their reformation, and, to fill the measure of their guilt, they had at last crucified Jesus the Messiah.

St. James has left us an epistle, which he wrote to the twelve tribes of dispersed Jews, in order to convince them, that faith without good works is not sufficient for salvation, as some erroneously maintained. Martin Luther, the reforming doctor of Wirtemberg, in Saxony, relished these ancient errors, and renewed them in the beginning of the sixteenth century, affirming the doctrine of St. James's canonical epistle to be no better than straw, and unworthy of an Apostle.

SECTION VI. *First Persecution under Nero.*

ALTHOUGH the faithful had variously suffered in many places, both
 A. D. 64. from Jews and Gentiles, they had not yet undergone any general persecution. Nero was the first who armed the sovereign power of Rome against them. That cruel prince observing the rapid progress of Christianity, which had penetrated even within the walls of his own palace, published an edict, which made it a capital offence to profess the Christian religion. Nero had had the advantage of a moral education, under Seneca the philosopher.

For the five first years after his elevation to the throne, he continued to listen to his master's precepts, and thereby gained the reputation of a just and clement sovereign. Happy for him, as well as for his subjects, had it been, if he had remained in the same temperate disposition. But wicked courtiers flattered and seduced him into a mere monster of cruelty and lust the most shameful. He then began to consider the advice of Seneca as an insufferable censure of his conduct: under a false pretext he procured his death. He poisoned Germanicus, his father-in-law, put to death his mother and wife Petavia, and with a kick killed his second wife Poppea, ~~big with child~~. He often wished the whole race had but one head, that he might have the pleasure of cutting it off with one stroke. He set Rome on fire, that he might enjoy the vain satisfaction of re-building it on a more magnificent and more extensive plan, and of giving it his own name. These wild extravagances caused no small ferment among the citizens of Rome. He dreaded their resentment, and artfully sought to turn it against some other object. The Christians, he knew, were held in equal contempt and dislike by the Pagans. He openly accused them of being the authors of the late conflagration. The calumny, though destitute of proof, and even of the very shadow of truth, obtained credit amongst the ignorant and deluded multitude. A similar slander, and with similar success, at the distance of sixteen hundred years, has been scandalously forged, and blindly credited, against the Catholics of London, when a considerable part of the city was burnt down by accidental fire, in 1666.

Nero availed himself of the blind credulity of the mob, and under the pretext of punishing a race of supposed incendiaries, commenced a persecution against the innocent professors of Christianity. Not content with the usual instruments of death, he invented new tortures, and new modes of killing, to torment and terrify: some were wrapped up in skins of wild beasts, and worried by dogs: others were braced round with tunics steeped in pitch, placed at certain distances, and set on fire to illuminate the streets by night, instead of lamps. These scenes of horror were continued for a length of time, to gratify the whims of a savage tyrant, who sported in human blood. The persecution extended to the provinces, and lasted as long as Nero lived. Vast numbers of Christians during that time, as Pagans themselves allow, were barbarously butchered, not for any crime they stood guilty of, but in hatred of the religion they professed.* The account given by Mr. Gibbon of this historical fact, betrays more of the Infidel than of the Christian. With this author the bare word of a Pagan, a Tacitus, or a Suetonius, even on a religious point, outweighs the most authentic testimony of every Christian writer.

Among the many who suffered during Nero's persecution, were St. Peter and St. Paul. These holy Apostles are said to have been confined in a loathsome prison, at the foot of the capitol. There they passed the last nine months of their mortal pilgrimage, when they were led out to martyrdom. St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; St. Paul, being a Roman citizen, had the honour of dying by the sword. Nero closed the horrors of his bloody reign, by putting an end to his own existence, in the year sixty-eight.

* Pliny, L. 10, Ep. 102.

SECTION VII. *Destruction of Jerusalem*

ON the fall of Nero, Galba who commanded in Spain, mounted the imperial throne. From him the sceptre passed in quick succession into the hands of Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian. Vespasian was an experienced general, and had been employed with success by Nero against the insurgents of Judea.—The Jews still considered themselves as the chosen people of God, notwithstanding their rejection and murder of his eternal Son, their promised Messiah. To be stripped of their independence, and enslaved by the heathen emperors of Rome, was deemed by them not only a disgrace, but an oppression not to be borne. They made several unsuccessful attempts to shake of the galling yoke; they at last openly revolted. The period fixed for the punishment of their crimes was at hand; their revolt was the beginning of their extirpation. The Christians of Jerusalem saw the gathering storm, which, from the prediction of Jesus Christ, they knew must burst in the destruction of their city. By a timely flight they hastened, as forewarned, into the town of Pella, amidst the mountains of Syria.

The Roman legions under the command of Titus, the emperor's son, had now traversed the plains of Palestine, and were in full march to besiege Jerusalem. The unhappy citizens, unmindful of their situation, which called for the greatest unanimity in repelling the common enemy, were divided into two factions, tearing each other to pieces with the most savage animosity. No stores of provisions had been laid in for the craving multitudes, who had flung themselves within the walls. The city was so closely hemmed in by the besiegers, that no communication could be had with the adjacent country, and no necessaries of life be procured; the dreadful effects of famine soon appeared. The famished crowd strove who should be the first to seize whatever looked like food; houses, in search of it, were broke open; many were compelled by tortures to produce the scanty remnants they had concealed for their own subsistence; the infirm and weak had no resource; by a stronger hand the tempting morsel was ravenously snatched from their mouth, already gaping to devour it. Yet in the midst of all this misery, no one thought of submitting to the victor's clemency, or of doing penance for the crimes which had drawn this vengeance on them.

Titus all the while pushed on the siege with great vigour. He was master of the fort Antonia, his advanced works reached the Temple, of which the two outward galleries were in his possession. The wretched citizens then began to suffer from famine in a more deplorable degree. They greedily devoured the most disgusting things to human nature—they eat their own children, and even ransacked the common sewers in quest of food. A woman, reduced by hunger to the last extremity, took her sucking infant from her breast, then fixing her eyes upon him with a look of wild despair, thus expressed the anguish of her heart: "Hapless babe, shall I take away thy life to prolong my own? or by giving thee my milk, to what wretched misery shall I reserve thee? Wilt thou not be doomed to die at last with hunger, or to live a Roman slave?" In saying this she thrust a knife into the throat of her little infant, and

divided his body in two equal parts, one of which she roasted and eat, reserving the other half for her meal the next day. Some of the garrison happened to be passing, and perceiving the smell of something roasted, entered the house, and with horrid threats insisted upon the woman's producing the fragments of her repast.—She produced the fragments of her half devoured child. Seeing them turn pale with horror at the sight, she said: "You are not surely more nice in eating than a woman; nor can your feelings be more tender than those of a mother: you see the remains of my dear ill-fated infant; I have eaten one half, you well may eat the other." They made no answer, but turning upon their heel walked away in sad and thoughtful silence.

Titus had now made his approaches as far as the second or inner enclosure of the Temple. He set fire to the gates, but gave a strict order, that no damage should be done to the body of the sacred edifice. God in his justice otherwise ordained. A Roman soldier, being actuated by a kind of supernatural impulse, says Josephus, seized a lighted torch, and raising himself up by the help of his comrades, threw it into an apartment joining the Temple.—The flame immediately mounted into a spreading blaze, and in spite of every effort made to stop its progress, soon reduced the whole fabric to a heap of stones. The Roman troops then furiously rushed into the city, and without distinction of age or sex put to the sword all who came in their way. Within the space of four months that the siege lasted, not less than eleven hundred thousand Jews perished by famine and the sword; the survivors were publicly sold for slaves, and dispersed through the Roman empire. With the ruin of the Temple, and the dispersion of the Jewish people ceased the Jewish sacrifices, as had been foretold by the prophet Daniel,* and confirmed by our blessed Saviour.† According to his divine prediction, all the buildings of that devoted city were demolished in so complete a manner as not to leave one stone upon another. Jerusalem—the capital of the ancient kings of Juda, Jerusalem, the seat of religion, the former nursery of saints and heroes, and by pre-eminence called the holy city, thus fell in punishment of her crimes. The Romans were the instruments in the avenging hand of God to do justice to his injured mercy.

SECTION VIII. *Second Persecution under Domitian.*

TITUS, at his return to Rome, had the honour of a joint triumph with his father Vespasian. Vespasian was naturally of a humane pacific disposition, and the only good prince that had swayed the imperial sceptre since Augustus. A tinge of avarice, however, has been thought a stain in his princely character. Titus his son, and a still better man, succeeded him in the throne. Benevolence was the characteristic mark that distinguished Titus among the sovereigns of Rome. He delighted in doing good, and would often tell his friends, that to him it was a lost day in which he had done no act of humanity. His reign was short. Poison, it is

* Chap. ix.

† Matt. xxiv. 15.

thought, carried him out of life to make room for Domitian, his tyrannic brother, and the last of the twelve Cæsars.

Domitian possessed all the vices of Nero, even his hatred of Christianity. Like him he published a sanguinary edict against the professors of that religion, and began a general persecution, which was carried on with such violence, that it seemed to threaten utter destruction to the whole Church. The Faithful had been forewarned of the rising storm, and, by their redoubled fervour in all religious duties, had prepared themselves for the trying conflict. Amongst the many who suffered martyrdom on this occasion, the most distinguished for his rank in life was Flavius Clemens, the consul and cousin-german to Domitian. Memorable also are the sufferings of St. John the Evangelist in this persecution. His divine master had assured him,* that he should drink of his bitter cup in due season: the time was now come. He had the merit of sacrificing his life for Christ, like the rest of the Apostles, although he died not with them in the combat. St. John had hitherto preached the Gospel without molestation in Asia Minor, where he founded several particular churches, which he continued to govern by his apostolical authority. He resided chiefly at Ephesus in Ionia. From thence, upon an information being lodged against him, he was cited by the emperor to Rome, and on account of his faith condemned to be cast alive into a caldron of boiling oil. The sentence was carried into execution before the Latin Gate. The miraculous power of God interposed in his behalf. The glorious martyr came out of the boiling caldron not only unhurt, but more fresh and vigorous than he went in, as Tertullian testifies. The Heathens, better acquainted with the works of darkness than of light, attributed his preservation to art magic, and procured his banishment to the island of Patmos, in the Archipelago. Here remote from noise and all worldly intercourse, the Saint was favoured with those heavenly visions, which he has so emphatically described in his book of Revelations. On the death of Domitian, in the year ninety-six, St. John returned to Ephesus, where he had other enemies to encounter, and other troubles to endure.

At that early period of Christianity, the Church had the mortification to see many of her children fall from their first faith, and teach false doctrines. Men, vain of their own conceits, set themselves up for new teachers, in opposition to the apostolic truths, and openly began to sow the seeds of heresy and discord among the Faithful. They were Jewish converts, who proving unfaithful to their vocation, went out of the pale of the Catholic Church, and were no longer members of it, as St. John testifies.† Of these false brethren, the chief were Ebion, Cerinthus, and Nicholas of Antioch. Amongst other errors they denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and asserted the necessity of observing all the ceremonies of the Mosaic law. To silence these heretical declaimers, St. John, at the request of the bishops of Asia wrote his Gospel. In this undertaking he had two objects in view: the one was to prove the eternal existence of his divine Master, the other was to pen down a more circum-

* Matt. xx.

† 1 Epist. chap. ii.

stantial account of some facts in the life of Jesus Christ, which he observed to have been either wholly omitted by the other Evangelists, or but slightly touched. About the same time he seems to have written his Epistles, which breathe the most pure and the most ardent charity. They are the language of a heart inflamed with that divine fire, which he drew from his blessed Lord, when leaning on his breast at the last supper. When reduced by age to extreme weakness, and unable to walk, he would be carried to church, that he might assist at the divine service : having no longer either voice or strength to make any long discourse to the assembled brethren, he constantly repeated this short but pathetic sentence, " My dear children love one another," till they were tired of hearing it, and they told him so. His reply was, " It is the precept of the Lord, and if it be only done it is sufficient." He died a natural death at Ephesus, about the close of the first century.

SECTION IX. *Disunion of the Christians at Corinth.*

THE heathen tyrants vainly fancied, that by cutting off the head and principal members of the Church they should compass the destruction of the whole body. But the promises of God are not to be defeated by any malice or by any power of men. St. Peter was no sooner slain, than St. Linus was chosen to supply his place. To Linus succeeded Cletus, and after him St. Clement, of whom St. Paul makes mention in his Epistle to the Philippians. In this Pontiff's reign, great disturbances arose among the Christians of Corinth. The spirit of cabal had infused itself into the minds of the laity ; they conspired against their pastors, and carried their violence so far as to drive some of them from the exercise of their ministerial functions. On that occasion St. Clement wrote an Epistle to them equally pathetic and instructive. Next to the Holy Scripture it is one of the most precious monuments we have of ecclesiastical antiquity. It begins in the following manner.

" The Church of God, which is at Rome, to that of Corinth, to those who have been called and sanctified by the will of God in our Lord Jesus Christ. May the grace and peace of God the Almighty be increased by Christ Jesus in every one of you." Then, after having exposed the wretched state of anarchy and confusion into which their unhappy jealousies had cast their little flock, the zealous writer sweetly reminds them of the happy days when they trod the path of virtue in simplicity and peace. " At that time," says the holy Pontiff, " your virtues, your piety, your zeal, your inviolable attachment to the law of God, were the admiration of all who knew you. You were then submissive to your pastors, you respected your superiors, you set the example of sobriety and modesty to your children, you established and maintained good order within your families. More ready to obey than to command, more eager to give than to receive, you cherished the sentiments of moderation and humility in your hearts. Content with the common gifts of Providence for your support in life, you turned your thoughts on God, and studied the observance of his holy law. Thus you enjoyed the sweetest tran-

quility and peace of mind. Being animated with the purest charity, you felt a warm desire, and caught every opportunity of doing good. Full of confidence and zeal, you never ceased lifting up your hands to the throne of mercy, humbly craving forgiveness for the sins of frail mortality. Day and night you poured forth your prayers for the salvation and happiness of your brethren in Christ, that the number of the elect might be speedily completed. You then were void of malice; your conduct was sincere and blameless. You held in abhorrence the very name of contention and discord, you pitied your deluded neighbour, and bewailed his faulty oversights as your own. But how sadly is the prospect since changed! How clouded now and how dismal is the view, which was once so bright and delightful! In lieu of content and harmony, jealousy and disunion prevail amongst you."

The holy Father then produces several examples from the inspired writings to prove the fatal effects of jealousy, and in most moving terms exhorts them to repentance, to the practice of humility and fraternal charity. These duties he strongly impresses on them, from the examples of saints, from the consideration of God's goodness towards them, from the sacred ties of religion that unite and bind the faithful followers of Jesus Christ into one body. "Why are there quarrels," continues the Saint, "why are there divisions among you! Have we not all the same God, the same Redeemer, the same Saviour, the same Spirit who has sanctified us by our vocation into one faith in Christ Jesus? Why then do we divide his members, why do we tear our own body into pieces? For surely we never can forget, that we are all members of one another. Your divisions have perverted many; they have disheartened others; they have overwhelmed all with deep affliction. Rouse then, my brethren, quickly remove the scandal, and stop the growing evil. Let us prostrate ourselves at the feet of our Lord God, let us with tears implore forgiveness. He is all mercy; his goodness is ready to forgive our offence, to forget our weakness, and to re-instate us in the habit of brotherly affection." So it proved. Peace again united the Church of Corinth.

Second Century.

SECTION I. *Third Persecution under Trajan.*

ON the death of Domitian, Nerva, a native of Crete, was chosen to govern the Roman empire. Under his mild but short A. D. 101. reign, the Church suffered no persecution. He recalled the Christian exiles, and took measures for restoring the empire to its first lustre. But finding himself too far advanced in life for the accomplishment of that design, he adopted Trajan for his co-adjutor and successor. Trajan had acquired military fame in the armies of Vaspasian and Titus against the Jews. In history he is celebrated for clemency and wisdom. His political conduct on many occasions may have displayed those qualifications in a manner that gained him credit with a flattering world. But intemperance stained his wisdom, and cruelty towards his Christian subjects was a blot upon his clemency. He published an ordinance against all nocturnal assemblies. The Christians, not tolerated by law, could have no other time than night for the quiet celebration of the sacred mysteries. This imperial order gave a handle to the provincial governors for renewing the horrors of persecution. Trajan at first rather countenanced than promoted deeds of cruelty, but after some time he caused the sanguinary edicts of his predecessors, Nero and Domitian, to be put in execution. The persecution then became general, and the provinces flowed with Christian blood.

The younger Pliny, in his letters, gives us very interesting intelligence upon this subject. Pliny at that time was governor of Bithynia, and by letter had consulted Trajan in what manner he was to act with respect to the Christians, in whom he declares no crime could be found. "Their only error," says he, "is this, that on a certain day they meet before sun-rise, and in two quires sing hymns to Christ, whom they acknowledge and honour as their God. In their form of worship I discover no harm, except an ill grounded superstition, carried to excess. In every other respect I find them wholly blameless: they are just and honest by principle, faithful to their promise, and worthy of the trust reposed in them. Theft and adultery are prescribed from their society, even by vow. Great are their numbers of both sexes, of every age and of every rank in life. The fields, the towns, and villages, swarm with them. At my arrival in the province, I could hardly find a man to purchase victims for our altars; the temples of our gods were deserted, and their feasts interrupted. The matter seems important and deserving your attention. Hitherto I have suspended all proceedings against them: I wait your orders to direct me." How honourable to Christian morality is this testimony of a pagan writer, how glorious to religion! It distinctly shews the surprising progress of Christianity in that province, and the shining virtues of its proselytes.

Trajan's answer does no great credit either to his celebrated wis-

dom or his clemency. His directions are, that no search after Christians was to be made; but if any of them were accused and convicted of being such, that they must suffer death. In consequence of this incoherent declaration, so injurious to acknowledged innocence, and so inconsistent with common justice, many Christians were maliciously accused, and cruelly put to death, solely for their faith. Among these illustrious champions are St. Clement, bishop of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Simeon of Jerusalem. Simeon in blood was nearly related to our blessed Saviour, and had attained the hundred and twentieth year of his age. But neither his grey hairs nor his sanctity could screen him from the malice of persecution. Being denounced for a Christian, as well as for a descendant of David, he was condemned to a variety of torments, all of which he underwent with a fortitude truly wonderful. The spectators stood astonished to see such vigour and such strength of mind displayed in so advanced an age. He was at last crucified, the faithful follower of Jesus Christ both in life and death.

SECTION II. *St. Ignatius before Trajan.*

ST. CLEMENT, the holy Bishop of Rome, was one of the first who A.D. 107. suffered death under Trajan. Anacletus, a Greek by birth, and a disciple of St. Peter, succeeded him in the pontificate; but he, being also slain by the persecutor's sword, after a reign of ten years, had for his successor in St. Peter's chair, Evaristus, a Greek, who like his predecessors, finished a holy life by martyrdom.

Trajan, being engaged in a war with the Partians, marched in person against them, and took Antioch in his way. At his arrival in that city, his first concern was to enquire after the worship of his false gods. Finding it to have fallen into disrepute, he ordered Ignatius the bishop, surnamed Theophorus, to be brought before him. As soon as the Saint appeared, the emperor, in a stern and angry tone, thus accosted him: "Is it thou, wicked demon, is it thou, that darest to transgress my commands, and presumest to persuade others to do the like?" Ignatius answered, "No man calls Theophorus a wicked demon." "Who is Theophorus," said Trajan? "It is he who carries God in his breast," replied the Saint, alluding to the import of the word. "And do not we seem to thee," continued the emperor, "to bear the gods in our breast when they so visibly assist and protect us against our enemies?" "The gods," replied Ignatius; "you mistake, Prince, in calling them gods: they are truly demons. There is one only God, who made heaven and earth, and all things in them, and one Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord." "Dost thou mean him whom Pontius Pilate ordered to be crucified," said Trajan? "Yes," answered Ignatius, "the very same who by his death has vanquished the infernal powers, and enables those who bear him in their breasts, to trample those wicked spirits under foot." Trajan said, "Dost thou then carry Christ within thee?" "Yes," replied Ignatius; "for it is written, I will dwell within them."* Silenced and provoked by these replies, Trajan dictated the following sentence.

* 2 Cor. vi.

"It is our will, that Ignatius, who saith he carries the crucified Man within him, be bound and conducted to Rome, to be there devoured by wild beasts for the amusement of the people." The undaunted martyr, at hearing the sentence, exclaimed with a holy joy: "I bless thee, O Lord, for honouring me with this token of thy love, and for letting me be bound with these iron chains for thy sake, in imitation of thy apostle Paul." Then praying for his flock, and recommending it with tears to God, he readily put on the chains, and by a band of soldiers was instantly hurried off to begin his journey towards Rome.

Ignatius travelled by land as far as Seleucia, where he was put on board a ship. They steered their course along the south-west coast of Asia Minor, till they reached Smyrna, where they permitted him to go ashore. This was a singular comfort to Ignatius, as it afforded him the opportunity of seeing and conversing with the bishop Polycarp, formerly his fellow disciple under St. John the Evangelist. Polycarp, far from lamenting at seeing his friend in that situation, congratulated with him on his chains and sufferings in so glorious a cause. Deputies from the neighbouring churches were there, ready to salute him in his passage, and to beg a share of those spiritual gifts with which he abounded. The humble martyr on his part expressed the interior joy he felt at the thought of dying for Jesus Christ, and earnestly entreated them to unite in prayer with him for the grace of final perseverance. He likewise requested their prayers for his widow church in Syria, that in his absence God would please to take it under his special protection. Such was the zeal, and such was the ardour of charity, that warmed the heart of this holy man!

SECTION III. *Epistles of St. Ignatius.*

FROM Smyrna St. Ignatius wrote four Epistles to the Christians of four different churches, the Ephesians, the Mag- A.D. 107.
nesians, the Thrallians, and Romans. He commends
the Ephesians for their unanimity, for their zeal and piety in the divine service: he exhorts them to promote the honour of God by every means in their power, to pay a respectful submission to their bishop and priests of the church, to oppose meekness to anger, humility to vain-glory, prayer to reproaches, and to bear all injuries without murmuring. In a word, he tells them to be chiefly solicitous how to edify others by their virtuous lives, rather than amuse them with fine discourses. In a pathetic and ingenious turn of expression he repeats nearly the same instructions to the Magnesians and Thrallians, warns them against heresy and schism by declaring his own utter abhorrence of both, and concludes by requesting their prayers for himself and for his church in Syria, of which he deems himself unworthy to be called a member.

In his epistle to the Romans, his expostulations with them are no less fervent than singular. They are the language of a Saint wholly absorpt in God, ardently desiring to be dissolved and to be with Christ. The kind of death reserved for him at Rome, was constantly in his thoughts. Knowing how efficacious the prayers of the

Faithful in that city had been, in closing the mouths of roaring lions upon some who had been exposed to their ravenous fury, he earnestly requests them not to pray for his delivery. "I fear your charity," says he; "your powerful intercession with the Almighty might perhaps delay my death, but in delaying my death you would delay my happiness. Your affection for me, I apprehend, springs from too human a motive. If your charity is sincere, you will let me go to enjoy my God. Never shall I have again so fair an opportunity of giving my life to be united to God, nor you of doing so good a work by your silence. Be but silent in my behalf, and I shall soon be happy in the enjoyment of my God. A greater kindness you cannot do me, than in letting me consummate the sacrifice, now the altar is prepared. Let me quickly pass out of this lower world unto God, that by dying for him I may rise in glory. But if affection for me prompts you still to pray, pray, I beseech you, that in this frail body I may prove an acceptable sacrifice to God: pray, that God in his mercy may grant me the inward and outward strength becoming a Christian. A Christian's worth lies not in words, or in plausible appearances. A magnanimity of soul, and solid virtue, solely form the true Christian. The possession of all the kingdoms upon earth could not make me happy: infinitely more glorious is it to die for Jesus Christ, than to reign over the whole world. My soul breathes after him who died upon a cross for me; my heart pants after him who rose for me from the dead. Behold the object of my hope. All earthly objects are indifferent to me: the hope of possessing God my Saviour solely draws and engages my whole attention. Let flames reduce my body to ashes; let me expire by slow degrees upon a cross, let lions and tigers grind my bones, and tear me limb from limb, I shall suffer all with joy, trusting in the grace of my Redeemer Christ, who stands ready to reward our short sufferings with a crown of everlasting glory. Let me then tread the footsteps of my suffering Jesus; let not your prayers delay my entrance into life, by delaying my death." Thus did that blessed martyr glory in his sufferings for Christ, as in the highest honours. His soul sublimely rose beyond all earthly views: his holy ambition was to possess and to enjoy God in his kingdom of glory, which shall never end.

The guards, assigned him by the emperor, would not allow him time to write any thing more from Smyrna, being eager to reach Rome before the public shows were over. They set sail, and stopped again at Troas. From thence Ignatius wrote three other epistles, one to the Christians of Philadelphia, another to those of Smyrna, whom he had lately quitted, and a third to St. Polycarp, whom he commissioned to write in his name to the other churches of Asia. In his epistle to the Smyrneans he refutes the error of the impious Docetæ, who denied Christ to have assumed real flesh, and for this reason abstained from the Eucharist, says he, "Because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was crucified and rose again." The primitive doctrine of Christ's real presence is here so expressly delivered by Ignatius, the disciple of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, that the disciples of John Calvin had no other means of getting rid of a testimony so

respectable, and so opposite to their new positions of modern doctrine, than by asserting, that the Epistle in question was never penned by Ignatius. Daillé, a Calvinistical minister of Charenton, wrote to justify the rash and impudent assertion. Doctor Pearson, the learned Protestant bishop of Chester, has, in a masterly manner, refuted the weak arguments of the puny champion of Geneva. In fact, the various quotations from all the seven Epistles, as cited by St. Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and other ancient authors of unquestionable veracity, leave no room to doubt of their authenticity. Other letters he is said to have written to the Virgin Mary, and to St. John, but upon examination they are generally thought, by discerning critics, not to have been the production of the pen of Ignatius.

SECTION IV. *Martyrdom of St. Ignatius.*

FROM Troas, Ignatius was conveyed by sea to Neapolis in Macedonia. From thence he went to Philippi, and having tra- A. D. 107.
versed Macedonia and Epirus on foot, took shipping again at Epidamnium in Dalmatia, and passing by Rhegium and Puteoli, landed at the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from Rome. The expectation of his arrival had drawn numbers of the Faithful thither, who were eager to see and converse with so renowned a Saint. The soldiers hurried him on to Rome. The Faithful came out in crowds to meet him. Many expressed a wish that he might be released at the request of the people. The venerable martyr then addressed them upon the subject, and with such force of expression besought them not to frustrate the desire he had of being speedily admitted to the presence of his God, that they silently submitted. They respectfully fell upon their knees before him; he knelt down with them, and in an audible voice made a fervent prayer to Jesus Christ, that he would vouchsafe to quell the storm of persecution, that he would restore the Church to peace, and unite the Faithful in the closest bonds of union and brotherly affection. It was the twentieth of December, the last day of the public entertainments. He was immediately conducted to the prefect of the city, who, in compliance with the emperor's order sent him under a guard to the amphitheatre.

The whole city of Rome seemed to be there assembled; the lions roared with savage expectation of their prey. In the middle of the circus, encircled with innumerable spectators, longing for the barbarous sight, stood the undaunted champion, with a serene and joyful countenance, waiting for the consummation of his martyrdom. Hearing the lions roar, he cried out: "I am the wheat of Christ, I must be ground by the teeth of those animals, to be made the pure bread of Christ." Two hungry lions were instantly let out upon him; they fiercely seized him in their teeth, crushed and devoured his whole body, except the larger bones. These bones were devoutly gathered up by the Faithful, laid in a chest, as an inestimable treasure, and carried to Antioch, where they were first deposited in the cemetery outside the Daphnetic gate, and afterwards, in the reign of Theodosius the Younger, were translated with great pomp to a church, bearing his name, within the city, as Evagrius relates. In

those days of primitive piety and religion, it was deemed no superstitious act to pay such honour to the relics of a saint, who died for the faith of Christ. St. Chrysostom in his panegyric of this glorious martyr, exhorts the Faithful to visit his precious relics, assuring them that they would reap thereby many advantages, both spiritual and temporal.

SECTION V. *Apology of St. Justin.*

FOR eighteen years had the spirit of persecution been kept up A. D. 150. with unrelenting fury, when Trajan, glutted as it were with the cruel habit of spilling guiltless blood, issued an order, that no more Christians should be put to death. The respite was of no long duration. Trajan died the year after, and was succeeded by Adrian, who, notwithstanding his profession of punishing none but for real crimes, soon renewed the bloody scenes of unprovoked cruelty, practised by his predecessor. Evaristus and Alexander, peaceful bishops of Rome, fell victims to Trajan's tyranny. Alexander had for his three next successors in the pontificate, Sixtus, Telesphorus, and Hyginus, all martyrs in their turn, the two first under Adrian, the last under Antoninus Pius, his successor in the empire. Numbers of others nobly died in defence of their faith under these anti-christian emperors. Animated with a true spirit of their profession, they esteemed it an honour and an happiness to die for their crucified Redeemer, who had first died for them. It grieved them indeed to hear their religion slandered by the heathens, and themselves accused of crimes, which their religion forbade, and their hearts abhorred. To wipe away these slanders, and to disabuse the ignorant heathens of their false notions, several learned Christians took up their pen, and laid before the public the sublime and moral principles of Christian practice and belief. Among the first of these writers appeared Justinus, who of a Platonic philosopher became a Christian about the thirtieth year of his age, after a diligent and sincere search after truth. Having once embraced it upon conviction, in which he was much strengthened by the patient sufferings of the martyrs, he ever after studied to adorn it by his virtues, and to defend it by his writings, till by a glorious martyrdom he sealed it with his blood.

In his *Apology*, which he signed with his name, and addressed to Antoninus himself, to the Senate and whole Roman people, he entreats the emperor to form his judgment of the Christians from their actions, not from the name they bear, and not to pass sentence against them on the sole and weak pretence of their being called Christians. "Let an impartial inquiry be made," says he, "let our conduct be diligently sifted, and if upon examination it shall be proved, that we are either criminal in our actions, or impious in our tenets, let guilt be punished according to its deserts: but if our innocence shall be proved, it will be neither reasonable nor just to treat us like malefactors. With full confidence we defy our most determined enemies to prove the crimes maliciously laid to our charge. Deign only to investigate our conduct, and to scrutinize our principles, you will with pleasure find, that of all the subjects of your empire, none are more submissive, none more loyal, none more disposed to keep and secure the public peace, than we Christians are. We acknowledge

you for our sovereign, sole master of the conquered world. You we respect, and you we cheerfully obey in all things not repugnant to religion. Religious worship belongs to God alone. He is the supreme ruler of heaven and earth, the great creator of all things, omnipotent and eternal. In our daily supplications to him we humbly beg, that to the imperial power, with which he has invested you, he will vouchsafe to add the glorious prerogative of reigning with wisdom and justice. We adore him alone, who alone is God, the sovereign judge of all our actions. His adorable eye always sees us; he knows and beholds our most secret thoughts. Nothing escapes his all-comprehensive knowledge; his justice will assign to all men punishment or reward in a future life, according to their works in this. Such is our belief. This belief imposes on us a conscientious attention to ourselves, a strict rectitude in our whole conduct, public and private, which no human institutions can effect."

For their instruction in the more sublime truths of Christianity, Justin states in explicit terms the mystery of three distinct persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one and the same divine nature: he states the incarnation of the Son, who being the same eternal God with the Father, became man, and voluntarily permitted himself to be crucified by Pontius Pilate for our redemption, but rose again on the third day for our justification. He then expatiates upon the holiness and truth of the Christian system, which he proves from the inspired writings of the prophets and evangelists. To refute the slanders of the heathens, who represented the private meetings of the Christians for religious worship, as assemblies of impiety and vice, he briefly relates what passed in them. "For no other than a religious purpose," continues the Apologist, "do we meet upon the Sunday. We meet to worship God our creator, the sovereign ruler of the universe; we meet to hear the word of God; we meet to offer up to God, and to partake of what we call the Eucharist, which is the true body and blood of Jesus Christ the incarnate, under the form of bread and wine."

What impression this Apology made upon an heathen emperor, we cannot say. He published no sanguinary edict, but during his reign many Christians suffered for their faith.

SECTION. VI. *Extent and Unity of the Church.*

THE blood of the martyrs was the seed of Christianity. The Pagans stood astonished at their invincible fortitude in the midst of torments. Divine they thought must be the religion which inspired such lofty sentiments of God, which taught its followers such heroic virtues, such patience, such humility, such purity of manners, such a contempt of worldly honours and delights. They flocked in crowds from every quarter to learn and embrace it. By the zeal and labour of apostolical men, the Church, though still in its infancy, was miraculously spread over almost all the known world. From the east, where it first began, it extended from province to province as far as the western ocean. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, were full of Christians. Italy, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Africa, and Great Britain, had begun to

A. D. 158.

be acquainted with Christianity. Even in those countries, that lay beyond the flight of the Roman Eagle, in Armenia, in Persia, in India, and other barbarous nations, peaceful ministers of the Gospel had planted the triumphant standard of the Cross.

However widely these people differed in language, manners, constitution, and climate, they all agreed in the profession of one God, one faith, and one baptism. "The difference of tongues and nations," says Irenæus,* "made no difference among them. The churches founded in Germany disagree not in their belief and doctrine, so neither do the churches of the Celtæ, nor of the Iberi, nor those in the east, nor in Egypt, nor in Lybia, nor those situated in the middle of the globe. But as the sun, which shines over all the earth, is one and the same luminary, so likewise is the preaching of the Gospel, which in every place enlightens all who wish to share in the knowledge of truth." Thus the particular churches that were planted over the face of the earth, under their respective bishops, being all united in one common bond of belief, form one universal Church, under one head, whom all acknowledge in the Bishop of Rome, the visible successor of St. Peter, the first of the apostles. The Bishop of Rome holds from Christ an unlimited jurisdiction to feed the whole flock, sheep as well as lambs.† Other pastors have a limited jurisdiction to watch over and direct the particular flocks committed to their charge, according to the received principles of faith and doctrine of the Catholic Church. But the Church, notwithstanding the zeal and vigilance of her pastors, even in those days, had the mortification to see many of her children swerve from the path of truth, and follow delusive guides through the crooked ways of falsehood and error. "Many appeared amongst us," says St. Justin, ‡ "in the name of Christ, with blasphemies in their mouth, teaching impure and impious doctrines. For of Christ they had nothing but the name. There are the Marcionites, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, the Saturninians, and others, bearing the appellation of those teachers, who were the founders of their sect. With none of these do we hold communion. We know their errors and their impieties." St. Justin here informs us, that in the second century, as well as in the first, false teachers appeared, who by their impious doctrines disturbed the peace of the Church, and seduced the lovers of novelty into various heresies: and that the Church, zealous for truth, and ever careful to preserve her unity of faith, publicly stigmatized the corrupters of her doctrine, and cut them off as tainted members from her communion, lest they should infect the whole body.

It has been observed above, that the Apostles in the beginning suffered their Jewish converts to continue in the observance of certain ceremonies of the Mosaic law, as long as they did not hold them necessary for salvation. On the charitable motive of disposing their countrymen to receive the Gospel, they sometimes conformed to those legal practices themselves, witness St. Paul in circumcising his disciple Timothy.§ On the same motive, St. John the Evangelist seems to have celebrated Easter according to the ancient custom of

* Lib. i. chap. 3.

† Dialogue with Tryphon.

‡ John xxi.

§ Acts, xvi, 3.

the Jews, in keeping their Passover on the fourteenth day of the vernal equinoctial moon, on what ever day of the week it might chance to fall. The Asiatic churches still adhered to that practice, while the southern and western churches, guided by the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, kept Easter day on the Sunday following. Upon this point then there was a manifest difference between the east and the west. But it was a point of ceremony only, a point of mere discipline, not of belief. For all believed the mystery of Christ's resurrection; their only disagreement was about the day on which the memory of it was to be celebrated.

Pope Pius I. who succeeded Hyginus, wished to establish a uniformity of time in the observance of that great festival through the whole Church, and published an order to that effect. This drew St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to Rome, about the year 158. But Pius was then dead, and St. Anicetus had succeeded him. Anicetus following the steps of his predecessor, used his endeavours to persude the Asiatic prelate into his opinion concerning the celebration of Easter day. His arguments were strong, but Polycarp was tenacious of a custom which had been sanctioned by St. John, his evangelical master. Anicetus, out of respect to the Evangelist and his virtuous disciple, did not choose to urge his own pontifical authority, and there the matter rested for the present. Both parted from each other with the most expressive marks of amity and mutual esteem. Their difference of opinion, in a question of ecclesiastical discipline, weakened not the bond of charity and faith that linked them together in the same communion.

SECTION VII. *Fourth Persecution under Marcus Aurelius.*

UPON the death of Antoninus Pius in 161, two princes with joint power ascended the imperial throne, Marcus Aurelius An- A. D. 168.
toninus, and Lucius Verus. Aurelius had unfortunately imbibed strong prejudices against the Christians from the evil reports he heard of them. These prejudices broke out into outrageous acts of cruelty. The persecution began in Asia; Smyrna was the theatre of its bloody exhibitions. In that town the Roman proconsul had his residence; thither were Christians dragged in crowds to be tortured and executed. Their tortures were various and excruciating, as described in a letter written by the Faithful of Smyrna to their absent brethren. Some were burnt, some crucified, others devoured by wild beasts. "Many are torn with whips," says the writer, "to such a degree, that their bones and very entrails are laid bare. The spectators melt into tears at the sight, their moans of compassion resound from every side, while from the heroic sufferers not a groan, not so much as a single sigh is heard. No kind of torture, no invention of ingenious barbarity is left untried, to compel the confessors of Jesus Christ into a compliance with the Pagan superstitions. But the holy champions stand firm and unshaken in their faith. They fix their eyes and thoughts on heaven; they smile in the midst of torments with a lively assurance that their pains will soon end in everlasting joys." A young man, Germanicus by name, signalized himself in a very heroic manner. After a long and rude

imprisonment, he was led to the circus to be torn to pieces by wild beasts. A lion was let loose from his den. The undaunted youth, eager to sacrifice his life for Christ's sake, rushed forward to meet and provoke the furious animal to devour him. The spectators, vexed and disappointed to see such determined resolution in a Christian, tumultuously exclaimed, "Away with the wretch, let Polycarp be brought."

When the persecution first broke out, Polycarp had been persuaded by his friends to retire out of the city into a neighbouring village. There he lay concealed in safety, till wickedly betrayed. A troop of horsemen was sent by night to seize him. The bishop was in bed when his host in great fright ran to tell him that the house was beset. "God's will be done," said the Saint, and rose with the calmest composure. He went down stairs, met the men at the door, and having asked their errand, courteously invited them in, ordered them a refreshment, and hoped they would allow him some short time to pray. He prayed in a standing posture for two hours, and then set off with them towards the city, mounted upon an ass.

To give the reader some idea of the esteem in which this illustrious Saint was held in the Church, I will here mention what St. Irenæus says of him in his letter to Florinus; both of them had been his disciples. Florinus was afterwards a priest among the clergy of Rome, but forgetting the lessons he had received from St. Polycarp, blasphemously affirmed that God is the author of sin. To reclaim the unhappy man from his error, Irenæus wrote him a letter, in which he says; "These things were not taught you by the bishops who preceded us. I could tell you the place where the blessed Polycarp sat to preach the word of God. It is yet present to my mind with what gravity he every where came in and went out; what was the sanctity of his deportment and of his whole exterior, and what what were his holy exhortations to the people. I seem to hear him now relate how he conversed with John, and many others who had seen Jesus Christ, and how he repeated the words he had heard from their lips. I can protest before God, that if this holy bishop had heard any error uttered like yours, he would have stopped his ears, and hastened from the place." This short relation, quoted by Eusebius,* shows how watchful and how careful the bishops were in preserving the primitive doctrines unaltered, as they had received them from the first teachers of Christianity. They let no new doctrine pass unnoticed or uncensured, if adverse to the truths delivered to them by their apostolical predecessors.

SECTION VIII. *Martyrdom of St. Polycarp.*

ST. POLYCARP being brought before the proconsul, who was then A. D. 169. sitting in judgment amidst a crowded audience, a voice, distinctly heard by many, suddenly issued from above, saying, "*Polycarp, be courageous and act manfully.*" The proconsul began by exhorting him to respect his own grey hairs, to swear by the genius of Cæsar, and to say, "*Exterminate the Im-*

* Lib. iii.

pious," meaning the Christians. The Saint was silent. "Swear by the genius of Cæsar," said the proconsul again, "blaspheme Christ, and I discharge thee." Polycarp replied; I have served Christ these fourscore and six years, and how can I now blaspheme him? From him I have received much good, never any harm. I cannot blaspheme my king and Saviour. You command me to swear by the genius of Cæsar, as you call it. I am a Christian. We Christians are taught to pay due honour to our temporal sovereigns, as far as is consistent with religion, no farther." "I have wild beasts at my call," said the proconsul, in a menacing tone. "Let them come at your call, replied the saint: "my resolution is fixed, not to be shaken." "If you scorn the beasts," subjoined the proconsul, "I will sentence you to be burnt to ashes." Polycarp answered, "The fire you threaten me with, burns for a short time only, and then goes out. There is another fire, kindled for the punishment of evil, and it burns for ever. Bring against me what you will; I am ready: why do you delay?" While he thus spoke, his countenance seemed to shine with a kind of heavenly cheerfulness, which struck the beholders, and even the proconsul himself.

The public crier was however ordered to advance, as the custom was in capital cases, and thrice to proclaim aloud; *Polycarp hath confessed himself a Christian*. The crowd immediately shouted with insulting triumph, and as with one voice demanded, that the impious teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the destroyer of their gods, should be burnt alive. Their request was no sooner granted, but Jews and Gentiles set out with eager speed to gather wood for his execution. The intrepid martyr, with his hands tied behind him, was placed at the stake; heaps of wood and other combustibles were piled up around him. There, standing and fixing his eyes on heaven, he uttered a most fervent prayer to God. Scarce had he said Amen, when the impatient mob set fire to the pile. The fire quickly increased to a rapid flame. But behold, as eye-witnesses of the fact relate,* the flames rose in the form of an arch, gently encircling the body of the martyr, which appeared not like roasted flesh, but like purified gold brightly shining through the flames, and emitting a sweet odour, equal to the most fragrant spices. The savage infidels, vexed to see his body still standing and unconsumed, commanded a spear-man to pierce it, which he did, and such a quantity of blood issued from its left side as to quench the fire. The centurion, seeing a contest was likely to ensue about carrying off the body, kindled a fresh fire, and reduced the flesh to ashes. "We then took up the bones," say the writers of this record, "to us more precious than jewels, and deposited them decently in a place where we hope annually to meet and to celebrate with joy the birth-day of this illustrious martyr, that others may be animated by his example to endure the like trials." The heroic virtues of the Saints render their memory precious, and their relics sacred to the surviving brethren of their communion.

* Eusebius, Lib. iv.

SECTION IX. *The thundering Legion.*

THE flame of persecution spread from the east to the west. With A.D. 176. many others Pope Anicetus at Rome fell a sacrifice to its fury. St. Soter succeeded him. For ten years and upwards the Church had experienced an uninterrupted flow of sufferings and bloodshed, when God was pleased to interpose for the relief of his afflicted people. Aurelius had embarked in a war against the Sarmatæ and other hardy tribes of Germany, who were determined to make a stand for independent liberty, and for that purpose had collected a formidable force. More eager than prudent in his pursuits of conquest, the emperor hastily advanced into the dry and mountainous parts of Bohemia, where he must have perished with his whole army, for want of water, if the miraculous power of God had not saved him. The fact is related by Dion the historian,* who attributes the miracle to Mercury the Pagan deity. The memory of this prodigy is preserved at Rome to the present day, in bass-relief, on the Antonine column, which was then erected. The Romans are there represented with arms in their hands; the barbarians in confusion lie discomfited upon the ground, unable to face the storm of rain and hail which seems to pour down with impetuous violence upon them. The emperor, in a letter to the Roman senate, gave a full account of this wonderful event. To that letter Tertulian appeals in his Apology. Whether the letter which we find in some authors be the original letter of Aurelius or not, critics have their doubts. But in this letter the emperor thus relates the fact.

“We were in the middle of Germany,” says he, “hemmed in by mountains on one side, and on the other closely pressed by a formidable enemy, in numbers far superior to us. We were moreover fainting with thirst for want of water, which we had not tasted for five days. It was not possible to advance or retreat with any prospect of safety; to remain inactive was to perish by thirst. In this extremity I put up my fervent supplications to the gods for relief. The gods were deaf. I knew there were many Christians in the army. I called them round me, and commanded them to address the Deity I was a stranger to, in our behalf. We had hitherto been taught to look upon the Christians as an impious sect. We have been deceived. Justice forces us to believe, that they are in a special manner favoured by their God. For no sooner did they fall upon their knees and begin to pray, than a copious and refreshing rain showered down from heaven. But the rain, which was so refreshing to us, drove furiously against our enemies, like a tempest of hail accompanied with vivid flashes of lightning and dreadful claps of thunder.

“Wherefore, since the prayers of this people are so efficacious with the most powerful God they adore, let us grant to the Christians full liberty of professing themselves such, lest they employ their prayers against us. My will is, that their religion be no longer considered as a crime in them. On the account of religion there-

* Lib. lxxi.

fore, let none of them be henceforth accused, punished, or molested. Such is my will. My will likewise is, that the senate immediately form a decree to this effect, that the said decree be fixed up in the forum of Trajan, and a copy of it sent to all governors of provinces throughout the empire."

Such is said to be the purport of Aurelius's letter to the senate on this memorable event. The Christian soldiers, who by their prayers had rescued the Roman army from the brink of perishing for want of water, were either formed into a separate corps, distinguished by the name of the Thundering Legion, or incorporated with one which bore that name already.

SECTION X. *Martyrs of Lyons.*

THE late favourable decree of Aurelius and the Roman senate, encouraged many to become Christians, whom the dread A.D. 179. of tortures had hitherto kept at a distance. The number of converts gave umbrage to the pagan zealots. The prejudices of a superstitious populace were easily stimulated into acts of violence. The infernal enemy of man could not calmly see his own empire falling, and the empire of Jesus Christ rising on its ruins. By his malicious machinations, new disturbances against the Christians, and new persecutions began. After a three years peace the bloody sword was again unsheathed; Gaul, the scene of action, flowed with the blood of martyrs. Persecution is ever uniform in the injustice of her proceedings against truth. She first calumniates the innocent objects of her malice to make them odious, she then condemns and punishes them as real criminals, so pronounced by her iniquitous tribunals. In that manner the heathens proceeded against the Christians of Lyons, where the Gospel had gained many proselytes. They propagated the odious slanders, which were already current in other parts of the empire, that the Christians in their religious assemblies committed the most shameful impurities, and then feasted upon the flesh of a slaughtered infant.

Irritated by these slanderous reports, which the ignorant mob believed to be true, the idolatrous citizens of Lyons commenced a dreadful persecution. It was no longer safe for a known Christian to be seen in public. Many of the most distinguished either for their rank or piety, were dragged before the magistrate and cast into prison. Amongst these was the venerable bishop Pothinus, near a hundred years old. Age had not extinguished in him the vigour of youth, when called upon to give testimony of his faith. He was for some time left to the mercy of an exasperated rabble, that loaded him with every kind of insult and outrage. They beat, they kicked, they wounded him in a most barbarous manner, when he was rescued scarce alive from their murderous hands to be thrown into a dungeon, where he died of his wounds two days after.

Magistrates and people seem to have been equally hardened against every feeling of humanity: they singled out eight and forty of their Christian prisoners, whom they wantonly devoted to the most shocking torments. Their modes of torture were so multiplied, and strained to such excess, that many actually expired under them.

Some were stretched upon the rack and disjoined in every limb, while their flesh was torn away with iron hooks to the very bone, and heated plates of brass were applied to their sides and other parts, so that the whole body was but one continued wound. In that state they were carried back to prison, to undergo the same torments next day. Some were thrown to wild beasts, some tossed and gored by mad bulls, and others compelled to sit in red-hot chairs of iron till they were roasted almost to death, for the savage amusement of barbarous heathens. Yet not a single groan was heard, and no complaint was uttered by any of these illustrious champions amidst all their sufferings: with invincible fortitude they persisted in the combat, till the sword put a happy period to their pains. The rage of their persecutors was not satiated; but their malice was confounded to see itself defeated, and the religion of Jesus Christ triumphant in the death of his martyrs. Blandina, a servant-maid, distinguished herself in a most conspicuous manner among the rest, by the undaunted courage with which she met and overcame the most dreadful torments.

The inhumanity of the pagans extended even to the dead. They cast the bodies of these blessed martyrs to the dogs; then gathering up the mangled remains, they committed them to the flames, and threw their ashes into the Rhone, to prevent the Faithful from paying them that honour which they knew was paid by Christians to other martyrs. A detailed narrative of the bloody scenes exhibited in this persecution is given in a letter which the church of Lyons wrote to their brethren of Asia. The short account here given is extracted from that authentic letter.

SECTION XI. *Other Martyrs of Gaul.*

FROM Lyons the faith had spread to the neighbouring parts of Gaul: thither the flame of persecution likewise spread, and put the constancy of the new proselytes to a fiery trial. These faithful followers of their crucified Lord, displayed a courage worthy of themselves and of the religion they had embraced. The city of Lyons had the honour of adding two noble youths to their list. Epipodius and Alexander, two gentlemen of that city, both in the flower of their age, were inseparable friends from the time they finished their studies in the same school. Religion had spiritualized their friendship: the study and practice of all Christian virtues had fitted them out for martyrdom. Finding themselves denounced to the Roman governor, they secretly left the city, and retired to a neighbouring village, where they lay concealed for a time in the house of a poor Christian widow. Being at last discovered, they were arrested, and without any previous examination committed to prison. Three days after, they were brought, with their hands tied behind them, before the governor's tribunal. There, at the very first question, they professed themselves Christians without disguise and without fear: loud murmurs of the people rose on every side: the judge in anger exclaimed—"To what purpose have the rack and other tortures been employed, if hardened wretches still dare to transgress our laws, and profess the name of

Christ?" Then, lest each other's presence might encourage them to resist, he ordered Alexander, the elder of the two, to be led back to prison, hoping to gain Epipodius by caresses and fair promises.

In the language of a false deluded world he thus addressed him: "Epipodius, it ill becomes you to be thus obstinate in throwing away your life. We adore the immortal gods, whom the emperors and all the world adore. We adore them with joy, with festivity, and public diversions. You adore a crucified Man, with whom your very homage finds not acceptance, if accompanied with sensual delights. Quit this *misplaced* severity for the sweet enjoyments of life, which better suit your age and rank." Epipodius replied: "The compassion you affect to shew me, is cruelty in fact. It tends to destroy me for ever: I shall not suffer myself to be seduced. To you the mysteries of God are not known. You know not that Jesus Christ, whom in contempt you call the crucified Man, is likewise God: he is again risen from the dead, and has opened to his faithful servants the gate of heavenly bliss. This perhaps is a language you do not understand. I will then tell you what you cannot but understand, that man is composed of two substances, a body, and a soul. With us Christians, the soul commands, as being the most noble of the two: the body is subservient. The brutal pleasures you indulge in honour of your pretended deities, flatter indeed your corporeal senses, but they kill the soul. We, on the contrary, lay our sensual appetites under due restraint, that the soul may live and maintain her empire. You, after having defiled yourselves with abominations, like brute beasts, find nothing at last but a sorrowful death, whilst we joyfully pass through the short sufferings you heap upon us into life everlasting.

The judge, being exasperated at this reply, ordered him to be struck upon the mouth, then stretched upon the rack, to be torn with iron hooks, and finally beheaded. Two days after he called Alexander to the bar. He began to try his constancy, by relating to him the torments that Epipodius had undergone, hoping that the dread of undergoing the like might terrify him into a compliance. The relation only served to animate the zeal of Alexander, and to quicken his desire of being soon united to his friend by martyrdom. The judge, swelling with rage to see himself baffled, sentenced him to be first tortured and then crucified. The tortures which the intrepid martyr underwent were so violent that his entrails appeared through his uncovered ribs, and his bones hung as if they were all broken or dislocated. Spent with pain, he was no sooner fastened to the cross, than he gave up his soul to Christ, whom he never ceased to invoke as long as he had strength to speak.

A similar example of Christian fortitude was exhibited about the same time at Autun, by another noble youth, called Symphorianus. This zealous young man had expressed his abhorrence of the superstitious honours paid to Cybele, a pagan goddess. He was apprehended and carried before the governor, a fiery zealot for the worship of his false gods, and lately come with a full determination to exterminate every Christian in the place. Seeing Symphorianus standing before his tribunal, "How is it," said he to him, "that thou hast eluded my vigilance? I thought I had cleared the city of

all those who call themselves Christians. Tell me, why thou refusest to adore the great Cybele?" "I am a Christian," replied Symphorianus. "I adore but one God, who reigns in heaven. Your idol is an invention of the evil spirit, a deceitful artifice for the destruction of souls." The judge said: "Art thou ignorant of the imperial mandate, which makes it death for all who refuse to worship the gods?" "I only fear the supreme omnipotent God, who has created me," answered the intrepid youth, "him only do I worship. My body is at your disposal; not so my soul. I fear not death. My God has given me life; my duty is to give it to him back again, whenever he demands it. He is the rewarder of virtue, as well as the punisher of vice. I never can receive the heavenly rewards of virtue but by my perseverance in the glorious confession of his holy name. All earthly goods are borne away by time as by a rapid torrent. Nothing under the sun is permanent. Permanent happiness is the gift of God alone. The glory and the happiness he bestows is eternal like himself. The beginning of his existence no antiquity the most remote has ever seen, and no succession of ages shall ever see it end." The judge grew angry at such discourse; and as the holy youth persisted in his refusal of worshipping the gods, condemned him to be beheaded.

These attested cruelties of a persecution, either encouraged or connived at by a philosophic emperor, in contradiction to his own decree, show how little the most flattering promises of a capricious world are to be relied on. By an unprincipled and self-interested world how soon are the most signal services forgot, or repaid with ingratitude! But Aurelius perhaps is not to be directly charged with the whole blame. The sanguinary edicts of Nero and Domitian not being recalled, they were liable to be enforced at every popular commotion, or at the will of any whimsical governor of a province. On this account the rod of persecution seldom ceased from being felt in some part or other of the Roman empire. Pope Anicetus, and Soter his successor, suffered in Rome itself.

SECTION XII. *Lucius, King of Great Britain.*

MARCUS AURELIUS died in 180, and was succeeded by his son A. D. 183. Commodus, a profligate and giddy prince, in the twentieth year of his age. Under the benign influence of the late emperor's edict against persecution, the Christian faith began to shoot forth its branches in the island of Great Britain. That kingdom though subdued in great part by the Roman arms, and reduced to a tributary province, was still permitted to retain its ancient laws and internal mode of government, under the protection of Rome. From the reign of Claudius to that of Commodus, a free and frequent intercourse had been open between the two countries. Of the Britons who went to Rome, many, as it seems, became acquainted with the principles of Christianity, which they carried back into their own country.

St. Timotheus, the son of Pudens, a Roman senator, and of Claudia, a British lady, both mentioned by St. Paul,* had been or-

* 2 Tim. iv. 21.

dained priest by Pope Pius I. and sent to teach the faith in Briton. St. Marcellus, a Briton by birth, and afterwards bishop of Treves, had also preached the gospel to his countrymen. St. Joseph of Arimathea, with eleven Christian companions, is said, on plausible authority, though denied by others, to have landed in our island, and to have settled in a place called Avallonia, where Glastonbury now stands. But be this as it may, it is certain from ancient authors, that the Gospel had found its way into Great Britain before the reign of King Lucius, although no Bishop and no regular Church had been yet established.

Lucius, surnamed Pius, on account of his good qualities, was the son of Coilus, who reigned under the emperor Trajan and his successor Adrian to the year 123. By frequently conversing with Christians, Lucius had imbibed a favourable opinion of their doctrines, and being now king under no control, was inclined to embrace them. The good disposition of his subjects, and the late edict for religious toleration, published by Aurelius, seconded his inclination. Commodus was too busily engaged in youthful frolics and amusements, to think of persecuting men for their religion. Lucius therefore deputed two of his subjects, named Eluan, and Meduan, to St. Eleutherius at Rome, who had lately succeeded St. Soter in St. Peter's chair.

"Some sceptics have affected to doubt," says Mr. Camden, "whether such a man as king Lucius ever existed; but the fact is so well ascertained against them, as to put it out of dispute." Then speaking of king Lucius, he says, "This prince, as we find in the ancient reports and lives of martyrs usually read in the Churches, admiring the integrity and holiness of the Christians, sent Eluanus and Meduanus, two Britons, to Pope Eleutherius, entreating him, that he and his subjects might be instructed in the Christian religion. Upon this the Pope immediately dispatched certain holy men thither, namely, Fugatius and Damianus, with letters, which are yet extant."

Fugatius and Damianus were Roman clergymen, well qualified with piety and learning for the important business they were sent upon. They went in company with the British envoys Meduan and Eluan, the latter of whom had been ordained bishop during his stay at Rome. These holy missionaries immediately repaired to the royal palace, where they found the king and queen piously disposed, and waiting for instruction. They instructed and solemnly baptized them both. This memorable event happened in the year 183. The nobility, the Druids, the people, flocked round in crowds to follow their sovereign's example. Many of the Druids were men of learning, and after their conversion became virtuous ministers of the church. The idols of the gods were pulled down, their altars overturned, and their temples consecrated into Christian Churches.

Great Britain had thus the honour of being governed by the first Christian king, and was happy above all other countries in publicly professing the Christian faith by royal authority. This faith, as venerable Bede,* and all ancient writers unanimously affirm, she re-

* Lib. I.

ceived from the Roman See, and preserved inviolate till the Saxon conquest. In opposition to these respectable authorities, the centuriators of Magdeburgh, four devoted enemies of Rome, have ventured on their own credit to assert, that Great Britain never received her faith from Rome, but from Jerusalem, or from Greece, or from some oriental teachers independent of, and unconnected with the Roman See. To give some show of plausibility to their groundless assertion, they recur to arbitrary suppositions, and to vague conjectures, drawn from posterior facts, which prove nothing. The assertion, however, though destitute of proof, has been loudly echoed by their anti-catholic brethren of England, by a Matthew Parker, by the apostate Bale, by a Francis Godwin, a John Speed, and other Cisalpine favourers of schism. Suppositions and conjectures are but frothy arguments against the concurrent testimonies of preceding ages. To establish a fact of such importance, and at such a distance of time, when all the world was prepossessed with a contrary opinion, it was incumbent on them to adduce positive and undeniable evidence for its support. This they have not done, whence we fairly may conclude they could not.—On no authentic record, and in no ancient author does it appear, nor dare they determine from what particular country these pretended oriental teachers came, at what time they came, by what name they were known, and by whom they were sent.

SECTION XIII. *Progress of Christianity in Great Britain.*

THREE years after their arrival, the holy prelates, Fugatius and A. D. 188. Damianus, went back to Rome, as Matthew of Westminster relates, and reported to Eleutherius the success of their mission. Eleutherius approved of all they had done, and sent them back, with many others, whose names and acts are recorded by St. Gildas, a British historian, in his book of the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius. By the doctrine and zeal of these apostolical missionaries, religion began to shine through the island. Three episcopal sees were erected, at London, at York, and in the middle part of the kingdom; priests were ordained for the administration of the holy sacraments, churches were consecrated for the divine service, public and private schools were opened for the instruction of youth, a regular form, in fine, of ecclesiastical discipline, conformable to that of Rome, was established and sanctioned by St. Eleutherius the Roman Pontiff, as king Lucius had requested.

In no article of faith, and in no point of public discipline did the British Church at that time differ from the Roman See. The rule followed by Rome in the observance of Easter was then followed by Great Britain, and when she afterwards deviated from that rule, it was through ignorance, in consequence of a mistake borrowed from the Scots, who erred in calculating the time. But her mistake in that respect led her into a practice, which equally differed from that of Asia, as from that of Rome. Asia kept Easter day on the fourteenth day of the vernal equinoctial moon, whatever might be the day of the week. Britain, even after her mistake, kept it always upon a Sunday, though not always upon the same Sunday with Rome.—Such being the fact, we should scarce believe, did we not read in

their writings, that men famed for learning could advance it as an argument, that Great Britain received her faith from the east, because she once differed from the west in her observance of Easter-day. To form their argument they should first have proved, that she received the practice with her faith, and that her practice was the same as that of Asia. But it happens unfortunately for them, that Great Britain erred in the observance of Easter long after she had received the faith, and that when she erred, her error essentially differed from that of Asia.

To establish an uniformity in the celebration of Easter-day throughout the Church, had long been the wish and endeavour of the Roman Pontiffs. Our blessed Redeemer had risen from the dead upon a Sunday: in memory of that glorious mystery the Jewish Sabbath had been altered from Saturday to the Sunday by ecclesiastical authority; after which it seemed absurd to celebrate the feast of the Resurrection on any other day than a Sunday. A charitable consideration for the Jews had first given rise to the toleration in Asia; the motive for that toleration was now completely done away by the ruin of the Jewish nation; the continuation of it began to cause scandal among the Faithful; by some it was condemned as a blot in ecclesiastical discipline.

For these reasons St. Victor, the good and zealous successor of Eleutherius in 192, began to exert himself in the affair of Easter with greater vigour than any of his predecessors. But before he proceeded to an absolute decision of the question, he dispatched letters to the provincial churches, desiring the bishops to assemble and to give him their opinion upon the matter. Conformably to his desire the bishops assembled in their respective provinces, in Gaul, in Pontus, at Rome, at Cæsarea, in Palestine, at Corinth, at Ephesus, and in other parts of the empire. In every place, except Ephesus, there was but one opinion, and this opinion was, that the Roman custom of celebrating Easter upon the Sunday was sanctioned by apostolical authority and apostolical tradition, and ought to be observed by all. From this general opinion of the bishops, Polycrates, the bishop of Ephesus, thought proper to dissent. He grounded his dissent upon the practice of his pious predecessors, nor could he by any argument or reason be prevailed upon to abandon a practice which he found established in his Church. His authority induced some other bishops of Asia Minor to retain the same practice. Their obstinacy gave great offence: Victor apprehended from what he had seen in Rome, least their conduct might prove the cause of schism in the Church, and was inclined to pronounce severe censures against them on that account. Judaic prejudices, it seems, were not yet worn away; the time was not yet come for enforcing an uniformity in the celebration of Easter through the universal Church. St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, interfered in the name of the bishops of Gaul, and strongly represented to the holy Father, that in the present dispute severe censures were likely to produce more harm than good. Upon this Victor prudently desisted from all further proceedings, and Ephesus and some few churches of Asia Minor were quietly left in possession of their former practice, till the question was finally decided in the general Council of Nice.

SECTION XIV. *View of Catholic Doctrine in the Second Century.*

FOR vouchers of the doctrine held and taught by the Catholic Church in the second century, we have the holy Fathers A. D. 200. who lived and wrote during that period; and their writings have been faithfully handed down to the present times. We have the genuine writings of St. Ignatius, second bishop of Antioch after St. Peter, we have the epistle of St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, both disciples of St. John the apostle and evangelist; we have the apologies of St. Justin, we have the instructive and eloquent compositions of St. Clement, a learned priest of Alexandria, we have the works of Tertullian, the treatise of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, all writers of the second century. In that age, Tertullian assures us, that the one, the true, the orthodox faith of Christ, triumphed in Britain, in Spain, in Dacia, in Scythia, and other countries inaccessible to the Roman arms. From the testimony of these writers we learn, that the doctrine of the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the holy Eucharist, the sacrifice of the Mass, the veneration of saints, and prayers for the faithful departed, were articles of that orthodox faith which then so widely triumphed.

For the instruction of his own and all succeeding times, St. Irenæus composed a treatise, divided into five books, wherein he specifies the prominent points of Catholic belief, and refutes the various heresies which at different times had infested the Church from the days of Simon the magician to the fall of Tatian. Irenæus had learned his principles of faith from St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John: he was an accomplished scholar, an acute observer, as Tertullian testifies, and a judicious critic. His virtues raised him to the episcopal See of Lyons after the death of Pothinus. By a glorious martyrdom under Severus, he confirmed the doctrines which he had learned and taught. His doctrines are primitive, drawn from the apostolical source of truth; his testimony is above all exception, it perfectly agrees with that of his cotemporaries, as the reader may observe by the short extracts made above from Ignatius and Justin.

As the groundwork of true religion, this venerable author begins by asserting against all unbelievers, that there is a God, one only supreme self-existing Being, eternal and omnipotent; that in God there are three divine persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, really distinguished from one another, yet making but one and the same God; that by this God the world has been created, and that from him we receive every necessary help for salvation: that the eternal Son is become incarnate for our redemption, without which we could not have been cleansed from the sin entailed upon us by the disobedience of our first parents; that from the time of his incarnation he is both God and Man, Jesus Christ by name, truly Lord and truly God, as the Scriptures testify: that he took flesh not from Joseph, but from the Virgin Mary only; that he suffered a real death upon the cross; that at his last supper, on the eve before his death, he left to us, by a wonderful institution, his real Body and Blood for the spiritual nourishment of our souls in the holy Eucharist; that this is the Christian sacrifice, the pure victim,

and clean oblation, which the Church daily offers up to God from the rising to the setting of the sun, as the prophet Malachias long ago foretold.* In confirmation of these doctrines, which the Apostles taught, he mentions the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which were still visible, and the miraculous powers, which were then frequent, and which no dissenting sectaries ever presumed to claim.

Against the various heresies that disgraced the Christian name, he opposes the uniform doctrine of the Catholic Church, universally spread through the eastern and western hemisphere, every where shining like the sun, and enlightening all with the same rays of divine faith. This unity of faith he proves from scripture, but more forcibly from apostolical tradition. The obscure and figurative passages of holy writ are liable to a wrong construction, as he justly observes, and false teachers, by the arbitrary interpretations of private judgment, had actually wrested them to their own perverse purposes. But by tradition he shows, that the true sense of scripture was clearly ascertained, and in the Church never could be otherwise than rightly understood. "The Apostles," says he, "undoubtedly understood the doctrines which they had distinctly heard from the mouth of their divine master Jesus Christ. Those doctrines, which the sacred penmen were inspired to write, they fully explained and delivered to their successors in the ministry, that is, to those orthodox ministers who were successively appointed to instruct and govern the Faithful in the business of salvation. Consequently no new doctrine can be started, and no new tenet introduced, without being perceived and censured by those vigilant pastors who preside in the Church."

"The See of Rome," continues the enlightened bishop, "is the seat and centre of unity; it is the chief and most eminent of all others; it is known by all nations; it was founded by St. Peter; there St. Paul preached, and there they both shed their blood.—With that See, on account of its powerful primacy, every orthodox See, that is to say, the whole body of Catholics wherever situated, whether in Egypt, in Libya, in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, or Gaul, is in communion. In that See the tradition of the Apostles is faithfully preserved, as all true believers witness, and the succession of its bishops, from St. Peter to Eleutherius manifestly shows. To that supreme See every doubtful question of belief and discipline is usually referred; and by the decisions of that See, heresy is either silenced or confounded."

Such is the exposition of primitive doctrine, which Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, has given us in his book against heresies. He wrote it in Greek, for he was a Greek by birth. Of the several sectaries that sprung up in the second century, the most noted were the Montanists, and the Tatianists, called the Encratitæ, or the continent, because they condemned marriage as no less criminal than adultery. The first are so named from Montanus, a new convert in Mysia, who aspiring to ecclesiastical preferment, and being disappointed in his ambitious views, commenced false prophet, and preached against the Church. He proudly set himself above the

* Chap. i.

Apostles, affecting an austere life, and denied that the Church had power to forgive the sins of idolatry, of murder, and impurity. Tatian, the father of the Encratitæ, was a Syrian by birth, a Platonic philosopher by profession, and had been a disciple of St. Justin. He taught some time at Rome, then returning into Syria, he there broached his errors, which he chiefly borrowed from Marcion, Valentinus, and Saturninus, teaching two principles, and asserting that the Creator is the evil spirit of God. In consecrating the Eucharist he would have nothing used but water, because he condemned the use of wine entirely, as likewise the use of flesh meat. The ancients observe that Tatian's fall was owing to his pride.

To conclude the view of Catholic doctrine in the second century, there is one article both of practice and belief, mentioned by Tertullian, which claims particular notice; it is the article of praying for the Dead. On this subject Tertullian thus writes : * “ We make oblations for the Dead on the anniversary of their departure. This practice, though not found in Scripture, is authorized by tradition, confirmed by custom, and observed by faith.” This charitable and religious practice necessarily includes the belief of a Purgatory, or of a middle state of souls after their departure out of this world. For to none, but such as are in a state of purgation before they are admitted to the beatic vision, can our oblations be of any avail. They in heaven are completely happy, and want nothing; they in hell can never be released from fiery prison, to which they are condemned for ever without hope of the least relief.

* De cor. militis.

Third Century.

SECTION I. *Fifth Persecution under Severus.*

FROM the death of Aurelius in 180, the Church enjoyed a free exercise of religion for upwards of twenty years, during A. D. 202. the successive reigns of Commodus and Pertinax, and the seven first years of that of Severus. The reign of Pertinax was short, his death tragical, like that of his predecessors. Several competitors for the crown then started up; Severus supplanted them all by his activity, and by securing a decree of the Senate, firmly seated himself in the imperial throne. For the first seven years of his reign he was thought to be no enemy of the Christians: he had even shown some marks of kindness towards them; when, without the least provocation, or any apparent reason, he published the most sanguinary edicts, severely forbidding them to hold their religious assemblies, and to profess the name of Christ. A dreadful persecution immediately commenced in Egypt, in Gaul, and Africa, which was carried on with such violence, that the Faithful fancied the time of Antichrist was come. Thousands were sacrificed in Egypt by a variety of torments, many of them by a slow fire. Potamiana, a beautiful female slave, was let down by slow degrees into a vessel of boiling pitch, so that her martyrdom was prolonged with piercing pain to three full hours, before life was extinguished. She had the offer of purchasing her life at the expence of her chastity, but the grace of Jesus Christ gloriously triumphed in her virtuous perseverance, to the admiration of all who were witnesses of her sufferings.

In Gaul the storm fell peculiarly heavy. Severus having observed that the number of Christians was surprisingly increased at Lyons, ordered troops to surround the town, that none might escape, while others broke into the houses, and without exception butchered all who professed themselves Christians. The streets ran with Christian blood. The venerable bishop Irenæus was sacrificed with the rest, who are said to have been nineteen thousand in number, besides women and children. The tyrant boasted, that he had at once dispatched the pastor and all his flock.

From Lyons the persecution spread with equal violence to Carthage. Then, for the first time, was the sword unsheathed in Africa against the Christian name. Twelve chosen confessors, charged with no other crime than that of being Christians, were carried before the tribunal of Saturninus the pro-consul. The accusation being lodged in form, the pro-consul told them, that it was in their power to gain the emperor's good graces at an easy rate, with a few grains of incense burnt in honour of the immortal gods, and that not to do it would be a crime of disobedience to the imperial laws. The martyrs answered, that they were by principle submissive to the laws, as far as the civil power was concerned: that they were ready to

obey the emperor in every thing that derogated not from the honour and obedience which is due to God, the sovereign Lord of all things; that they adored him alone, and could adore no other. The judge peremptorily sentenced them all to be beheaded.

Six more of the same city, four young men and two married women, in the flower of youth, were denounced on the same charge of being Christians. These were called Perpetua and Felicitas; the first was of noble birth, and had an infant at her breast, the latter was eight months gone with child. No regard was had either for their sex or for the delicate situation they were in. The unfeeling judge condemned them to be exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre, for the barbarous entertainment of an African mob. They were confined in prison till the day came for their execution. In the interim they earnestly joined in prayer, that Felicitas might be first brought to bed before the day of combat. Their prayers were heard; she was safely delivered of a daughter, whom a Christian woman undertook to nurse with the same care as if it were her own. Perpetua had more conflicts than one to undergo. She had the tender feelings of a mother to sacrifice, in being torn from her sucking infant; she had the alternate grief and anger, the reproaches and entreaties of a Pagan father to contend with; she had the terror of being mangled and devoured alive by wild beasts constantly upon her mind. But God, the sole object of her hope and love, comforted and strengthened her by his special grace. The day of combat was now at hand; the jailor summoned the blessed martyrs to prepare; they went joyfully from their dark dungeons to the amphitheatre, as to the field of triumph. When they came to the gate, the guards offered them superstitious habits, according to custom, to the men a red mantle, usually worn by the priests of Saturn; to the women a white fillet to be tied round the head, which would have marked them for priestesses of Ceres. They scornfully rejected the superstitious trappings of idolatry, and the tribune consented to let them pass on in their own dress. Different kinds of savage animals were let loose upon the men; Perpetua and Felicitas were tossed by a wild cow. They received no mortal hurt; but as they survived the combat, appointed gladiators hacked them to death; their bodies sunk down, by repeated wounds; their souls in triumph rose to the mansions of eternal bliss.

SECTION II. *Tertullian.*

DURING the fury of this persecution, Tertullian, a learned priest A.D. 207. of Carthage, published an Apology, which was considered as a master-piece of eloquence, in support of the Christian religion. He begins with a pathetic complaint, that the Christians were condemned to insufferable torments without being allowed to speak in their own defence, a privilege never refused to the most criminal malefactors among the heathens. In answer to the reproach thrown upon them for not adoring the gods of the empire, Tertullian brings to light the base origin of those Pagan deities, exposes the absurdity of their worship, and the indecency of their ceremonies, and then in a flow of brilliant eloquence, expatiates

upon the noble, the holy and sublime prerogatives of the Christian religion.

“The object of the Christian worship,” says he, “is the one only God, who by his omnipotence has drawn the universe out of nothing, who by his wisdom has arranged it in the beauteous order we behold, who by his providence preserves and governs it through all its parts, according to that harmonious system which he first ordained. The wonderful works we admire in nature, the earth, the sea, the sun, the stars and firmament of heaven, proclaim the glory, the power and the wisdom of this supreme Being. This is the God who has given the most authentic testimony of himself both by word and work. He is the God who privileges some of his adorers with the gift of miracles in confirmation of the truths he has revealed. He is the God who inspired the ancient Prophets to foretel the secrets of future times, as appears in their sacred writings. The authenticity of these writings cannot be called in doubt; it is acknowledged by our enemies the Jews: the writings themselves are in their hands, they are regularly read by them in their synagogues. The antiquity of these writings cannot be contested. Moses, the first of these inspired penmen, lived long before any mention was made of a Greek or a Roman author. The Prophets, who came after him, are as ancient as your first legislators, and your first historians. The accomplishment of their predictions, which could not be then subject to human foresight, not only proves the inspiration to have been divine, but also vouches that the revelation is undisputably true. Amongst other remarkable events predicted in these prophetic writings, is the fatal catastrophe which we have seen befall the Jewish people, the once cherished people of the most high God. The total ruin of their city, and the dispersion of their whole nation, in the very manner it was foretold, visibly mark the avenging hand of divine justice, and verify the prophecy. By the Roman arms they are stripped of their national existence, as the prophet Daniel had predicted above five hundred years before it happened; they are driven like herds of slaves from their native soil; they are thrown into a deep and lasting gulph of desolation; they wander through the world without laws, without a settlement, without protection, without an altar, without sacrifice.

“The same divine oracles that foretold the extirpation of the Jewish nation, likewise indicate a more faithful race of believers, whom God had decreed to gather to himself out of all nations under the sun, and to make his heirs to those choice blessings which the Jews had ungratefully rejected. These faithful believers are the converted Gentiles, who obedient to the divine call forsake their idols and profess the faith and law of Jesus Christ, the founder of the Christian religion.” The mention of Jesus Christ leads the learned writer to tell his heathen readers who Jesus Christ is, to declare his divine and human nature, his eternal existence, before all ages, and his temporal assumption of mortal flesh in the womb of a pure virgin, as the prophet Isaiah had announced to the world about seven hundred years before that supernatural event took place. “The event,” says he, “is of too mysterious a nature to be foreseen, or even to enter the thought of man, unless by divine inspiration. Jerusalem and all Judea witnessed the visible humanity of the Son

of God; his miracles and resurrection from the tomb evince his divinity beyond a doubt. The circumstances attending his death," continues the Apologist, "appeared so wonderful to the Pagans, that Pontius Pilate wrote a full account of them to Tiberius Cæsar, that the account was deposited in the Roman archives, and that Tiberius would have professed himself a Christian, had it been compatible with his temporal interest."

Having thus established the Christian system of religion on its own divine basis, Tertullian next proceeds to refute the slanders urged by Pagans against his Christian brethren. He states the respectability of their numbers in the towns, in the villages, in the fields, in the army, in their ships, and in the senate itself. He then makes a solemn appeal to the public at large, and with confidence defies them to prove any criminal charge against the fidelity of Christians to their sovereign, against their submission to the civil laws of the empire, or against their moral conduct and general deportment with respect to the duties of social life: from whence he concludes how unjustifiable it must be to persecute, to torture, and to kill such unoffending subjects merely for their religion.

Such in substance is the apology which Tertullian composed and sent to the Roman provincial governors. The storm of persecution relented soon after, but whether to the apology or to some other cause that is to be attributed, we cannot affirm. Happy for the author would it have been, had he persevered in the sentiments which he has so happily expressed. But with all his eminent qualities, Tertullian wanted humility; erudition made him proud. His harsh and stubborn temper hurried him into a system of severity repugnant to the gospel. He fell into the errors of Montanus concerning the unlawfulness of second marriages, and the exclusion of certain sinners from the grace of repentance. These errors had been condemned by St. Zephyrinus the successor of Victor, and the condemnation was received almost universally by the bishops in the provinces. This provoked the spleen of Tertullian, who felt himself wounded by the censure. He grew violent and refractory. Sullen resentment prompted him to debase his style in insolent invective against his ecclesiastical superiors. He is thought to have died in his errors, anno 216, a melancholy example of obstinate, self-sufficient pride. He was married, but lived continent, after he took holy orders.

SECTION III. *Sixth Persecution under Maximin.*

FROM the barbarous occupation of persecuting harmless Christians, A.D. 237. Severus was suddenly called to provide for the preservation of one of his most distant provinces. The Caledonians, a fierce and restless race of savages, inhabiting the northern part of our island, had poured down like a torrent from the mountains into that part of Great Britain which was subject to the Romans. The governor had not a sufficient force at hand to oppose them, nor had the Britons any native prince invested with authority to collect and head the national troops against the common enemy. For king Lucius was then dead, without issue and

without a successor. The governor informed Severus of the critical situation he was in, and moreover added, that a strong body of men, commanded by the emperor in person, would be necessary to drive back the invaders. Severus, naturally fond of military achievements, adopted the governor's advice, and crossed the sea with a powerful army into Britain. His two sons, Antoninus Caracalla and Geta, accompanied him in that expedition. The Caledonians he routed and pursued, though with great loss of men, into their mountains and extreme recesses of the island, as Dion, a cotemporary historian relates. To guard against their predatory incursions for the future, he ordered a stone-wall with turrets at certain distances to be built quite across the island from one sea to the other: it is called the Picts' wall, of which some remains are to be seen at this day.

But Severus had more dangerous enemies to guard against, in his two sons, whom he designed for his joint heirs and successors in the throne. These unprincipled youths, being eager to grasp the sceptre, made several attempts upon their father's life. Their unnatural conduct so shocked the aged emperor, already worn down with infirmity and gout, that he sickened at the thought, and soon after died at York in 213. The poet Claudian's remark, that majesty and friendship never well agree, nor continue long together upon the same throne, was strictly exemplified in the two imperial brothers, Caracalla and Geta. Their ambition could not rest while some greater honour was in view. Each sought to reign alone, at the expense of the other's life. Scarce had they reached Rome, when Caracalla procured his brother's death by the hand of an assassin. At the end of four years, he himself met with the same bloody fate from the dagger of Macrinus, commander of the guards. Macrinus enjoyed his ill-gotten crown but one year, when being slain by his own soldiers, he made room for his son Antoninus Heliogabalus. The execrable impurities of this emperor rendered him odious to all mankind. After a short and infamous reign, his guards murdered and threw him into the Tiber. Alexander Severus, his cousin-german, a prince of amiable qualities, and friendly to the Christian religion, succeeded him in the year 224.

Although this emperor gave no encouragement to persecution, yet by connivance many suffered martyrdom under his reign, amongst whom St. Cecilia and Pope Callistus, the successor of St. Zephyrinus, are found in some ancient records. Callistus is said to have confirmed, by a special decree, the fast of ember days, which, by apostolical tradition, had hitherto been piously observed four times in the year, without any written law to enforce it. He was succeeded in the pontificate by Urbanus, whom the Centuriators of Magdeburg commend for his learning and sanctity of life. He crowned his other virtues by martyrdom, and had for his successor St. Pontianus. The emperor Alexander, after having triumphed over the Persians, marched with an army against the Germans, who had revolted. There, by the contrivance of Maximin, who had gained the goodwill of the army, he was treacherously slain.

Maximin was by birth a Thracian, a shepherd by profession; by his savage courage he had risen to the first military honours; his

fierce and bulky stature made the soldiers look up to him as a chief worthy of the empire. Being naturally cruel, and now raised above all control, he published a bloody edict against the Christians, to whose tolerated worship of Jesus Christ he stupidly attributed the late calamities that had befallen the empire. He pointed not his shafts against the great body of Christians, who were grown too numerous to be marked out for slaughter without depopulating the towns and country, as it happened to Severus in the merciless massacre he made at Lyons. Maximin directed his malice against those who held any distinctive rank in the Church, not doubting but the people would be easily gained, when deprived of their pastors and teachers. The storm then chiefly fell upon the clergy. Pope Pontianus and his successor Anterus are in the list of those who suffered. St. Fabianus then succeeded to suffer in his turn.

The blood-thirsty emperor extended his cruelty likewise to his pagan subjects. They submitted not so tamely to his oppressive despotism as the Christians had done; the senate had ventured to throw out their discontents against the emperor and the army; the people caught the spirit of revolt; seditions broke out in Italy and Africa; the town of Aquileia openly rebelled. Maximin hastened from Germany to reduce that important place again to his obedience. He besieged it in form: the citizens made a vigorous resistance: the troops at last tired with the length and hardships of the siege mutinied and slew the tyrant. They placed Gordianus, a youth only sixteen years of age, upon the throne; the senate servilely confirmed the election. With Maximin the persecution ceased in 240, after it had lasted three years.

SECTION IV. *Seventh Persecution under Decius.*

THE Church enjoyed the free exercise of religion during the two A.D. 253. reigns of Gordianus and Philip. Philip gained the crown by imbruing his hands in the blood of his sovereign, the young Gordianus, and lost it again in the same murderous manner by the hand of his son Decius. Philip is said by some to have been a Christian, but the fact appears not to be sufficiently authenticated. Decius from the moment he mounted the throne, seemed fully bent upon the extirpation of Christianity from the empire. He directed an edict for that wicked purpose to all the provincial governors, who with no less eagerness than inhumanity concurred in the diabolical design. Various arts of extermination were devised and executed against the servants of God. Against the less fervent every lascivious entisement was tried to seduce them first into vice, and then into apostasy. Lingerin but painful modes of death were practiced upon the less robust, while every instrument of torture was exhibited to break and subdue the strong. Prisons, stripes, fire, wild beasts, melted wax, boiling pitch, red hot pincers, racks, and iron hooks to tear the flesh from the bones, were employed at once to torment and to kill. In Africa, in Italy, in Egypt, and the East, the persecution seems to have been most severely felt. The number of those who generously expired for their faith on this occasion exceeds all calculation, according to Nicephorus the historian. The most distinguished

names we meet with among the glorious sufferers are Fabianus, the bishop of Rome, Alexander of Jerusalem, and Babylas of Antioch. At Smyrna a holy priest, named Pionius, was nailed to a post and burned alive. At Alexandria many in like manner finished their course by fire.

Terrified at the sight of their tortured brethren, and diffident of their own courage, many fled from the towns and cities to hide themselves in the uninhabited deserts of Egypt, choosing rather to dwell with wild beasts than with more ferocious men. Among these was a young man called Paul, who preferring solitude to a noisy life, even when the persecution was over, became the patriarch of an eremitical tribe of saints, and lived to a great age. Others of the episcopal order retired for a time from the field of danger, not through fear of suffering, but on the motive of charity, that they might be ready to administer spiritual aid and comfort to the distressed. Of this number were St. Denis, bishop of Alexandria, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.

Others there were even of the clergy, who had neither the prudence to fly, nor the resolution to stand the conflict. Many deplorable instances of human weakness occur in history during the time of this persecution. Of the many who professed themselves Christians, all had not imbibed the spirit of their vocation, or had neglected to nourish it by prayer and other good works. There was a visible decay of primitive fervour amongst them. To that degeneracy of zeal and piety St. Cyprian attributes the dreadful scourge which then befell the Church. The Church had the grief to see some of her priests and bishops basely yield on the day of trial and renounce their religion. On others the honour of suffering for the name of Jesus had a very different effect. These acknowledged the hand of divine justice in chastising them for their past infidelities, they adored the infinite mercy of God in making them thus sensible of their duty by temporal chastisements: their faith was animated, they joyfully underwent a transient death in hope of an everlasting life. Decius had never ceased from persecuting the Church for two and thirty months, when it pleased Providence to cut him short in his career. The Goths, a barbarous nation beyond the northern bank of the Danube, having provoked his anger, he marched in person against them. Gallus, the general of his army, treacherously led him into a deep fen, where he perished with his son.

SECTION V. *Origen.*

AMONG the sufferers in the persecution of Decius was the celebrated Origen, who had been thrown into a close prison, A.D. 254. but found means of making his escape. Origen for erudition and genius, one of the brightest ornaments of the third century, was born at Alexandria in 185. From his earliest youth he manifested a natural propensity to virtue and learning; these happy dispositions were carefully cultivated by his virtuous father Leonides, who suffered martyrdom for his religion under Severus. The father's estates being confiscated to the emperor's use, the son was reduced to a state of indigence. For an honest livelihood he opened

a grammar school in Alexandria, and the year after, undertook to instruct some catechumens in the principles of faith. Quick parts and study had made him a great proficient in every branch of learning, in dialectics, in geometry, in arithmetic, in music, in rhetoric, in the different systems of philosophy, in the Hebrew language and knowledge of holy scripture. The success that attended his private school moved his bishop Demetrius to appoint him president in the great catechetical school of Alexandria, though not above eighteen years of age at that time. This school had been formed about three and twenty years before, by one Pantenus, a holy man, who of a stoic philosopher became a zealous propagator of the Christian faith. The design of its institution was for the instruction of catechumens in the rudiments of religion. St. Pantenus spent ten years in that meritorious employ, then entering upon a more extensive field to preach the gospel in Ethiopia, he was succeeded in the school by the renowned Clement of Alexandria, a venerable priest, universally esteemed for his eminent piety and polite learning. After this great man, Origen was appointed catechist; an important office, the duties of which were to teach theology, and to explain the holy scriptures. Besides this, he undertook to teach all the arts and sciences at the same time.

His extensive knowledge, the clear arrangement of his ideas, his presence of mind and elegant flow of language attracted numbers to his school. It was no longer a school for catechumens only; philosophers and the literati of the age, Christians and Gentiles, crowded round him to profit by his lessons. Of his Pagan hearers, many embraced the truths of Christianity, the Faithful were strengthened in their faith, of whom many sealed it with their blood: so that his school may be as justly styled the seminary of martyrs as of divines. He had some disagreeable disputes with his bishop, who approved not of all his proceedings. He made several excursions to Rome, into Palestine, Syria, Cappadocia, Achaia, and Arabia, partly to improve himself in knowledge, and partly to instruct others, or to avoid the resentment of his bishop. The publication of his learned commentaries upon the scripture, and his theological treatise against Celsus, acquired him an universal reputation.

This Celsus was an epicurean philosopher, who lived in the beginning of the second century, one of the most crafty and most subtle writers that ever employed his pen against the Christian truths. He writes with all the refined fallacy that sophistry can devise, displays an air of positiveness to impose upon the illiterate, and manages his argument with all the advantages that study, wit, and fine raillery can give. Origen, in reply, follows him step by step through all his windings, by clear and solid reasoning reduces every argument to its right principle, convicts him of falsehood in point of fact, sets in true light the things which his adversary had stifled or disguised, and establishes the truth of the Christian religion by the evidence of facts and of its own history. In his commentaries upon the scripture, he mentions several interesting points, which mark the practice and state of the Church in those early times. He mentions infant baptism as the proof of original sin; he mentions the celibacy

of the clergy, whose fecundity, he says, was only spiritual, nor did they aspire to any other.

Origen has not been equally successful in his book *On Principles*, which he designed for an introduction to the study of theology. The opinions he here advances are so unfounded, so bold and singular, that they have been universally reprobated. Rufinus, famous for his friendship and quarrel with St. Jerome, has translated it from the Greek into Latin, and although he has retrenched all that appeared to him incompatible with the Church's doctrine concerning the Trinity, yet the fifth general Council, held at Constantinople in 553, found still enough to censure and condemn.

As the foundation, on which a huge pile of errors is erected, Origen lays down this principle, that all punishment is medicinal. He supposes, that previous to the creation of matter, God created an innumerable multitude of spirits, equal with one another in merit and abilities: that most of them, by an abuse of their free-will, fell into faults: that for the expiation of those faults they were condemned to animate various portions of matter, made on purpose more refined or gross according to their different degrees of guilt; that some of them are confined in the planets and glowing stars of the firmament, and some in our terraqueous globe, as in a temporary prison; while others are shut up in the subtle substances of angels, others in the corruptible bodies of men, and others plunged into the transitory lake of hell fire; that after a fixed revolution of ages their faults will be gradually purged away, and that Lucifer himself, with all his rebel associates, will at length recover the friendship of his Creator. Such are the extravagances of a speculative imagination, which have tarnished the merit of Origen. That he acknowledged and repented of his errors we charitably hope. The bishops of Palestine treated him with honour, St. Pamphilus composed his apology, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus spoke his panegyric: he bore, in fine, with great fortitude, imprisonment and tortures for the Catholic faith in the persecution of Decius. He died at Tyre in the year 254, which was the sixty-ninth of his age.

SECTION VI. *Internal Troubles of the Church.*

AFTER the martyrdom of St. Fabianus, the Roman See remained vacant for fifteen months on account of the persecution. A.D. 255. Upon the death of Decius, the bishops and Roman clergy ventured to assemble, in order to give a successor to St. Peter. They unanimously chose Cornelius, a man eminently qualified for the important charge. His election was in due form notified to the different churches, and approved by them. Internal peace and harmony might naturally be expected to be the result of it. But even in those turbulent times, when martyrdom seemed to be the inseparable appendage of the pontificate, human ambition could discover something in the mitre which had the power at once to dazzle and attract. Novatus, a schismatical priest of Carthage, had raised a disturbance there against St. Cyprian, for re-admitting those to communion who had fallen during the persecution. Being forced to fly from Africa, he came to Rome. Here he connected himself with one Novatian, who had been irregularly ordained priest, and was

reputed one of the Roman clergy. This man affected a warm zeal for ecclesiastical discipline; his carriage had the appearance of virtue and austere morality. This was but a cloak to his hypocrisy. He aspired to the popedom. By the help of his African friend, he gained the confidence of some unsuspecting Christians, and formed a faction.

To mask his schismatical design he made pitiful complaints of the decay of discipline and manners, condemned the practice of admitting apostate sinners to repentance, spread slanderous reports to asperse the character of the good Cornelius, disputed the legality of his election, and finally contrived to have himself clandestinely ordained bishop of Rome. The next step was to procure the approbation of the dispersed bishops. For this purpose he drew up a plausible but false account of what had passed at Rome, imposed upon the credulity of some confessors, suffering for their faith in prison, and obtained their signatures. With this account, composed in the form of a letter, he sent deputies to the different churches of Africa and Asia. St. Cyprian of Carthage, being previously apprised of the iniquitous transaction, refused to receive the deputies. Other bishops, not so well informed, were inclined to give some credit to Novatian's narrative, on account of the respectable names of those who had signed it. But still they had strong suspicions that all was not right, and therefore took time to make further enquiries before they returned an answer. After a full investigation of what had passed at Rome, the matter was no longer doubtful. Upon the clearest evidence Novatian was found guilty, not only of schism, but of heresy. It was proved that he had drawn off a part of the flock from their lawful pastor, and had positively denied a power in the Church to absolve those who had fallen in the persecution, although sincerely penitent for having sinned. Sentence being pronounced against him, his credit and assumed dignity sunk together. His deluded partisans confessed their error; upon their repentance, Cornelius received them back into his communion. This short schism, which was the first in Rome, induced St. Cyprian to write his treatise upon the Unity of the Church, in which he expressly asserts the supremacy of St. Peter above the other Apostles.

The death of Decius encouraged those bishops who had absconded, to shew themselves again for the benefit of their respective flocks. Their first endeavour was to re-establish the divine service, which had been interrupted, and to repair the havoc made by the late persecution. Divers councils were held at Rome, at Antioch, and Carthage, in which Novatian was repeatedly condemned, many penitential canons were enacted, and wholesome regulations made to raise the fallen, and to console the penitent, that all might be healed, and none driven to perish by despair.

SECTION VII. *Decision of St. Stephen.*

GALLUS, the murderer and successor of Decius, in the beginning A.D. 256. of his short reign suffered the Church to breathe a little from the hard trials she had undergone: but a raging pestilence, which spread desolation through the empire, furnished him with a pretext to renew the persecution. Blinded by superstition,

he ordered sacrifices to be offered to the Gods, that the pestilence might cease. Christians became the victims of that superstitious order. Pope Cornelius and his successor Lucius, were sacrificed to appease the wrath of fictitious deities. St. Cyprian's death was publicly called for by the heathen populace of Carthage. The persecution seems to have been particularly violent at Rome, as we learn from one of Cornelius's letters to Lupicinus, bishop of Vienna, in Gaul. In that letter the holy Pontiff mentions, that many had been crowned with martyrdom, and that they could no longer celebrate Mass in the known places of divine worship.

But a sudden revolution in the empire soon after changed the state of public affairs, and left the Church again quiet for a time. Gallus had no capacity to govern: the calamities attending his reign had rendered him very unpopular. The crown tottered on his head. Emilian, commander of the army of Hungary, had been proclaimed emperor by the Roman bands, and was upon his march to Rome. Thunderstruck at the news, Gallus ordered Valerian, who commanded in Gaul, to hasten with his legions to Italy. Emilian, by forced marches got the start of them. Gallus had none but his Italian army to rely on. The Italians seeing how unequal they were to stand the contest, murdered Gallus and joined Emilian. In that situation of affairs arrived Valerian with his legions. Valerian was beloved by the army, and had talents to command; Emilian, on the other hand, had nothing to recommend him to popular favour or esteem. Unqualified to manage a vast and discontented empire, he was basely assassinated by the very troops who a month before had vested him with the purple. Valerian quietly mounted the throne, if not a friend, at least no enemy to the Christian religion. During the three first years of his reign the Church experienced no external violence. The bishops embraced that opportunity to discuss and regulate such points of doctrine and discipline as the present state of things seemed to require.

About fifty years before that period, Agrippinus, a predecessor of St. Cyprian in the See of Carthage, had begun the practice of rebaptizing those who had received baptism from a heretic. The practice passed for some time unnoticed. At length St. Cyprian on being consulted upon the subject by some bishops of Numidia, took the matter into serious consideration, and by an error in judgment contended, that baptism conferred by an heretic was certainly null. The personal qualifications of St. Cyprian, his learning, his eloquence, his extensive charity, his zeal, his strenuous exertions in the cause of God, added to the dignity of his See, gave him great weight in the decision of ecclesiastical questions. In this question, however, his opinion was set aside; for it was not consistent with truth. St. Cyprian grounded his argument on this false principle, That no one can receive the Holy Ghost through the hands of a man who does not possess the Holy Ghost in his own soul. This principle, were it true, would equally militate against any minister who confers baptism in a state of mortal sin, and would consequently render the validity of baptism ever doubtful and uncertain. This the venerable prelate in the hurry of his argument did not perceive.

He seems moreover to have forgot, that in baptism, as well as in

the other sacraments, Christ is the principal, although invisible minister, and that it is not through the merits or the faith of man, but through the merits of Christ, that sin is remitted, and the Holy Ghost received in the souls of the Faithful. Hence the learned St. Austin expressly says,* “Whether it be Peter or Judas, whether it be Paul or any other man of inferior merit, who applies the matter and form of baptism, it is Christ who baptizes: and if it were not so, there would be more baptisms than one, contrary to the doctrine of St. Paul.† There would be one baptism of a superior value, and another baptism of inferior value, according to the superior or inferior merit of him who administers the sacraments.”

St. Cyprian either did not see the force of this argument, or thought it not conclusive. For he tenaciously adhered to his own opinion, being undoubtedly persuaded of its truth. Under that persuasion he convened three national councils, in the last of which no less than seventy-two African bishops were present, who subscribed to that opinion. That opinion was likewise adopted by fifty oriental bishops, with St. Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia at their head. Backed by this respectable authority the bishop of Carthage sent his opinion to Rome, for the approbation of that Apostolic See. St. Stephen had lately succeeded Lucius in the Pontificate, a prelate not less versed in the knowledge, than steady in the practice of all Apostolical doctrine. To the opinion of St. Cyprian and his African prelates he definitively replied by this concise and positive decree. “Let no innovation be introduced; but let that be observed which is handed down to us by tradition.” The authority of this decree silenced the opposite party, and put an end to the controversy, as it seems, since we hear no more of it after that decision. Whether St. Cyprian publicly retracted his error or not, we have no historical account. But his piety, his humility, his charity, his professed respect for the primacy of St. Peter’s Chair, which he calls the origin of sacerdotal unity, give us every reason to suppose with St. Austin, that he humbly acquiesced in the decision. However prepossessed he was in favour of the practice of his own church, and however harsh may appear some expressions that escaped him in the warmth of his imagination, he candidly declares in his letter to Jubaianus, that he meant nothing contrary to unity or to charity, both which he sincerely wished to preserve inviolate. He falsely imagined it to be a mere question of local discipline, which he thought himself at liberty to maintain. So thought the other supporters of that opinion. From the circumstances attending this dispute, it is evinced that a whole national council of bishops, even with a St. Cyprian at its head, is liable to err without the support of that rock on which Christ has built his Church.

SECTION VIII. *Eighth Persecution under Valerian.*

THE emperor Valerian had hitherto given no disturbance to the Christians; he even seemed to have a friendship for them.

A.D. 257. But unfortunately for the empire, Valerian had a favourite, who had gained an entire ascendancy over him, and directed him

* Tract. 6. in Joam.

† Eph. iv. 5.

in all his plans and enterprises. He was called Macrinus, a sworn enemy to Christians and their religion. At the instigation of this wicked parasite he divested himself of his former kindness towards the Christians, whom he now devoted to utter extirpation, as a requisite condition to render the gods propitious to his arms, in an expedition he was meditating against the Persians. Under this impression he published an angry edict, which procured the crown of martyrdom to thousands. Among the first who suffered were St. Stephen at Rome, and St. Cyprian at Carthage. St. Cyprian's death was followed by the sufferings of many others, both of the clergy and laity. Some were cut off at one stroke, others went through a variety of shocking torments, before they received their crown; many were condemned to linger out life in the copper mines of Numidia and Mauritania, where they had hunger and thirst, heat and cold, hard labour, and the want of every human comfort to undergo. Spain, Gaul, and Egypt, had their martyrs likewise in this persecution.

The See of Alexandria was at that time held by St. Denis, whose merits and authority were very great in the Church of God. This learned prelate had employed his pen in refuting the heresies of Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata, so called from the town of his birth in Syria. Sabellius, born in Libya, made no distinction of persons in the Trinity, so that in his system the Father and Holy Ghost suffered equally with the Son. Paul of Samosata, a man without virtue or learning, had by his cunning crept into the See of Antioch; he denied the existence of Jesus Christ before his conception in the womb of Mary. The Millennial error, which was grounded on an expression in the Revelations * misunderstood, that Christ was to reign on earth with his Elect a thousand years before the general resurrection, had also begun to spread in Egypt. This error had been first devised by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, a good and holy man, but possessed of more credulity than science. St. Denis stopped the progress of this doctrine by his private discourse, and by two judicious dissertations upon the divine promises. He had likewise been very active and successful in effecting a reconciliation between St. Stephen and the oriental bishops, who had espoused the African error respecting baptism.

Such exertions of Christian zeal gave offence to Emilian, the governor of Egypt. By his order the holy bishop was arrested and condemned to a painful banishment amidst the burning sands of Libya. Among many other illustrious names of those who shed their blood for Christ in this persecution, we meet with Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragon in Spain, burnt alive with his deacons; we meet with Saturninus, the first bishop of Toulouse in Gaul, torn to pieces by a wild bull; we likewise meet with Denis, the first bishop of Paris, beheaded with Rusticus and Eleutherius.

But all these barbarous murders did not satiate the tyrant's thirst after Christian's blood. From the plains of Persia, and almost in the sight of a powerful enemy, whom he had to cope with, Valerian, by the advice of his favourite Macrinus, as it is thought, dictated a

* Chap. xx. ver. 4, 6.

letter to the Roman Senate, with peremptory orders, that all bishops, priests, and deacons, should be taken up and put to death ; that all Christian senators, knights and nobles, should be also seized, degraded, and executed, unless they renounced Christ ; women likewise, especially those of superior rank, were included in this tyrannical decree. Sixtus II. who had been lately raised to the Pontificate after the martyrdom of St. Stephen, was immediately arrested in virtue of an order from the governor of Rome, and condemned to be beheaded. The guards led him on towards the place of execution ; Lawrence, his archdeacon, followed with tears in his eyes, and thus addressed him : “ Holy Father, whither are you hastening without your deacon ? You never used to offer sacrifice without your minister. Why do you leave me, why am I not to attend you now ? In what have I displeased you ? Try me and see whether you made an improper choice, when you conferred upon me the office of distributing the sacred body and blood of our Lord.” In this manner did the holy deacon express the strong desire he had of sharing in his bishop’s sufferings. “ Grieve not, my son,” replied the pontiff ; “ I do not leave you ; I go but a short time before you ; three days hence you will follow. To me already sinking under the weight of years, a light trial is decreed : but for you, in the bloom of youth, a more arduous triumph is reserved.”

SECTION IX. *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.*

LAWRENCE was arrested upon the spot, and conducted before the A.D. 258. governor, who addressed him in the following terms : “ You Christians, in general, tax us with cruelty, and often complain of the torments we inflict upon you. Nothing of that kind is here intended. I threaten not, I only ask, and I ask no more than what you can safely grant without renouncing your religion. I am told, that in your religious rites your priests offer the sacrifice in gold, and receive the sacred blood in silver cups, and that in your nocturnal sacrifices you have wax lights fixed in candlesticks of gold. I am likewise told, that according to the principles of your religion, you must give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s. Bring to light these hidden treasures, which Cæsar wants for the payment of his troops. Your God, I apprehend, brought neither gold nor silver with him into the world. His riches lay in words only. Give us then the money, and be ye rich in words.” To this insulting speech Lawrence modestly replied : “ Our Church indeed is rich ; it possesses valuable treasures, such as the emperor cannot show. Allow me but a little time to arrange and set them properly in order, and I will bring you the most precious of them.” The governor satisfied with this answer, fancied himself already possessed of vast hidden wealth, and granted the deacon three days to produce it.

Lawrence employed the whole time in seeking out the blind, the decrepid, the infirm, the poor orphans, widows and virgins, to whom he distributed all that remained in the sacred treasury of the church. On the third day he drew up this indigent multitude in rows before the church, and invited the governor to come and see them. “ Behold,” says the holy deacon to him, “ behold the

treasures which I promised to produce. These in the eyes of God are more precious than gold and silver, which you so wickedly covet, and which by their hands is already conveyed into the treasury of heaven." The governor thinking himself insulted, cried out in a transport of rage, "Doeſt thou thus mock me? Is it thus that the axes and the fasces, the sacred ensigns of Roman power are set at nought? I know it is thy wish to die: such is thy madness. Die thou shalt, but not so speedily as thou imaginest. Thou shalt die by inches?" Upon this a flat iron grate, cross-set with bars like a gridiron, was brought forth. The tyrant ordered the holy deacon to be tied down at full length upon it, and then set over a quantity of glowing coals, that he might enjoy the savage satisfaction of seeing him expire by slow degrees. The martyr lay composed as on a bed of roses, amidst a surrounding crowd of spectators, without shewing the least sign of suffering, or uttering a single word of complaint. His countenance shone with a heavenly serenity, and the smoke of his broiling limbs was like an odoriferous perfume. While the material fire slowly consumed his body, his soul more warmly glowed with the pure flames of divine love, which rendered his torments either imperceptible or pleasant to him. When he had lain for some time on one side, he said to the judge: "My body may be now turned, this side is broiled enough." The executioners then turned him by the judge's order. He lay not long, when feeling the fire had now penetrated to the vital parts, he said again: "It is done enough, you may now turn and eat." He continued to pour forth his most fervent prayers for the conversion of the Roman people, till lifting up his eyes to heaven, he placidly resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

Divine justice was not slow to avenge these inhuman cruelties, by retaliating on the author of them. The barbarity of one tyrant became an instrument in the hand of God to punish the barbarity of another. The bad success that attended the Roman arms in Persia, made Valerian wish for peace. Sapoſes, the Persian monarch, had secret intelligence of it, and dissembling his design, caused a report to be spread through the camp, that he was inclined for peace, and wished to have a personal interview with the Roman emperor. Valerian gave into the snare. The terms and place of parley were agreed on. They met: the Persian had taken his measures; the Roman believing him to be sincere, was off his guard, and indiscreetly put himself into his adversaries power. Before he had time to reflect, he was surprised to find himself a prisoner. This stroke of consummate perfidy put an end to the war. For the emperor's release immense sums were offered and refused. Proud revenge, not money, was the object of Sapoſes. Whenever he chose to ride abroad, he had his imperial captive brought forth like a slave; then making him bend his back, used him as a leaping-stock to mount his horse. After he had treated him in this disgraceful manner for ten years, he at last ordered him to be flead alive, and rubbed over with salt. He had his skin dyed red, and hung up in one of the public temples, as a trophy of Persian greatness over imperial Rome.

SECTION X. *Ninth Persecution under Aurelian.*

By Valerian's captivity the supreme power devolved upon Gallienus, his son and colleague. This dissolute prince, too A.D. 274. indolent to act, and too unskilful to govern, gave his whole time to amusements, which he would not suffer to be interrupted by any concerns of state. The empire thereby became a prey to internal factions, while foreign enemies ravaged its frontiers with impunity. He however restored peace to the Church, by an imperial edict, commanding no more Christian blood to be spilt, which for the last three years had flowed in great abundance. The Church notwithstanding, had rather gained than lost by the trials she underwent; her virtues shone forth with brighter lustre, like gold from the furnace; by the constancy of her martyrs, and the accession of new converts, she wonderfully increased and multiplied. The good offices every where exhibited by Christians to their afflicted neighbours and Pagan persecutors, wrought a surprising change in the minds of all considerate and sober men. The dreadful pestilence, which had broke out some years before, continued still to rage in many cities of the empire: the fear of infection left thousands of the sick destitute of help, even from their nearest friends and relations, who under that apprehension shunned and neglected them. Their neglect was supplied by the active charity of Christians, even at the hazard of their own lives. Such disinterested and heroic virtues the heathens had never seen; they admired and respected what they could not yet understand. They concluded, that inspired must be the doctrine, and divine the institution of a religion, which could infuse such sentiments, and prescribe such deeds of virtue to its followers. Drawn by such example they desired to know and adopt its principles. The whole city of Neocesarea, in Pontus, became Christian at once.

Gallienus by his indolence and lust had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of all his subjects. The dagger put an end to his inglorious reign: the army and senate proclaimed Claudius emperor, a man well skilled in politics and war. He reigned not quite three years; Aurelian succeeded, who, from an obscure private in the army, rose by his military talents to the imperial throne. The beginning of his reign seemed to portend rather favour than oppression to the Church. A provincial council of bishops, convened together at Antioch, had pronounced the sentence of deposition and excommunication upon Paul of Samosata, the heretical bishop of that See, for denying the divinity of Christ. The censure wrought no change either in the sentiments or irregular conduct of Paul: he put himself under the protection of Zenobia, and thereby set the bishops and their censure at defiance. Queen Zenobia, no less renowned for her literary, than for her military talents, was at that time mistress of the east, and kept her court at Palmyra, a magnificent city in Syria, bordering on the desert of Arabia. She had been educated in the Jewish religion, and had applied to Paul of Samosata for instruction in the Christian religion. Aurelian declared war against her, laid siege to her capital, which he took, and carried her away to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. The oriental bishops, being then no longer under her con-

trol, sent an address to Aurelian, praying that the canonical sentence, passed some years before against Paul the arch-heretic, might be put in execution, to which he readily consented.

But a different conduct soon showed, that the virtues of justice and humanity formed not the character of Aurelian. He was by nature both avaricious and cruel; nor was he possessed of any one principle that could correct the defects which a soldier's education had strengthened in him. To please the senate and Roman people he published a sanguinary edict against the Christians, but lived not long enough to see it put in execution. The hand of an assassin deprived him of life, as he was upon the march with a powerful army to revenge the insult which Saporess had thrown upon the Romans in his treatment of Valerian. The unexpected death of Aurelian prevented the effusion of much Christian blood. Yet in several places a savage eagerness both in the magistrates and people to second the late emperor's inclinations, which coincided with their own, made many martyrs, at the head of whom was Pope Felix. Felix had succeeded St. Denis, the successor of Sixtus II. and he himself was succeeded by St. Eutychianus.

After Aurelian's death the imperial sceptre within the space of ten years passed through the hands of Tacitus, Probus, Carus, and Carinus, when the imperious voice of the army placed it in the hands of Dioclesian, who held it twenty years. In Dioclesian the Church experienced a more sanguinary tyrant than in any of his predecessors. His intention and endeavour were nothing less than to extirpate, if possible, the whole Christian race, and to obliterate the very name. The attempt, instead of lessening, served to confirm and manifest the truths of that religion which it meant to destroy. The concurrent testimony of so many martyrs, in so many different countries, professing the same doctrines and generously dying in their defence, exhibits so strong and so palpable a proof of their being true, that every effort to cast discredit on them must be deemed less rash than impious.

The doctrines for which those champions of Christianity so nobly shed their blood, are no other than what the Catholic Church continues to believe and teach at this day. The adorable sacrifice of the Mass, the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy Eucharist, confession and forgiveness of sins by the priest's absolution in the sacrament of penance, prayers, and oblations for the faithful departed, then were, as they still are, the professed doctrines of Christ's Church. This is a fact so clearly evinced by the practice, and so fully attested by the writers of that age, by a Clement of Alexandria, by an Irenæus, by a Tertullian, by an Origen, by a St. Cyprian, that the centuriators of Magdeburg admit it beyond a doubt. What sensations those facts may raise in the mind of a thinking Christian, who discards from his creed those primitive doctrines, since called by Reformers in these latter days the errors of Popery, I will not venture to say. But to a Catholic reader, solid must be the satisfaction to find, that his religion, and the religion of the primitive Christians is perfectly one and the same, in every article of divine faith.

Fourth Century.

SECTION I. *Tenth Persecution under Dioclesian.*

By a singular caprice of fortune, if the expression may be allowed, A. D. 302. Dioclesian crept from an obscure corner in Dalmatia to the supreme power in Rome. Bold and enterprising by nature, he became by habit an experienced officer, and a good politician. At his accession to the throne in 284 the empire was miserably distracted by various factions. To stifle these factions and to secure his own interest in the West, he shared his power with Maximinian, a rough and daring warrior, whom he declared his colleague. These two having ruled the empire with equal authority for about nine years, judged it expedient for the public good to associate to themselves two other colleagues of an inferior rank with the title of Cæsars. They agreed, that each of them should choose his man. Dioclesian chose Galerius, an obscure native of Dacia, one of the most violent and most profligate of men. Maximinian chose Constantius Chlorus, a prince by descent, of whom no vice, but many good qualities are recorded. He was nephew to Claudius II. and lineally descended from Vespasian. Aurelian had employed him in Great Britain, where he married Helen the daughter of Coel, a leading man of that country, and by her had a son, the renowned Constantine, born at Colchester, as Baronius and all our English writers unanimously agree. At his association in the empire there was an article agreed on between him and his colleagues, that he should divorce Helen and marry Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximinian.

These four sovereigns, having the whole power in their own hands, parcelled out the empire into four great divisions, assigning to each one his own territory, where he might exercise a supreme independent authority, without jealousy and without confusion of interests. The chief motive for establishing this political system was to secure the internal peace of the empire, and to have a standing force always ready to act with authority against the invasions of a foreign enemy.

The Church had enjoyed a general tranquillity for upwards of twenty years, during which time the number of converts became so great, that the churches were too small to contain them. Christians were then allowed to practise their religion without restraint; they were deemed good subjects, many of them were advanced to posts of emolument and trust. The consequence of this indulgence was a decay of piety. The Faithful then began to have temporal pursuits in view, they grew remiss in their devotions to God, and unfaithful in the duties of religion. God was displeased; his justice permitted a new persecution to rise, at once to chastise the infidelities and to rouse the faith of his people. On the part of the ruling powers the rage of persecution sprung from a thirst of plunder,

from superstition, and a ferocity of temper, that delighted in human blood.

During the winter of 302, that Dioclesian passed at Nicomedia, Galerius used all his influence to persuade him into some violent measures against the Christians. Dioclesian rejected his advice upon political motives, till the soothsayers overruled his politics by the force of superstition, declaring that the empire could never flourish, as long as the impious, meaning the Christians, were suffered to exist. The deluded emperor weakly yielded, and published an edict for the total extirpation of the Christian religion. His authority did not absolutely extend beyond the limits of his own division in the empire. But deeds of cruelty and bloodshed suited the genius of Maximinian and Galerius, and they readily adopted the exterminating system. The devastation committed by them in their respective governments was most deplorable. The storm first began at Nicomedia, and from thence spreading far and wide, says Lactantius, deluged the earth with blood from the east to the remotest corners of the west. Less horrible indeed were its effects in Gaul and Great Britain, which had fallen to the share of the humane Constantius. But Constantius with all his humanity, supported by supreme authority, could not restrain the more superstitious magistrates, whose inclination led them to execute the edict of Dioclesian. Hence in Great Britain we find a St. Alban and St. Agulus, bishop of London, dying for their faith; in Gaul, a St. Quintin, a Victor, a Mauritius, with the whole Theban legion, barbarously sacrificed to gratify an inferior officer of state.

The persecution raged with greatest violence in the east. There the passions of savage infidels were not only let loose, but encouraged by authority to plunder, to oppress, to torture and destroy their harmless neighbours. By soldiers and the executioners of public justice, Christians were driven in crowds to be slaughtered; men, women, and children, were promiscuously massacred or burnt by hundreds. Their property, their houses, their persons, were exposed to every outrage that a Pagan populace was inclined to commit. In Phrygia, a whole town with its inhabitants was consumed by fire, without so much as a single Christian being suffered to escape. In Mesopotamia, in Syria, in Pontus, in Egypt, various and exquisite were the torments which the martyrs underwent—Some were stript naked, stuck by one leg upon a fork, and there left to expire by degrees, or to be pecked to death by birds of prey: some had their flesh scraped from the bone with broken pots, and boiling lead poured into their gaping wounds: others were slashed with knives from head to foot, rubbed over with pepper and salt, laid upon gridirons, and consumed by a slow fire.

The malicious ingenuity of man seemed to delight in inventing new tortures, the very sight of which was enough to shock the most hardy barbarian. But Almighty God, who never abandons those who humbly put their trust in him, visibly supported his servants in those terrible conflicts, and proportioned his graces to the severity of their trials. The tyrant's rage was not yet satiated; and that famine might destroy, whom the instruments of torture could not reach, it was severely forbidden to sell or furnish the necessaries of

life to any one who should not perform some idolatrous act before he received what he wanted. The churches and places of divine worship were every where pulled down, the sacred volumes burnt, and every mark of Christianity effaced. Then it was, that numberless Christians fled the light of day, and buried themselves alive in hollow caverns, called the Catacombs. Then it also was, that thousands retired into inhospitable deserts, deeming it more safe to dwell with wild beasts than with savage men. With no other subsistence than what a barren wilderness might afford, they devoted themselves to the religious exercises of a contemplative life, since they could no longer move in the sphere of civil society, without the risk of being dragged to prison, or the rack, any hour of the day.

SECTION II. *Abdication of Dioclesian and Maximinian.*

DIOCLESIAN had carried on the persecution for three years with A. D. 305. unremitting cruelty against the Christians, but began now to despair of being ever able to effect their destruction.—Religion rose with fresh vigour over all his wicked efforts to depress it. Disappointment and vexation to see his projects thus foiled, worked so strongly upon his mind, already weakened by infirmity and age, that he is said to have taken thereupon the desperate resolution of abdicating the crown. However that may be, he soon after found himself compelled to do it, whether he would or not. Galerius was returned from the Persian war, crowned with laurels, and followed by a victorious army, ready to execute whatever he should command. He claimed nothing less than the absolute disposal of the whole Roman empire, as due to his services.—Maximinian had been already bullied into a consent to the victor's insolent demands. Towards the end of the year 304, Galerius repaired to Nicomedia. There, partly by argument and partly by threats, he compelled the wretched Dioclesian, with tears in his eyes, to come into all his measures. On the first day of May, 305, the degraded Dioclesian was conducted from the city of Nicomedia to a neighbouring eminence, where in the presence of his state officers, of his guards, and a vast multitude of spectators, he publicly divested himself of his imperial robes, of his crown and sceptre, and returned to a private station. Maximilian reluctantly submitted at Milan to the same painful ceremony, about the same time.

Galerius had now attained the summit of his ambition. Being vested with the purple, he likewise wished to be solely vested with the power which that elevated station gave, and therefore exerted all his influence to have such colleagues associated with him, as would lay him under no controul. The common train of politics seemed to require, that Constantius Chlorus, who during these transactions was quietly enjoying himself in Great Britain, should succeed Maximinian. But Galerius strongly objected, and proposed his friend Licinius, whose dispositions he knew to be quite suitable to his own. Seeing, however, on one hand, that some confusion was likely to ensue should he persist in his opposition, and considering on the other, that Constantius in a declining state of health, could not long

survive, he silently consented to his promotion. The next important step was to create two new Cæsars, to which Maxentius, the son of Maximian, and Constantine, the son of Constantius, had the fairest pretension. Galerius rejected them both; the first for his pride, the latter for his good qualities; his firm resolution was to admit no associate whom he could not govern, or who was not as viciously inclined as himself. He nominated Severus, a drunken dancer, for one, and Maximin his own nephew, a mere barbarian in disposition and manners, for the other Cæsar. To this dignified savage he committed the government of the east, where he carried on a most bloody persecution against the Christians.

Galerius having in this manner made himself absolute master of the empire, he took every measure that human policy suggested to remain so. For he was still under some apprehension, lest Constantius might be a troublesome colleague, and a check to his projects. He moreover saw, by what passed at Dioclesian's abdication, that Constantine, the son of Constantius, was the people's favourite, and that much dissatisfaction had been expressed at his not being created one of the Cæsars. He therefore resolved to make the young prince an honourable prisoner in his own palace, and to keep him as an hostage for his father's conduct.

Constantius in the interim declined apace, and earnestly wishing to see his son before he died, frequently pressed Galerius by letter, to let the prince pass over into Great Britain, that they might take their last farewell of each other. The suspicious emperor always alledged some excuse not to let him go, till one evening being in conversation with the prince upon that subject, he was warmly solicited by him for his consent, and the reasonableness of a dying father's request was so strongly urged, that he at last consented.—Constantine gave immediate orders for his journey, and as soon as the old emperor was safe in bed, set off with the utmost speed, wisely judging that the leave he had obtained in the evening might be recalled next morning. He travelled day and night not to be overtaken, and made no stop till he got to York, where he found his father reduced to the last degree of weakness. With the tenderest emotions of mutual affection they embraced each other.—Constantius lost no time in settling his public and private concerns, recommended his son to the loyalty of his troops, appointed him his successor in the empire, and died soon after, on the twenty-fifth of July, 306. Eusebius tells us, that he professed his belief in one only God; but the grace of baptism, we fear, he never received.

SECTION III. *Triumph of Constantine.*

CONSTANTINE, by birth a Briton, the legitimate son of Constantius and St. Helen, had completed the thirty-third year A. D. 312. of his age; a prince of superior talents, graceful in his person, irreproachable in his manners, brave, active, indefatigable in his pursuits, in fine, capable of planning and executing the most arduous enterprises. Being taken at an early age by Dioclesian from his father's tuition, he spent the youthful part of his life in a heathen court, without imbibing its vices. Destined by Providence

to be the protector of God's chosen people, he was educated, like another Moses, within the palace of a tyrant, who with a ferocity more bloody than that of Pharo, thought to exterminate the belief and worship of one God.

Constantine had many difficulties to surmount, many battles to fight, and powerful competitors to subdue, before he could enter into peaceable possession of the imperial crown. Galerius considered him as an enemy to all his projects. He knew the injury he had done him, by snatching from his hand the purple to bestow it upon Maximin, and therefore dreaded his resentment. He would have been glad to exclude him from all share in the government, but seeing the favour he was in, both with the people and army, he durst not do it. He consented to let him take the title of Cæsar, with the authority annexed, but would not admit him as a colleague upon the same level with himself. Old Maximinian was still alive, watching an opportunity to resume the purple, which he had quitted with reluctance. His son Maxentius declared himself a competitor for the crown of Severus. Licinius had the promise and support of Galerius to make him his associate in the imperial throne. In each of these, Constantine had a determined enemy to contend with. Fortunately for him, they were divided among themselves, and their divisions opened for him the way to conquest, whilst they plunged the empire into a civil war.

Constantine, having performed the last sad duties to his father Constantius at York, passed over into Gaul, where a gallant army was waiting his commands. His amiable character had gained him the hearts of all, to whom the despotic rod of tyranny was become insupportable. The people and the army proclaimed him emperor with one accord, and heartily devoted themselves to his service. Maxentius, the professed rival of Severus, took upon himself the title of Augustus, and was joined by his father Maximinian, who on that occasion eagerly grasped the sceptre again, which the violence of Galerius had wrested from his hand. By the united forces of these two emperors, Severus was attacked, defeated, and deprived both of his crown and life. Galerius upon this, came forward in favour of Licinius, whom he declared his imperial colleague, and in person led his army into Italy, with the hope of being able to cut off Maximinian. But his troops were not steady, nor to be relied on. He soon found it necessary to consult his own safety, and to march back to Nicomedia as quick as he could.

Maximinian then joined Constantine, and offered to acknowledge him for his colleague, and to proclaim him emperor, on condition that he married his daughter Fausta. Constantine was already married to Minervina, by whom he had a son, named Crispus, but whom on political motives he then consented to divorce. The imperial law warranted such divorces, and Constantine at that time was no Christian. However advantageous to his interest the connexion might then be, it turned out most unfortunate and disgraceful in the end. Fausta proved a firebrand in his family.

Ambition is ever restless ; it looks constantly forward to what it has not, and is never satisfied with what it has. Maximinian grew jealous of his son Maxentius, and sought to depose him : not succeed-

ing in his plan, and finding his own life to be in danger, he fled for refuge into Gaul. There he began to raise sedition against Constantine, his son-in-law. Constantine immediately marched against him, took him prisoner, spared his life, and set him free. But finding him soon after active in fomenting new commotions, and even guilty of an attempt upon his life, he caused him to be strangled in the year 308. Galerius, struck like Antiochus by the avenging hand of divine justice in punishment of his cruelties against the Christians, followed him not long after. Pain extorted from the humbled persecutor a confession of his guilt; he acknowledged the justice of an offended God, and to appease his anger published an edict at Sardis in favour of Christianity. Then were the prisons opened, the illustrious confessors set free, and peace restored to a large portion of the Christian Church. But Galerius still continued to languish in exquisite torment for a whole year, when consumed by worms and putrefaction, he died a wretched death in 311.

Upon the death of Galerius, Maximin the savage tyrant of Egypt assumed the title of emperor, and in opposition to Licinius, whose promotion he had ever beheld with a jealous eye, claimed a sovereign power over all Asia: and that he might be the better able to make good his claim, he entered into a strict alliance with Maxentius, the sovereign of Italy and Rome. This Asiatic alliance swelled the presumption of Maxentius, who now fancied himself sufficiently strong to subdue the west to his obedience. With this view he declared war against Constantine, under the specious pretence of revenging his father's death. Constantine, like an able general, judged it better to prevent, than to wait his enemy's attack: he hastened the march of his army from Gaul, penetrated into the very heart of Italy, and advanced as far as the bridge Milvius, now called Ponte Mole, within two miles of Rome. There he pitched his camp, and there, although inferior to his antagonist in number of troops, he resolved to come to a decisive action at once. What confirmed him in this resolution was a wonderful phenomenon, of which his whole army, as well as himself, had been ocular witnesses upon the march. The fact is circumstantially related * by Eusebius, as he heard it from Constantine himself. Having passed the Alps, and reached the plains of Italy, behold, as he was marching on a little after mid-day at the head of his troops, a luminous Cross appeared in the open sky, above the sun, and upon the Cross a legend expressing victory, was distinctly seen by all, written in Greek characters, *ΕΥ ΤΕΤΩ ΝΙΚΗ*. In this be thou conqueror. To commemorate the fact, as well as to show his gratitude for so signal a mark of the divine goodness towards him, Constantine ordered an exact representation of the Cross, as it appeared in the sky, to be made and blazoned in the imperial banner. This was the famous Labarum, which fifty chosen men were appointed to carry by turns before the emperor, whenever he went to battle.

Constantine was encamped, as we have said, near the bridge Milvius, upon the Tiber: Maxentius with the united forces of three armies, composed of veteran soldiers, and esteemed the best in the whole empire, advanced with full confidence of victory to attack

* Vita. Cons.

him. Both armies met in the Quintian fields, to decide by the force of arms who should be master of Rome, and of the empire. The battle was long and obstinate. Maxentius at last gave way, and in the general rout, pressing forward to save himself over a temporary bridge at some distance, fell into the Tiber and was drowned. This memorable victory, gained on the twenty-seventh of October 312, put Constantine in possession of the west; Rome joyfully opened her gates to him on the same day, and the senate four years after erected in his honour a triumphal arch, which is still to be seen at the head of the Appian way.

SECTION IV. *Triumph of Religion.*

CONSTANTINE, after a short stay in Rome, repaired to Milan. A. D. 313. There he met Licinius, with whom he had made an alliance against Maximin, and to whom he gave his sister Constantia in marriage. Naturally humane, and an enemy to persecution, he proposed to Licinius, that no molestation or violence in future should be offered to any Roman subject on account of religion, and that they should both join in an imperial edict for that purpose. Licinius had too much at stake not to consent to the proposal; interest, not inclination, determined him to comply, as his subsequent conduct manifestly showed. The edict was then published, by which all penal restraints respecting religion were removed, and full liberty allowed for every one to profess and exercise that form of religious worship he should think proper to adopt. This indulgence gave offence to Maximin, the tyrant of the East. Implacable in his hatred against the Christian name, and jealous of Licinius's growing power, he declared war, and with a powerful army invaded Thrace. Licinius with a strong force attacked and routed him. The vanquished tyrant fled for safety into Asia, where being vigorously pursued, and in danger of falling into his enemy's hands, he chose to put an end to his own existence by poison. He survived the dose for four days, during which time he suffered exquisite tortures, acknowledged the scourge of divine vengeance, and expired in despair. Thus by the disposition of an all-ruling Providence the tyrants of the earth were cut off one after another, and the whole empire placed under the beneficent sway of Constantine the Great. It does not appear that Constantine had at that time declared himself a candidate for the Christian religion, though he undoubtedly was its avowed friend and protector.

Christianity had hitherto experienced every opposition that Jews, Philosophers, and Gentiles, had been able to raise for near three hundred years against it. The Jews were the first aggressors; they thought to stifle it in its infancy. Their obstinate attachment to carnal forms and ceremonies, which were either peculiar to the Hebrew nation, or were merely figurative of a better hope, blinded their understanding, and strangely warped their reason against the spiritual doctrines and divinity of Jesus Christ. The subversion of Jerusalem, and the utter ruin of their country, was at once the punishment of their incredulity, and a lasting mark of their impotent attempts against the designs of God. Proud philosophy then observed its progress through Greece and Asia Minor, and resolved

to check it. Stoics, Epicureans, and Peripatetics, with Celsus and Porphyry at their head, mustered up all the force that sophistry and delusive eloquence could supply to bear down a religion which denounced extirpation to the old Pagan worship, and banishment to the gods themselves from the whole Roman empire. The Gentiles grew enraged to see their idols insulted, their temples abandoned, and their altars overturned. Tyrants drew the sword of persecution, and set to work their engines of death and torture, to intimidate, to torment, and destroy. Thousands of martyrs bled, and thousands rose up in their stead to attest and seal with their blood the same revealed truths. Nero, Domitian, Severus, Decius, Valerian, Dioclesian, and his sanguinary colleagues, armed the empire in order to exterminate the followers of Christ the Crucified; they raved in vain, they ignobly perished in their own conceits, their memory is held in execration, while the honoured victims of their tyranny shall triumph in the heavenly mansions for evermore.

Rome had for ages been the receptacle of every heathenish superstition, which her generals had gleaned from the conquered provinces; under the protection of Constantine she now became the seat and centre of the one, true, holy, catholic, and apostolical religion. That enlightened emperor, though convinced of the absurdity of idolatry, left his subjects free in their choice of religion; he employed no other than mild methods to gain the hearts of the Pagans. Paganism had long maintained its sway by holding out to sensual man every tempting charm to excite and gratify his passions, sanctioned by the example of those fancied deities, who were the idols of his adoration. To break the force of prejudice, which time and custom had established, Constantine wisely judged that compulsive measures would not do: he believed that to overthrow the system of error, nothing more was requisite than to grant protection to the true religion, and to let the wisdom of her doctrine, and the purity of her moral precepts appear in open view. He began by remedying the evils which his predecessors had occasioned by their edicts: he recalled the exiles, and restored to the Christians their places of religious worship, which he decorated with rich ornaments and sacred vessels for the use of the altar. He treated the ministers of religion with respect, and granted them many privileges. The bishops of Rome, hitherto persecuted in a particular manner, attracted his special notice. To them he gave the palace of Lateran for their residence; an adjoining palace he also gave to be converted into a Church for divine service, called the Constantinian basilic; it is now the Church of Saint John of Lateran. This was the first patrimony of the Popes. A change in favour of religion, so unexpected and so sudden, inspired the Christians with the purest joy for the present time, and with the most flattering hope respecting the time to come. With equal gratitude and surprise they considered it as the work of the Most High. From the death of Pope Eutychianus in 283, to the creation of St. Sylvester in 314, the following Popes in succession sat in St. Peter's Chair: St. Caius, St. Marcellinus, St. Marcellus, St. Eusebius, and St. Melchiades. The pretended fall of St. Marcellinus into idolatry, and his appearance upon it in the council of Sinuessa, is a mere fiction of the Donatists.

SECTION V. *Holy Fathers of the Desert.*

PERSECUTION, as we have mentioned above, drove many Christians from human society into the sheltering desert of A. D. 316. Egypt. There in silent solitude, remote from noise and alarms, they cultivated the quiet virtues of the gospel. Their intention was at first to seek an asylum from their persecuting enemies; the interior consolation they experienced in the habits of a contemplative life then induced them to remain in the unmolested retreat they had chosen. The first who embraced this kind of life, and made it perpetual, was Paul, a native of Egypt, commonly called the first Hermit; he entered upon it when about twenty years of age, during the violent persecution of Decius. A cavern in the rock was his dwelling, a neighbouring fountain allayed his thirst, the leaves and fruit of a palm-tree, that grew near, supplied him with food and raiment. During the latter years of his life he was fed, like Eliaś, by a raven, that brought him bread. Alternate labour and contemplation was his exercise. In this exercise he spent ninety years, and died at the age of 113, in 342.

Paul had many imitators of his solitude and virtues scattered up and down through the extensive wilds of Egypt. The most renowned amongst them is St. Antony. The virtues, the miracles, the temptations, the victories of this holy man over the infernal spirits, have rendered his name famous in ecclesiastical history. Born of rich parents, he inherited an ample patrimony. Entering one day into the church, and hearing the words of our blessed Saviour to the young man in the gospel,* “If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all thou hast, give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven,” he applied the divine counsel to himself, and literally followed its direction. Thus disengaged from all worldly concerns, the virtuous youth retired to the desert; to serve God alone, and to sanctify his soul by the exercise of every perfect virtue that lay within the reach of a solitary life, was the sublime object he had in view, and that object he constantly kept before his eyes. The means he employed for the attainment of that object were manual labour, mortification, and prayer. By manual labour he furnished himself with the few necessities of life he stood in need of, and what remained he carefully reserved for the poor: by the help of corporal mortification, he subjected his mind and senses in a most perfect manner to the law of God: by prayer, in fine, he warmed his soul with the purest sentiments of devotion, and closely united himself to God. His sole repast of the day consisted of bread and a little salt, he drank of the running stream, and his short repose at night was upon a mat, or the bare ground.

After some time spent in this manner he crossed over to the western bank of the Nile, and penetrated into the dreary wilds of Thebaid, in Upper Egypt, where he hoped to live quiet, unmolested, and unknown to men. Satan, envious of his happiness, appeared to him in hideous shapes, and by various temptations endeavoured to deter him from his virtuous course. The fiend’s malicious endeavours only

* Luke xviii. 22.

served to show how weak his power is against the true servants of God. By humility, by fasting, and by prayer, the Saint defeated and put him to flight. Antony, thus trained and exercised in the spiritual warfare, was destined by the Holy Ghost to be not only the example, but also the instructor of others in the divine service. The fame of his sanctity spread through the wilderness, which was now become the resort of many devout solitaries. They flocked in crowds to his retreat, humbly requesting to put themselves under his direction, that they might thereby add to the virtues of evangelical poverty and chastity, the merit likewise of obedience. He considered and granted their request. Their numbers being great, he found it necessary to build dwellings for their reception. He then formed them into as many communities as there were houses, over each of which he appointed an abbot, or local superior. This was the beginning of the monastic order.

Some of these cenobites were ordained Priests, that all might have the benefit of the sacraments and mass celebrated amongst them. Every thing moved under the direction of St. Antony, according to the order he established of monastic discipline. Their monasteries are described by St. Athanasius, as so many houses of prayer, where the hours of the day are successively spent in singing the praises of God, in reading, in meditating, in watching, and fasting. "Animated with a lively hope of never-ending bliss, these holy solitaries," says he, "hold the transitory goods of earth in contempt, as beneath their notice, while their incessant study is to perfect themselves in the habit of virtues the most pure and sublime." Their abstemious and austere mode of life impaired not their health, nor the active vigour of their minds; their serene and cheerful looks indicated a peace of soul, which no enjoyment of perishable goods can give. St. Antony reached the hundred and fifth year of his age, and died in 356.

At the same time flourished the celebrated Abbot, St. Pacomius. He was a native of Thebaid, born of idolatrous parents, and in his youth forced to serve in the army of Licinius against Maximin. By the sweet disposition of divine Providence he afterwards became a Christian, a hermit, and the father of many monks. Having obtained his discharge at the end of the war, he put himself under the direction of a holy solitary, named Palemon, by whose instructions he made such rapid progress in the science of Saints, that in a short time he himself became an eminent master of a spiritual life. He founded the spacious monastery of Tabenna, upon the banks of the Nile; the fame of his sanctity drew many fervent Christians together, who under his conduct composed different communities, widely spread through the barren desert of Thebaid, in the Upper Egypt. He delivered to them a written rule, which, according to the account he himself gave to St. Palemon, was brought to him by an Angel, and by the observance of which thousands arrived to the highest pitch of Christian perfection. He died in the year 348.

Another shining light of the desert was St. Hilarion, a native of Palestine. His idolatrous parents sent him at an early age to study grammar at Alexandria, where he embraced the Christian religion. From a child he had ever expressed his dislike of paganism, and

manifested a natural propensity for true virtue. Being baptized, and well grounded in the principles of religion, he felt himself inspired to study and learn the perfection of it in silent solitude. He put himself under St. Anthony, who had fixed his residence on a mountain near the Red Sea. After some stay with him, he hastened back into his own country to practice the sublime lessons he had received from his enlightened director. Finding his parents dead, he distributed his goods between his brothers, and the poor, reserving nothing to himself, and retired into a wilderness, which stretches along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. There he dwelt for many years in the most rigid abstinence and total abnegation of himself. Yet amidst all his rigours of a mortified and devout life, God permitted him to experience strong temptations, with which the impure spirit long molested his imagination, but which he heroically overcame by the help of prayer, and an invincible fortitude of mind, aided by the grace of God. The fame of his sanctity spread abroad. Many flocked to see the wonderful man who had the gift of miracles, and to beg his prayers. In process of time he was joined by thousands of pious solitaries, whom he distributed into monasteries, and trained to evangelical perfection. Prayer and manual work by turns were the whole occupation of these holy hermits. A few ounces of bread, with boiled legumes, or raw roots, with a little salt, furnished them with a meal, which they took but once in the four and twenty hours, when the day was far spent. To weary nature they allowed no longer rest than was necessary to recruit their strength for the labour of the ensuing day. Some of them cultivated the ground, some made mats, and others baskets, which they sold, and with the price procured for themselves the few necessities they wanted, bread and clothing. What remained they distributed among the poor. Such are the virtues which faithful history has recorded of these holy solitaries; virtues, at which self-conceited sophisters may sneer, but which more enlightened Christians will ever admire and revere. The Church no less abounds in examples than in the doctrine of evangelical perfection. She displays the character of true sanctity, not only in her doctrine, but in her dutiful children, who, by following her doctrine, shine in every age, the bright examples of heroic virtue. St. Hilarion, notwithstanding the innocent, the penitential, and the holy life he had led, trembled with fear when he saw the awful moment of his mortal dissolution was at hand. He considered how perfect ought to be the purity and sanctity of a soul, that is on the point of appearing before a God of infinite holiness and justice. But while he trembled under that lively impression of the divine judgments, he encouraged his soul to an humble confidence in the mercy and merits of his Redeemer. "Go forth," said he to himself, "what doest thou fear? Go forth, my soul, what doest thou apprehend? It is near threescore and ten years that thou hast served Christ, and art thou afraid of death?" Scarce had he spoke these words, when he placidly expired in 371.

SECTION VI. *Baptism of Constantine.*

THE defeat and death of Maxentius left Constantine in possession of the whole west, without a rival. Licinius, his brother-in-law and colleague in command, reigned in the east. A.D. 324. The appearance of harmony and friendship, that seemed to subsist between them, gave hopes of lasting peace to the empire. But Licinius, equally faithless in his promises and ambitious of power, imprudently sought to extend his dominions by new conquests. He declared war against Constantine, over whom he expected to gain the same glorious advantages that he had gained over Maximin. The loss of two battles lost him his crown, and reduced him to the necessity of throwing himself upon the victor's clemency to save his life. Constantine not only pardoned, but generously gave him back his crown on certain conditions, which were not observed. In the perverse heart of Licinius, the generous conduct of a brother-in-law excited rather a desire of revenge than any sentiments of gratitude. He looked out for a fresh subject of quarrel, and industriously provoked a renewal of war. He first commenced a cruel persecution against the Christians within his dominions, and then instigated the Sarmatians to invade the Roman territory. Constantine was roused to revenge the insult; a bloody war began with equal animosity on both sides, several battles were obstinately fought with various success; the struggle at last ended in the total overthrow of Licinius, with the extinction of his whole race.

Constantine might now seem to have attained the summit of worldly grandeur: he commanded the whole Roman empire, without the appearance of any one to share or to contest his power. But Constantine was not yet a Christian. Singular were the marks of Providence which had hitherto watched over him, and brought his political projects to a happy issue: great also and decided was the support which he had given to the Christian religion, of which he publicly avowed himself the friend and benefactor. But whether he should adopt the principles, and profess the tenets of that religion, he was not wholly determined. By a rescript he sent from Sardica to Rome, commanding the augurs to exercise the public functions of their office, in the manner they had formerly done, he sanctioned the Pagan superstitions. The Christians were alarmed, knowing what extensive powers the college of augurs had in all religious matters, when permitted to act. Their alarms were too well grounded. The augurs grew insolent at the grant, and taking advantage of the emperor's absence, harassed the Christians in their religious assemblies, and caused popular commotions in Rome. A kind of persecution was set on foot. Pope Silvester thought it neither safe nor prudent for him to remain in the city. He privately withdrew, and concealed himself in the mountain of Soracte.

During an uninterrupted succession of temporal prosperity, Constantine seems to have forgotten his religious purpose of embracing Christianity; nor was he yet sufficiently acquainted with Christian principles to grow wise unto salvation by domestic lessons of affliction, which he had lately met with. By Minervina, his first wife, he had a son named Crispus, a virtuous and comely prince, whose

misfortune was to have been criminally courted and betrayed by his step-mother, the wicked Fausta. This faithless woman solicited him to an incestuous act, which his soul abhorred. With keen reproach he rejected her impudent suit. Disappointment immediately changed her fondness into rancour, and her criminal attachment into a desire of revenge. She took the first opportunity to accuse the chaste youth of a crime which was solely her own. Constantine, too credulous and too hasty in admitting the charge, sought no further proof, but in his wrath, on the bare assertion of his unfaithful wife, condemned his innocent son to die. Fausta's slander lay not long undiscovered; her conjugal infidelities with other men were fully proved against her. The capital punishment, which she thereby incurred and underwent, may have made some atonement for her guilt; but it could not repair the harm, nor efface the disgrace it brought upon the imperial family. Constantine ordered her to be stifled in a hot bath.

These calamities of his family humbled the pride of Constantine in the midst of victory; he felt their sting, but did not profit by them; he still neglected the call of heaven. The miraculous apparition of a Cross had assured him in express terms, that in that sign he should be victorious. The victories which he had gained over Maxentius, Maximin, Licinius, and other tyrants, were the least part of what was portended by those very significant words, *In this be thou victorious*. In their full import those words moreover indicated a victory far more important to the world, and to Constantine himself; a victory, which was to overthrow the superstitious powers of idolatry, and to plant the triumphant standard of the Cross in the capitol of imperial Rome. The pride of worldly grandeur had hitherto stifled in Constantine's breast the humble sentiments of Christianity, and the din of war had rendered him deaf to the voice of the Almighty. In punishment of his neglect God struck him with a leprosy.* Blinded by the superstitious errors of his youth, he consulted the augurs what he must do to be cured. They told him he must bathe in a bath of infant's blood. Whether they were serious in their answer, or whether they meant to reproach him for the kind of death to which he had condemned his wife Fausta, their patroness, it matters not, but he rejected with horror their inhuman proposal. In his sleep on the following night he saw two heavenly personages, known by his description of them to be St. Peter and St. Paul, who admonished him to find out Silvester, who lay concealed in the mountain of Soracte, and that from his hand he would receive the cure of his distemper in the salutary waters of baptism. Constantine awoke, in obedience to the heavenly admonition sought out St. Silvester, and submitted himself to his direction. The holy Pope employed some days in instructing him in the necessary points of religion, after which he baptized him with the usual ceremonies in a place adjoining the church of St. John Lateran, known at this day by the name of Constantine's baptistery.

These facts are so well attested by various authorities, that they never could have been called in question, were it not for a passage

* See Baronius, Alford, an. 324.

in Eusebius the historian. Eusebius, whose authority is justly accounted great, where party interest is not concerned, makes no mention of Constantine being baptized by St. Silvester at Rome, but expressly tells us, he was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the suburbs of that city, a little before his death. The Latins in general give no credit to that assertion of an Arian writer, whose caution in suppressing many other interesting circumstances of Constantine's life is notorious. He had a particular interest to serve in suppressing the truth of that emperor's baptism. His baptism at Rome could not be related without its circumstances. The very mention of a leprosy would have made a harsh sound in the ears of his son Constantius. A courtly writer would be cautious not to pen down any thing that could hurt the feelings of his sovereign. The religious sentiments of Constantius were likewise to be considered, and as nicely managed. Constantius was an Arian, so was Eusebius, both equally disaffected to Silvester, for having anathematized their darling heresiarch. The honour then of having baptized the first Christian emperor was to be silently snatched from the Roman Pontiff, and to be bestowed upon the bishop of Nicomedia, the ringleader of the Arian party. Besides the deadly blow, which had been given them in the council of Nice, they had received several other defeats, which lowered them in the opinion of mankind: some bold attempt then became necessary to raise their sinking credit. Nothing could appear better calculated for the purpose, than to represent Constantine the Great, the known protector of Catholic doctrine, in his last sickness, asking and receiving baptism from an Arian bishop. The story is modestly told; it even breathes an air of seeming piety and religion, but it cannot be well reconciled with what Eusebius himself writes of Constantine in other parts of his history. Hence serious doubts are entertained, whether that passage be the genuine production of that celebrated historian, or rather the posthumous invention of some other Arian.

But be that as it may, both Binius and Baronius, with great force of argument conclude, that the whole Greek account is a mere fiction. These learned authors ground the justness of their conclusion on the acts of a numerous council of Bishops held at Rome in 324, with St. Silvester at their head, positively asserting, that Constantine was baptized at Rome, and healed of his leprosy in the sacred font. These acts were signed by the emperor himself, and his mother St. Helen, as may be seen in the second volume of the Councils, printed at Paris in the Louvre, 1644. In the second place, they cite the authentic letter of Pope Adrian to the bishops assembled in the second Council of Nice, attesting the same fact, as the original acts of that Council testify. These authorities are weighty, and seemingly conclusive. Yet Fleury, the French ecclesiastical historian, makes no mention of them, but boldly presents us with the Greek account from Eusebius, as if no doubt either of its authenticity or its truth had been ever started.

SECTION VII. *Arianism.*

CONSTANTINE'S religious conduct, from the date of his baptism, A.D. 324. assumes a new aspect. Though he had long before acknowledged the absurdity of admitting a plurality of gods, yet he continued to encourage the public functions of the augurs, which made a part of the Pagan system. He had for years admired and protected the Christian religion, but had not hitherto made its precepts his rule of practice. At length, after the repeated warnings he had received from God, he seriously resolved to remain no longer in suspense between two irreconcilable contradictions, the errors of Paganism, and the truths of Christianity: he became steady and uniform, not only in his belief, but in practice also of the Catholic religion. Hence Eusebius, in different parts of his writings, styles him "the servant of Christ, dear to God, endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, a man of singular piety, innocent and faithful, religiously exact in performing all the duties of life, not ashamed of the profession, but glorying in the name, and signing his forehead at times with the salutary mark of a Christian." These unequivocal traits of a true believer in Jesus Christ, drawn by the pen of a Christian bishop, are no ways applicable to a heathen, or to a catechumen; they manifestly indicate and describe a person who has been baptized, and has exercised himself for some time at least in the practices of a Christian life. The fabulous story of Constantine's being admitted a catechumen only in his last sickness, and baptized upon his death-bed, is consequently overthrown by the evidence of Eusebius himself.

After the defeat of Licinius, Constantine had no competitor in the empire, no enemy in the field to contend with. An universal peace left him free to attend more minutely to himself; sharp remorse also stimulated him to wash away the crimes of which his conscience accused him. Being then regenerated to God in the waters of baptism, and admitted into the bosom of the Church, we find him frequenting the assemblies of the Faithful, joining in prayer with them, sitting in council with the bishops, and haranguing on different points of religion, annually celebrating the feast of Easter with singular marks of piety, pulling down the idolatrous temples, and erecting magnificent churches in their stead. The Church of St. John Lateran on Mount Cælius, that of St. Peter upon the Vatican hill, that of St. Paul in the Ostian way, and several others, all richly ornamented and endowed from the imperial treasury, are standing monuments of Constantine's liberality and religion. He distributed alms abundantly among the poor, particularly to orphans and widows; and on such maidens as were exposed to the danger of being ruined for want of bread, he bestowed suitable portions to enable them to marry. To the clergy, and to those who by a special profession devoted themselves to the divine service in a state of perpetual chastity, he granted many privileges and exemptions.

Under the protection of a Christian emperor the Church was now free; the terrors of persecution were removed, the bishops lay under no restraint in the public exercise of their pastoral functions, the people ran to embrace a religion, sanctioned by the example of their

beloved sovereign. Such was the pleasing aspect of affairs, when heresy emerged from the dark abyss. Arius, a turbulent and ambitious priest of Alexandria, had aspired to the episcopal chair of that city, but being defeated in his pretensions by the election of Alexander, he gave vent to his spleen, and began to declaim against the doctrine of that holy prelate. A mortified figure, an emaciated visage, and an imposing air of modesty, blended with a sedate maturity of age, gained him many partizans. Emboldened by their numbers, he began to dogmatize against the divinity of Christ, and openly asserted that the Son of God was not equal to his Father in nature and substance. The doctrine was new; the Faithful was shocked and scandalized. The good bishop Alexander sent for Arius, in a cool and friendly manner argued the matter with him, by exhortation, by letter, by every gentle method endeavoured to bring him back to a right way of thinking, till finding him obstinately bent on maintaining and propagating his errors, he convoked a synod of his suffragan bishops, and in form pronounced sentence of excommunication against him. He informed Pope Silvester of what he had done.

Arius seemed struck at first, but soon recovering from the stroke, resolved to maintain his point, and to strengthen his party. With this design he secretly withdrew into Palestine, where he gained some proselytes, and from thence went to Nicomedia. There he worked himself into the good graces of Eusebius, the bishop of that city, who gave a favourable hearing to his doctrine, and from that time became a strenuous supporter of the Arian faction. Proud of this acquisition to his party, Arius grew bold, went back to Alexandria, and openly propagated his blasphemous tenets, in defiance of all authority. The bishop renewed the sentence of excommunication against him, but that did not silence him. The spirit of novelty spread rapidly among the Alexandrians, the city was divided into two opposite parties, violently animated against each other, while some extolled the bishop's zeal, and others condemned his proceedings as too severe. Some bishops even declared for Arius against his bishop. The most riotous disorders were apprehended. Notice was sent to Constantine, that he might provide for the public peace. Constantine consulted his confidant Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia, upon the matter. That false prelate cast all the blame upon Alexander, and advised the emperor to enjoin silence upon the two parties. The advice was treacherous, and as foreseen, ineffectual. For heresy is ever bold and clamorous; and the word of God on the other hand is not to be tied up. Constantine then commissioned Osius, the venerable bishop of Cordova, in Spain, to repair to Alexandria, and to mediate a peace, if possible, between the jarring parties. Osius found the task too great for his abilities. On the side of truth no concession could be made; error was too obstinate to submit. In this state of things the emperor concerted measures with St. Silvester to convene the bishops together from every part of the empire, and to have the question finally decided by an authority, which no orthodox Christian can consistently with his religion refuse to obey.

SECTION VIII. *General Council of Nice.*

THE Convocation of a general Council being resolved on, Nice, the principal city of Bithynia, was appointed for the place A. D. 325. of rendezvous on account of its vicinity to Nicomedia, where the emperor then resided. Thither were the bishops invited to repair from the different provinces of the empire. The emperor furnished them with money and conveniences for their journey. Three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides priests and deacons, arrived at Nice for the day appointed; many of them bore in their maimed bodies the glorious marks of the conflicts they had sustained in defence of their faith during the late persecutions. On the nineteenth day of June, 325, they assembled in a spacious hall, well adapted for the purpose. The Pope St. Silvester not being able to assist in person, on account of his great age, the celebrated Osius, with two deputed priests, Vitus and Vincent, presided in his name. The assembled bishops, each one sitting in order according to his rank, remained in profound silence, till the emperor made his appearance, when all rose up. Constantine, magnificently attired in his imperial robes of state, unarmed, and without his guards, entered the hall with no other attendants than the Christian officers of his household. The manly comeliness of his person, and the awful majesty of his look, tempered with an air of unaffected modesty, drew respect from the whole assembly, who considered him as the guardian messenger of peace. He advanced through the middle to the upper end of the hall, where he remained standing before a lowly seat prepared for him, till a sign was made by the bishops for all to take their seats.

After a short pause, Eustathius, the venerable bishop of Antioch rose, and in a few words explained to the Fathers the subject of dispute, which had been agitated in the church of Alexandria, and was now submitted to them for a final decision. Eustathius having thus briefly stated the nature of the controversy, sat down again; a deep silence ensued, and every eye was turned on Constantine. He met their looks of expectation with a smiling countenance; then pausing for some minutes, seemingly to recollect himself, he placidly addressed them in Latin, which was his native tongue, and the language of the empire. He began by expressing the lively satisfaction he felt at meeting so venerable an assembly on this important occasion; he said it was important, because the question they had to decide was nothing less, than whether Jesus Christ were truly God or not. He next called their attention to another material point, respecting the celebration of Easter-day. This point, he observed, had been already determined by the bishop of Rome, and his determination had been dutifully followed by the bishops of Italy, of Spain, of Gaul, of Britain, of Germany, of Africa, of Greece, and Egypt; the only provinces in which the pontifical decree was not duly observed, were Syria and Mesopotamia. In their discussion of these two points, the first of which regarded faith, the second ecclesiastical discipline, he warmly recommended to them unanimity and despatch, assuring them, that he there sat as a hearer only, not as a judge of the controversy; that he should attend their

deliberations not to control, but to support the freedom of debate ; not to dictate, but to receive their decisions, which he should revere as the oracles of heaven, and maintain with his whole authority. His speech was then repeated in Greek, for the better information of the Greek bishops, who were more conversant in their own than in the Latin language, after which the Council entered upon business.

Arius, who had been denounced as the author and propagator of impious doctrines, was cited to appear before the Council. He appeared with all that boldness which the consciousness of having secured a party amongst his judges was capable of inspiring. In fact, he had gained over to his side twenty-two bishops, of whom the most distinguished were the two Eusebiuses of Nicomedia, and Cæsarea in Palestine. Trusting to the interest and abilities of these prelates, and blindly confident of success, he openly declared his sentiments concerning the divinity of Jesus Christ, and flatly denied him to be God. The sound of this blasphemous declaration gave a general shock to the Fathers of the Council, many of whom showed their wounds and honourable scars they had received in testimony of their firm belief in his divinity. The Eusebians, however, blushed not to deliver a contrary opinion, and a warm dispute ensued. To cut the matter short, the Council had immediately recourse to Scripture and Tradition. Each bishop was called on to declare the doctrine he had received on the point in question from his predecessors in that particular See. From Scripture it was clearly evinced, that Jesus Christ was truly God, and by tradition or the concurrent testimony of all particular churches there represented in union with the See of Rome, it was fully ascertained, that the divinity of Jesus Christ had been always held and taught by the Church as a fundamental tenet of Catholic belief.

The point of faith being thus settled and confirmed by the Council, the next subject of consideration was to express the truth in so forcible and concise a manner as to leave no room for quibble or evasion to the Arian party. For the Eusebians readily admitted all the texts of Scripture that were adduced in proof of Christ's divinity ; but those texts they either explained away by subtle sophistry, or wrested to their own sense. They even admitted the term *God* to be strictly applicable to Jesus Christ ; but in that sense only in which the Psalmist speaks, as quoted by our blessed Saviour himself in St. John, " I said, you are Gods, and sons all of the Most High." To silence these quibbles, the term *Homousios*, or *Consubstantial*, was proposed, and finally adopted, to express the doctrine which the Arians sought to evade. The term imports an identity of substance eternally existing in the divine nature between the Father and the Son ; it expresses the co-equality of Jesus Christ with God the Father, in nature, in substance, in divinity, and in all perfection from eternity. By the admission of this term the Eusebians saw their whole system would be overturned at once, and therefore exerted all their abilities to have it set aside, as new and unwarranted by Scripture. Equally futile and deceitful was the pretext. With the exception of five bishops only, the Council unanimously declared, that the term *consubstantial*, though new in

itself, contained no new doctrine, nothing but what the scripture taught in other words, nothing but what the church had always believed from its first institution by Christ. The term is inserted in the formulary, which is called the Nicene Creed, and stands to all succeeding ages, as the touchstone of orthodox belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

The question of faith being thus finally decided, the council proceeded to enact certain canons for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. Amongst these canons, that which fixes the uniform celebration of Easter-day, justly claims our first notice. It enacts, that Easter-day in future shall be universally kept on the first Sunday after the first full moon that follows the vernal equinox. Every point for which the council had been called being now discussed and regulated, the bishops proceeded in due order to sign their own decision. In the first place appears the name of Osius, as president, holding the place of Silvester the Roman Pontiff. Before they separated, they drew up and directed a synodical epistle to St. Silvester, whom they style the blessed Pope of Rome, requesting him to confirm their decrees by his apostolical authority. Thus, at the end of five weeks ended the celebrated Council of Nice, which the church has ever held in the greatest veneration. Happy at so important an event, Constantine gave a public entertainment to the bishops before they separated, made them handsome presents, and dismissed them with honour to their respective homes. Particular instructions had been given by the council to have its decrees duly notified to the absent bishops, and Constantine published two imperial mandates, to enforce their observance through the whole empire.

SECTION IX. *Invention of the Cross.*

POPE SILVESTER, having received the Acts of the Council, immediately assembled the bishops of Italy, and by his apostolical authority confirmed its decrees for the whole Church. A.D. 326. "For such is the rule," says Socrates the historian,* that no decrees shall bind universally, unless sanctioned by the bishop of Rome." With this supreme sanction the decrees of the Nicene Council were respectfully received every where by the Christian world. Some few individuals, indeed, had the impious audacity to form an opposition, at the head of which was Arius himself, Eusebius the bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis, bishop of Nice. Banishment by the emperor's order was the punishment of their rebellion.

The abettors of heresy being thus silenced for the present, Constantine, with Helen his mother, made a progress into Palestine. That pious empress, now eighty years of age, had long wished to visit the land which the Son of God in human form had sanctified by his footsteps, and to find the cross on which he had consummated the world's redemption. She was told, that to succeed in this undertaking she must first find the holy Sepulchre, which lay buried, according to tradition, under a mountain of earth. The fact is thus stated. In primitive times the Christians used to flock in crowds

* Lib. ii. chap. 13.

to the sacred grotto, and there pray. This gave offence to the inveterate Jews, still remaining up and down in the country. They maliciously informed Adrian, the emperor, of these religious meetings, and expressed their apprehensions of the dangerous consequences that were likely to ensue from them to the ancient worship. Adrian thought there might be grounds for such apprehensions, and therefore gave immediate orders that the whole circumference of Calvary should be covered over with an immense mound of earth. The order, at a vast expense, and with infinite labour, was carried into effect, and a Pagan temple, with the statue of Venus, erected on the top. St. Helen, with a pure motive, undertook to undo what Adrian had done two hundred years before. Numbers of hands were set to work, a whole mountain was removed, they came to the surface of the old mount of Calvary: the holy Sepulchre was at last discovered, and near it was found the Cross, with other instruments of our Saviour's crucifixion. The memory of this Invention is celebrated annually by the Church, on the third of May. The emperor ordered three magnificent churches to be built, one over the holy Sepulchre, another not far distant on mount Olivet, in honour of our Lord's ascension, and a third at Bethlehem, in honour of his birth. Round the church of the Sepulchre was built a new town, opposite to the old one, and not in the same place. This is thought by some to be the new Jerusalem, predicted by the Prophets.

In the course of this year 326, while Constantine was in the east, died Alexander, the holy bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius, who had accompanied him to the Council of Nice, was chosen his successor. Athanasius was a name dreaded by the Arian faction. They were well apprised of his learning, of his piety, of his steady and active vigour in opposing a doctrine which they were determined to revive. The emperor's firm attachment to the Council deterred them for the present from acting openly, but they spared no pains in working underhand to retrieve their baffled cause. The banishment of their heresiarch and his chief supporters, had lost them the favour of the people. To recover this loss was the first and principal object to be aimed at, and this could no otherwise be effected than by the recall of their friends from banishment, and the disgrace of their chief antagonists, Athanasius and Eustathius, neither of which could be obtained without the emperor's concurrence. How to gain or to surprise him into their schemes was the difficulty. The sickness of Constantia, his favourite sister, and widow of Licinius, furnished them with a fair and successful opportunity.

Constantia had unfortunately conceived a high opinion of Eusebius, the banished bishop of Nicomedia. The Arian priest, who attended her in her illness, knew it, and represented to her, that if she could but obtain his and his friend's recall, it would be an act highly meritorious. Constantine loved his sister even to fondness, he made her frequent visits during this her last illness; she had gained a fatal influence over him against his reason and religion. She exerted it in those tender circumstances, when a denial could scarce be uttered, she exerted it in favour of Arius, and his friends Eusebius and Theognis. By her moving and repeated entreaties, she made the

emperor believe that these false men had only erred in the manner of expressing themselves, that their sentiments were perfectly orthodox, and that a mistaken punishment of innocent churchmen might be attended with dangerous consequences to the empire and religion. Constantine unhappily let himself be prevailed on; he permitted the culprits, upon their making an equivocal and counterfeit submission, to return from exile. Their return was the prelude to melancholy scenes both in church and state.

SECTION X. *Intrigues of the Arians.*

THE Arian chiefs being now at liberty, lost no time in setting A. D. 328. their engines to work for the establishment of their plan, which was to plant Arianism in Egypt, and over all the east. With this view, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his confidential friend Theognis, the bishop of Nice, set off for Palestine under the pretext of visiting the magnificent churches which were there building, but in fact to procure the ruin of Eustathius, the learned and holy bishop of Antioch, whom they considered as one of their most powerful opponents. There they met with Eusebius of Cæsarea, and several other bishops in the Arian interest, with whom they concerted measures for the removal of Eustathius from his church. Under the mask of friendship they paid him a visit on their return from Jerusalem. The unsuspecting prelate received them kindly, and on their proposing to hold a synod with him, for the good of religion, he readily consented. During the session, they introduced a common prostitute, whom they had hired, with an infant at her breast, impudently asserting it to be the child of Eustathius. In vain did the virtuous prelate protest against the infamous slander; the cabal was formed, on the woman's unsupported assertion he was pronounced guilty, and sentence of deposition passed against him by iniquitous judges, who had no jurisdiction over him. Eusebius immediately posted away with the account to Constantine, who ratified the uncanonical sentence, and sent the innocent Eustathius into banishment.

This victory being thus obtained, Eusebius directed his next attack against Athanasius, an antagonist in his eyes still more formidable than Eustathius. Athanasius soon after his promotion to the patriarchal chair of Alexandria, made a visitation of all the churches, subject to the jurisdiction of that See, which then held the next rank to that of Rome. He visited not only each bishop in his respective diocese, but also the solitary ascetics, who lived in cells dispersed through the wilds of Egypt. A modern sophister of this refining age, who has never known, or conceitedly rejects the evangelical councils of perfection, may fancy, and even write, that these devout solitaries had probably mistaken their objects; but the enlightened Athanasius has formed a very different opinion of them. He found their plan of life to be a holy one, their motive pure, and their virtues perfect. To subdue their passions, to sanctify their souls, and to make their election sure by an uninterrupted practice of good works, was the noble object they had in view. By their example the holy prelate felt himself animated with fresh vigour to

maintain the cause of religion. He prevailed upon St. Antony to come down from his mountain, and to visit Alexandria, that by word and example he might encourage the Faithful to persevere in their faith against the Arians, who were all this while very active in disseminating their errors, and had gained an alarming number of bishops over to their party. But Eusebius of Nicomedia thought little done as long as Athanasius governed the See of Alexandria, and therefore resolved not to rest till he had procured his deposition, or his banishment. The return of Arius to Alexandria, furnished him with a good ground to work upon. The emperor by recalling that heresiarch from exile, had implicitly acknowledged his innocence. Athanasius persisted in refusing to receive him into his communion. Eusebius wrote to him upon the subject; Athanasius replied, that he could not possibly admit an arch-heretic, who stood publicly anathematized by an œcumenical council. The answer was such as he expected: a similar answer to the emperor himself, who was naturally jealous of his authority, and expected immediate obedience to all his mandates, he hoped would create a quarrel and effect the patriarch's ruin. With this malignant view he persuaded the unguarded Constantine to send Athanasius an absolute order to receive Arius into his communion, under the penalty of deposition and exile. The intrepid minister of God made answer, "that an heresy, which attacked the divinity of Jesus Christ, could have no communion with the Catholic Church." The answer appeared to Constantine so just and satisfactory, that far from provoking his resentment, it gained his approbation.

Eusebius, seeing his first scheme thus prove abortive, had recourse to a second, more iniquitous and more successful. Crimes of the blackest dye, treason, adultery, sacrilege, and murder, were forged and thrown upon the virtuous patriarch. The accusation was in due form laid before the emperor, and false witnesses were secretly suborned to give colour to the charge. The allegations wore a plausible appearance, and made a strong impression upon the mind of Constantine. He ordered a competent number of bishops to assemble at Cæsarea in Palestine, and to examine if there were sufficient grounds for so heinous an accusation. These transactions passed in the year 331, but the bishops did not meet till the year 334, and they then met at Tyre to the number of sixty, chiefly Arians, of whom the two Eusebiuses were the busy leaders, and contrivers of the whole plot. In compliance with the emperor's orders, Athanasius likewise repaired thither with some orthodox bishops of Egypt. On his entering the place of assembly he was received with the utmost marks of disgrace, being allowed to take no seat, but compelled to stand like a public criminal before an heterodox cabal, that had conspired to accuse, to judge, and condemn him. The good Egyptians remonstrated against this unworthy treatment of their patriarch. Their remonstrances were disregarded; the determined resolution of the Eusebians was to defame and oppress the innocent at all hazards. An impudent woman was introduced to swear a rape against him. The woman did not so much as know Athanasius; she positively swore the crime on Timothy his priest, who undertook to personate him before the

judges, and by her barefaced perjury acquitted the accused prelate. Another head of accusation was the supposed murder of one Arsenius, whom Eusebius had secretly confined, and reported to have been maimed and murdered by Athanasius: in proof of this was shewn the hand of a dead man, as having been cut off for some magic purpose. But Arsenius in the interim had escaped from confinement, came to Tyre, and unexpectedly appeared in the middle of the assembly, sound of both hands, a living evidence of Arian villainy. With similar demonstrations of innocence in one hand, and of malicious slander on the other, every charge of criminality was completely done away, beyond the possibility of a doubt. But as if every charge had been proved true as clearly as it was proved false, the iniquitous judges pronounced sentence of deposition against the guiltless patriarch.

Constantine was at that time busily occupied in directing the building of his new city, to which he gave the name of Constantinople. Thither Eusebius transmitted to him the sentence of Athanasius's deposition. Athanasius, by the advice of his friends, followed soon after, to lay before the emperor the true state of what had passed at Tyre. He requested an audience, but previous care had been taken that he should not be admitted. Constantine grounded his conduct in this affair upon the authority of what he called the Council of Tyre; and notwithstanding the strong presumption that appeared against the legality of its decrees, suffered himself to be betrayed into an act the most tyrannical and unjust. But lest the decrees of his Arian cabal should not work their desired effect on the mind of Constantine, Eusebius backed them with a new forgery, charging Athanasius with a design of stopping the transportation of grain from Egypt to Constantinople. This imaginary attempt upon the civil jurisdiction exasperated the credulous emperor, and provoked him to dictate, without further examination, a peremptory order, that banished the slandered patriarch to Treves, the capital city of Belgic Gaul.

SECTION XI. *Death of Constantine.*

CONSTANTINE, by this proceeding against Athanasius, left the A. D. 337. Arians at liberty to establish their errors without opposition. Being flattered by the Eusebiuses' into a false persuasion, that Arianism was now totally extinct, he became without design the fatal promoter of it. He sent an order to the assembly, still sitting at Tyre, to repair at his expense to Jerusalem, for the solemn dedication of his church of the holy Sepulchre. It was a noble structure, finished with equal taste and magnificence. The ceremony of its dedication was performed with great pomp. The bishops, during their stay at New Jerusalem, employed their time in private conferences upon various subjects of religion, in external acts of devotion, and in fulsome panegyric upon Constantine; which gave Eusebius of Cæsarea an advantageous opportunity of displaying his talents in that kind of eloquence. Whenever a great man is weak enough to appear pleased with flattery, he will always find a parasite ready to bestow it. Such was Constantine's misfortune.

In the midst of these solemn ceremonies who should appear but

Arius himself, bearing an equivocal profession of his faith in one hand, and a letter of recommendation from Constantine in the other, praying the bishops to receive him into their communion. His prayer was granted. Proud of this advantage, he hastened to Alexandria, not doubting of a favourable reception, since Athanasius was no longer there. But the Catholic clergy knew his duplicity too well to be imposed upon, either by his protestations, or by the hypocrisy of the Eusebians. They refused to communicate with him. Thus disappointed, the impostor went to Constantinople, flattering himself with the thought of being there received by the emperor's order, in a more distinguished manner. His friend Eusebius of Nicomedia was there, who, on the assurance of his orthodoxy, obtained an order from Constantine for his admission into the communion of the Catholic Church. The order manifestly stretched beyond the bounds of civil authority, and trespassed upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; it was directed to Alexander, the last bishop of Byzantium, and the first of Constantinople. The venerable prelate, who had assisted at the Council of Nice, humbly remonstrated, that the order could not be executed with a safe conscience. Eusebius thought to intimidate him into a compliance by threats, telling him to reflect on Athanasius's disgrace, and to consult his own interest. On a Saint, who had never learned to make his Christian duty subservient to worldly considerations, such threats made no impression.

Eusebius, finding he could not carry his scheme with the consent of Alexander, resolved to carry it against his consent. He fixed the day for its execution. He fixed upon a Sunday, that the concourse of people being more numerous the act might be more notorious. Alexander had nothing but his prayers to oppose against the violence that was offered him. In sore affliction he most earnestly prayed, that God, by some visible effect of his power, would either prevent the daring insult in agitation against his divine Son, or take him out of life not to behold it. Prostrate before the altar, he thus prayed the whole night. In the morning at the appointed hour, the Eusebians with great parade led forth their hero in procession towards the Church. In the way Arius had a pressing call of nature; he stepped aside to a proper place of convenience; the procession stood still. They waited some time expecting his return; they grew impatient, they sent to see what was become of him. They found him dead, with his bowels voided out upon the ground.

The public voice immediately proclaimed the fact: it was too public to be concealed or denied. The Eusebians were dumb; the avenging stroke of divine justice was manifest; Constantine at length began to think that he had been deceived. In that perplexity of thought he wrote to recommend himself and sons to the prayers of the celebrated Antony in the desert, of whom he had long entertained a very high esteem. The holy abbot in answer, gave him good instructions, and pressingly exhorted him to recall from exile the much-injured Athanasius. This last advice did not please. Constantine of late had been much in the habit of listening to slander rather than to truth. But affliction soon after gave him understanding. Falling dangerously ill, he expressed his intention,

and gave directions accordingly, for the recall of Athanasius, in spite of all Eusebius could say to dissuade him from it. Finding his illness to increase, he devoutly prepared for death, confessed his sins, received absolution, and every other spiritual help that the Church affords to dying Christians. He died at his castle of Achiron, in the suburbs of Nicomedia, on Pentecost Sunday, in the year 337, after a reign of thirty-one years. The splendour of his military, of his political, and religious achievements, has justly acquired him the surname of Great. His remains were carried to Constantinople according to his direction, and deposited near the altar in the Church of the Apostles. The motive of his giving that direction was, that he might reap the benefit of the mystical sacrifice, and the communion of devout prayers for the repose of his soul, as Eusebius writes.*

SECTION XII. *Violence of the Arians.*

CONSTANTINE the Great left three sons, Constantine, Constantius, A. D. 341. and Constans, in favour of whom he divided the empire into three parts. To Constantine the eldest he devised Britain, Spain, Gaul, and all that lies on this side the Alps. Constantius his second son inherited Thrace, Asia Minor, Egypt, and the east. Constans the youngest had Italy, Africa, Greece, and Illyricum. The Eusebians had gained over Constantius to their party. His protection made them bold; they dissembled their sentiments no longer; they formed the project of setting up a new patriarch of Alexandria in the room of St. Athanasius. But their project was for that time disconcerted by Constantine the younger, who lost no time in sending back Athanasius to his Church, as the late emperor had directed in his last sickness. Constantius durst not oppose it. The return of the illustrious exile was a day of joy and triumph for the Alexandrians. But their joy was soon interrupted by fresh disturbances. The Eusebians invented new calumnies against the holy patriarch, and by deputies boldly laid their accusations before the three emperors, and Julius the Roman Pontiff. Julius had succeeded St. Mark, the immediate successor of St. Silvester, in the holy See. Constantine and Constans made them no answer; Julius agreed with Athanasius's consent to hear and judge between the two parties. Constantine was soon after cut off by an untimely death. In him the Catholic cause lost a powerful protector; his territories were added to those of Constans, and thus the empire became divided into two parts, the eastern and the western. About the same time also died the celebrated historian Eusebius of Cæsarea, and St. Alexander of Constantinople. Paul, commended by Alexander for his learning and exemplary life, was chosen his successor: but Constantius caused him to be deposed, and placed Eusebius of Nicomedia in his room. This gave the Arians a decided superiority over the Catholics at Constantinople, which they maintained with great violence for the space of forty years.

Athanasius in the interim remained not inactive. He assembled

* Lib. iv. chap. 71.

a council at Alexandria, in which about a hundred bishops met to concert measures for the good of that Church. They reviewed the proceedings that had been carried on against their patriarch, and after a full investigation of the whole, declared him innocent of the crimes charged upon him by his persecutors: they moreover declared the sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the Arian conventicle of Tyre, to be unjust and absolutely null. With this justification of his conduct Athanasius repaired to Rome in order to meet his accusers, who had requested to be heard before that tribunal. Julius again and again had summoned them to come and exhibit their grounds of complaint, according to their engagement. They as often held back on some excuse or other, and at last flatly said, they could not come. For upon reflection they did not choose to face their antagonists before an impartial tribunal, having but little hopes of success, where the principle of fair discussion left no room for bribery or cabal. Besides that, Eusebius, who could never remain quiet, was then engaged in the solemn dedication of a new Church at Antioch, where he was met by near a hundred bishops, of whom forty were Arians. He embraced that opportunity of holding a synod with them, and enacting some canons that favoured his secret designs against Athenasius. His design was to exclude the holy bishop for ever from the Church of Alexandria, and to place another in his stead, as it had been already concerted between him and Constantius.

Julius now perceiving that the Eusebians had laid aside all thoughts of appearing before him at Rome, entered upon the examination of Athanasius's cause with fifty other bishops, whom he had called together for that purpose. Accurate information had been taken of the whole business from its very origin. On that authentic information they proceeded, which being corroborated by the clearest evidence of many living witnesses there present on the occasion, left not the smallest ground for doubt upon the true merits of the cause. Julius pronounced Athenasius innocent of the crimes maliciously imputed to him, and wholly free from all censure, which the unjust judgment, given against him in the conventicle of Tyre, may have been thought to inflict.

While justice was thus done to the virtuous patriarch at Rome, the most outrageous violence was offered to his rights at Alexandria. Under the direction of Eusebius the election of another patriarch was brought on and carried in favour of one Gregory, a Cappadocian by birth, and an Arian in belief. The Catholics loudly complained of the injury done thereby to Athenasius, to the clergy, and the Church. Philagrius, the governor of Egypt, an apostate to Heathenism, well known for his cruel and persecuting temper, was sent thither to enforce the emperor's order. By every kind of vexation he tried to make the Catholics acknowledge the intruder Gregory for their bishop; but seeing them steady in their opposition, and bent upon having no communication with him, he encouraged a licentious mob, composed of Arians, Jews, and Pagans, to break into the churches where the Catholics assembled apart for divine service. From such a mob every kind of violence was expected and committed. The sanctuary was plundered, the altars profaned

with Pagan rites, virgins publicly stripped and violated, many, in fine, were beaten to death, amongst whom was Potamon, the holy bishop of Heraclea, who for his faith had already lost an eye in the persecution of Maximin. This was the last wicked scene that Eusebius had the direction of. He died soon after in a very advanced age at Constantinople; but the Arian party died not with him. They, who had been his coadjutors in supporting heresy, now took the lead, Theognis, the bishop of Nice, Ursacius and Valens, bishops of Singidon and Mursa, in Upper Hungary.

SECTION XIII. *Council of Sardica.*

ST. ATHANASIUS, though acquitted and confirmed in his See by A.D. 347. St. Julius, could not with safety return thither on account of the violence of his enemies, who carried every thing by armed force. The religious emperor Constans considered his cause as the public cause of catholicity, and used his most strenuous endeavours to serve him. By his desire a number of western bishops assembled at Milan to confer on the subject of religion with some of the orientals, who were deputed thither by their Arian brethren. These produced a prolix formulary of faith, which they desired all present to subscribe previously to every other question of debate. The western prelates said, they were satisfied with the formulary of Nice, and in their turn proposed that the orientals should join with them in condemning the doctrine of Arius. This proposal the orientals rejected with apparent marks of disgust, and immediately quitted Milan in a very bad humour. This passed in the year 346. Constans still persisted in his endeavours for peace. At the solicitation of Julius, of Osius, and St. Maximin of Treves, he wrote pressing letters to his brother Constantius, that he would consent to have a general council held in order to compose the religious disputes that divided the Christian world. Constantius consented; Sardica, a town of Illyricum upon the borders of the two empires, was appointed for the place of rendezvous.

In May 347, about three hundred bishops met according to notice, of whom eighty were oriental Arians. Pope Julius excused himself from assisting in person; and his excuses being accepted, he sent two priests, Archidamus and Philoxenes, with Leo, a deacon, to represent him. The subject to be treated and decided by them consisted of three points: the first regarded faith, the second regarded the grounds of accusation against Athenasius, and the third regarded the accusations brought against the Eusebians. The oriental bishops on their arrival at Sardica saw they had no chance of carrying any one point, where the imperial power was not to interfere. Conscious of the badness of their cause, and unwilling to undergo the confusion of hearing themselves declared calumniators to their face, they framed pretences for not assisting at the public sessions, and at last resolved to leave the town. They went off by night to Philippopolis, a town in Thrace, where they formed a schismatical synod apart. Their retreat hindered not the remaining prelates at Sardica from continuing their sessions, or from coming to a final decision upon the points in question.

With regard to faith it was proposed that a new formulary should be drawn up and received. Some urged the proposal with great warmth, but the Council wisely rejected it, as injurious to that of Nice, which they judged to be perfectly clear and explicit. The Fathers then made no new decree respecting faith, but confirmed the old one, to which they deemed nothing wanting. They next proceeded to examine the cause of Athanasius, whom after a diligent discussion they pronounced innocent, as he had been pronounced before at Alexandria and Rome. The declared innocence of Athanasius necessarily involved the guilt of the Eusebian faction. The Council in consequence pronounced sentence of excommunication against Gregory, the usurper of the See of Alexandria, and eight other episcopal leaders of that party.

The schismatical synod of Philippopolis held its sessions at the same time, and formed decisions in contradiction to those of Sardica: it excommunicated and dealt about its impotent censures upon Julius, Osius, Athanasius, and other eminent persons of the Catholic party. But they dated none of these acts from Philippopolis, the place of their spurious origin, fearing lest they might have thereby given an authentic proof of their being both schismatics and heretics. They dated them from Sardica, and styled themselves of the Catholic Council. This usurpation of place and title has occasioned confusion among the ignorant, and has led even some writers into a mistaken statement of this particular part of history. The Council held in Sardica is universally admitted to be a true Council, though called by some an appendix to that of Nice. The synod held by the orientals at Philippopolis, was a schismatical conventicle of pure Arians, who on their way to Sardica agreed to act the part they did, and to submit to no ecclesiastical decision, as Macarius and Asterius, two eastern bishops, solemnly declared, and separated from them on that account, to join those of the west.

Osius, who had presided at Nice, seems to have taken the lead at Sardica in forming the decrees and canons of discipline there enacted. The fathers of the Council, having fulfilled the whole object of their meeting directed letters to Julius, and the two emperors, for the speedy execution of their decrees. Constantius showed a tardy reluctance for the execution of decrees which did not please him. But necessity left him no choice. He had a heavy war to maintain against Persia, and his brother Constans threatened him with a civil war, if he did not restore Athanasius and punish his calumniators. In these circumstances he resolved to do with a good grace what he could not avoid doing even against his will. In terms the most flattering he wrote no less than three letters to Athanasius, entreating him to return with all speed to Alexandria, where he was earnestly expected by his faithful flock. The death of Gregory the usurper opened to him a peaceful entry. The holy patriarch immediately assembled his suffragan bishops, and confirmed the decrees of Sardica. St. Maximus did the same in a numerous synod at Jerusalem. Religion now seemed to triumph. Many Arian bishops embraced the opportunity to retract their errors and their calumnies against the guiltless bishop of Alexandria. Ursacius and Valens appeared among the penitent; though their relapse soon after forms a strong presumption that their repentance was not sincere.

SECTION XIV. *Tyranny of Constantius.*

THE zealous exertions of Constans for the orthodox faith had their recompense, we hope, in a better world, they had none in this. Magnentius, who commanded in Gaul, threw off his allegiance and suddenly commenced a civil war against his sovereign. Ambitious of a crown he resolved to snatch it from the brow of Constans. But trusting more to the dagger of an assassin, than to the attachment of an army, which he had drawn into rebellion, he caused him to be basely murdered in 350. He then took upon himself the title of emperor; Gaul, Italy, and Africa, submitted to his usurpation while it lasted. For it lasted not long. Constantius lost no time in attacking the usurper before he could well establish his ill-gotten power. He led his army in person against the rebels, though he did not choose to expose his life in the field. The contest lasted upwards of three years, before the death of Magnentius, by his own sword, put an end to it, and made Constantius sole master of the whole Roman empire.

This revolution of power in the empire rallied the broken spirits of the Arians, who did not doubt of being soon able to carry their point under the protection of an emperor who was their friend by inclination, and who by a sudden turn of his affairs was at liberty to act as they should direct. Arianism had hitherto been confined within the boundary of the east; under the imperial banner it now began its progress towards the west. Constantius in his expedition against Magnentius led with him a courtly train of oriental bishops, all Arians and servile sycophants. These prelates still nourished an implacable hatred against the prelate of Alexandria, whose eminent virtues were lately become as well known in the west as in the east. His active zeal was the terror of their party, nor had they any hope of raising their own credit but upon the ruin of his.— They began to forge fresh matter of complaint, and to disseminate new slanders against the holy man, in order to destroy the high opinion which the western world entertained of his sanctity and talents. Constantius, who by nature as well as by habit was both a tyrant and a persecutor, readily lent them his authority to oppress the man whom he never liked. In that hostile humour he continued his journey into the western parts of his empire. A number of Arian bishops composed a part of the imperial retinue.

These plotting prelates even on their journey began to prepare the works which they hoped to see soon accomplished. They drew out a string of accusations against the bishop of Alexandria, and sent them to Liberius, who had succeeded Julius in the Pontificate. These accusations were all of a civil nature. They accused him of being a disturber of the public peace, a fomentor of religious and civil discord, an enemy to his sovereign, and therefore unworthy of the communion he enjoyed with the holy See. They wisely said nothing of his doctrine: Athanasius saw the storm gathering round him, wrote a respectful letter to warn the emperor against the calumnies of his enemies, and published what is called his great apology to his friends. In this Apology he establishes the most solid proofs of his innocence, and by an unanswerable force of argument evinces, that after having been thrice acquitted by his canonical

judges at Alexandria, Rome, and Sardica, he cannot with any show of justice or reason be brought to another trial. Liberius answered the emperor and Arian bishops, that he could not think of cutting off from his communion a venerable prelate whom the Catholic world universally respected ; he desired that a council might be convened to compose their differences. Two and twenty bishops actually met at Arles, where the emperor was ; Liberius deputed Vincent, the bishop of Capua, to preside in his name. The orientals had the superiority in numbers, in interest, and court influence ; violence bore down all rational resistance ; Athanasius was condemned ; Vincent, the pope's legate, intimidated by threats, signed the condemnation. The holy Father was grievously afflicted at the prevarication of his legate, and immediately employed every means in his power to wipe away the disgrace that attended it.

The convocation of a more numerous council was loudly demanded by both parties, but with very different views. Liberius wished to procure a solid union ; the orientals meant to force the western bishops to subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius. Constantius issued a general order for the bishops of the Church to meet him at Milan. They assembled accordingly in the year 355, upwards of three hundred from the west, and only few from the east. The Pope deputed three legates to represent him in the council. They began their sessions in the Church of Milan ; but a violent contest arising whether they should first take into their consideration the public question of faith, or the personal cause of St. Athanasius, and some apprehensions being entertained lest the people should interfere, Constantius removed the sessions from the church to the palace. There he lorded it over all the bishops with a despotic hand, declared himself the accuser of Athanasius, and insisted upon their signing his condemnation without further examination. Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, one of the Pope's legates, St. Eusebius of Vercelli, and some other prelates strongly remonstrated, that such a procedure was not only unjust but illegal, and contrary to the canons ; the imperial despot in wrath replied, that his will was the canon they had to follow and no other, drew his sword as if he intended to order them for immediate execution, and then bade them choose either prompt obedience to his will, or instant exile. The major part of bishops basely purchased their peace by a forced compliance ; the rest departed into banishment with the testimony of a peaceful conscience. Such was the issue of Constantius's council of Milan.

SECTION XV. *Persecution of Constantius.*

CONSTANTIUS having extorted an unjust sentence from the assembly of Milan, sent a chamberlain to obtain from Pope A. D. 356. Liberius a confirmation of it. The chamberlain went well supplied with menaces and presents to gain the desired approbation by one way or the other. The steady Pontiff heeded not his threats, and with a noble disdain rejected his simoniacal presents. The emperor ordered him to Milan under a strong guard, hoping to intimidate him by his presence ; but finding him inflexible, banished him to Beræa, a town in Thrace. A general persecution then com-

menced, and bitter desolation overspread the Church of Christ. The violences exercised by the Arians against the Catholics, were every where great, but no where greater than in Egypt. No less than ninety bishops in that province alone were driven from their Sees, and replaced by Arians. The chief scene of outrage and bloodshed was at Alexandria, where Athanasius, the prime object of Arian animosity, had resided for some time past without molestation. His life being now in danger, his faithful flock compelled him to retire with the hope of being able to appear again in better times. He retired among the devout inhabitants of the desert. But a price being set upon his head, the wildernesses were ransacked by soldiers in quest of him, and the monks were barbarously persecuted because they would not betray him, nor tell where he lay concealed.

Through the sides of St. Athanasius the Arians slyly directed their arrows against the Church itself. His condemnation and removal from Alexandria, so eagerly pursued, was only a preparatory step towards their impious design. Not to leave the important See of Alexandria without a bishop, they procured the consecration of a man who they thought would answer all their purposes. It was one George, an obscure Cappadocian, who had been a victualler to the army, without education, and without learning, brutish and cruel by nature, a Christian only in name, and a heathen in his heart. No sooner was this sacrilegious intruder seated in the patriarchal chair, than conformably to his imperial master's will he began and continued to persecute the Catholics with every kind of violence, of which Gregory, his Arian predecessor, had given the example, as Theodoret relates. At Constantinople likewise the persecution was carried on with equal fury by Macedonius the Arian, whom Constantius had made bishop in place of St. Paul. Many had the honour of dying for their faith.

Besides this general havoc made among the faithful followers of Jesus Christ, the Church had to deplore the fall of two of her first champions, Osius and Liberius. At three different times a certain number of Arian bishops had met at Sirmium, the metropolis of Illyricum, and had drawn up three different formularies of faith. The first, dated in the year 351, contained no heresy, it neither approved nor rejected the errors of Arius, and was therefore of a suspicious nature. The two others, bearing a later date, openly embraced the Arian and Semiarian heresy. To Osius, now past the hundredth year of his age, who had hitherto acted so distinguished a part in defence of the Catholic faith, the second formulary was proposed by the order of Constantius for his acceptance. The venerable prelate rejected it with scorn; he was put upon the rack; pain subdued his exhausted courage, weak nature yielded, he signed the Arian formulary, and communicated with Ursacius and Valens. This passed at Sirmium and gained him his liberty. Covered with disgrace he immediately retreated to his own church of Cordova, in Spain. There in the spirit of a true penitent he protested against the violence that had been offered him at Sirmium, publicly anathematized the Arian heresy, and exhorted all the world to reject it. He spent the short remains of life in devoutly preparing for death, which happened within a year after, as St. Athanasius assures us.

Pope Liberius had passed two years in banishment at Beræa, when

hard sufferings and deceitful reasoning began to shake his resolution. The continual solicitations of Demophilus the Arian bishop of Beræa, seconded by the delusive arguments of Fortunatian, the temporizing bishop of Aquileia, at length induced him to believe, that he might sign the first formulary of Sirmium, and the condemnation of St. Athanasius, without violating the Catholic faith. He signed both. The fall of so great a prelate is a terrifying instance of human infirmity; to the Faithful it caused both grief and scandal. Liberius fell through weakness, and by an error of judgment: but he fell not into heresy; much less did he approve or teach it. His declaration, however, against St. Athanasius, was a grievous prevarication against justice and truth; it furnished subject of malignant joy to the Arians, it procured the emperor's leave for the guilty Pontiff to return to Rome. During his exile the Arian faction had thrust one Felix into the Pontifical Chair, Constantius proposed, that both of them should govern with equal power. But the people with one universal voice exclaiming, *one Christ, one fold, and one Pastor*, he found the opposition too strong to be resisted without risk, and Felix the Anti-pope was driven out of Rome. If Liberius fell like St. Peter, he also rose like him by a speedy repentance. No sooner had he recovered his See and his liberty, than he loudly declared himself the patron of justice and truth, wrote letters of reconciliation to Athanasius, reprobated the doctrine of Arius, and by his active zeal averted the desolation with which that heresy threatened many churches in the west, as Theodoret testifies in his history.

The tyranny which Constantius had exercised for some years past over the consciences of his Catholic subjects, not being followed with the success he wished, the wicked agents and advisers of his persecuting plans, Ursacius and Valens, suggested to him the convocation of a general council, under the authority of which they hoped to accomplish their end by setting aside the Nicene Creed, and introducing a new one. Constantius relished the advice, and in the year 359 summoned a council to meet at Rimini, a town in Italy near the Adriatic. By his sole authority, and at his expense, there assembled accordingly four hundred bishops, of whom eighty were Arians. Liberius, the Pope, seems to have taken no part in it. But Taurus, prefect of the Pretorian bands, assisted with positive orders to see that the emperor's intention was fulfilled. The Catholic bishops assembled in the church, the Arians in an adjoining place, which they made their oratory; for the two parties no longer prayed together. The Arians brought with them an equivocal profession of faith, which they had previously settled among themselves, and which the emperor was determined to have signed by the council. The terms employed in this formulary to express the nature of the Son of God, were scriptural indeed, but susceptible of a Catholic or of an Arian sense by construction. The word *Consubstantial* being purposely discarded, it is clear in what sense Valens and his associates meant it should be understood. It was no sooner read than rejected by the Catholic prelates, who unanimously decreed, that no deviation from the decisions of Nice, and no new formulary was to be admitted. They pronounced anathema against Arius, against his doctrine, and against his adherents. Three

hundred and twenty bishops subscribed this decree, eighty refused. On these eighty the council passed sentence of excommunication and deposition, as abettors of heresy. Thus far the Catholic prelates had been free, and allowed to act according to the dictates of conscience. Could they then have departed, all would have been well, and Arian malice would have been defeated.

But Constantius was bent on carrying his point. Though at a distance in the east, where his presence was judged necessary to check the progress of the Persian arms, he received regular information of all that passed at Rimini. On finding a more obstinate opposition to his scheme than he had expected, he directed Valens, his prime agent, to exert all the talents he was master of to gain the bishops, and renewed his orders to the prefect Taurus not to let them quit Rimini till they had signed his formulary. The council was now reduced to a state of captivity. The Catholic prelates deputed ten of their number to make remonstrances to the emperor on the violence done them. The Arians deputed the same number of their party. These, who were in collusion with the emperor, obtained all they wished; those obtained nothing, not even a civil reception. They were not in the court secret. They thought the council had fully answered the purpose of its meeting, and till then had had no suspicion of the emperor's impious design, when he called them together. The Arian deputies returned triumphant; the Catholics laboured under very irksome hardships. Nothing was left untried to shake their constancy. For seven months they remained inflexible and unanimous. Some of them then began to relent, though firmly resolved not to resign their faith. But their listening to deceitful men made a breach in their first resolution, through which the spirit of darkness and deception entered amongst them. Valens, in the name of his party, solemnly assured them, that he differed not from them in belief, that he objected to the term *Consubstantial* only, because it was not in the text of holy Scripture. He added, that there was no probability of the emperor's suffering them to visit their respective flocks, unless they first subscribed to his formulary, and that on their subscription depended the peace and union of Christ's Church. By these specious declarations, which they thought sincere, the Catholic prelates were unfortunately deceived, and fancying the doctrine of *Consubstantiality* to be sufficiently expressed in other words of the context, joined the hypocrites in signing the captious formulary.

The mischief was now done. The bishops were permitted to depart; not being conscious of having intended any thing wrong, they were greatly surprised to hear their act every where construed into an approbation of the Arian heresy. The surprise which the bishops expressed at hearing themselves charged with Arianism, is a clear proof that they never thought of signing any thing contrary to faith: nor in fact were they guilty of any error in their belief. But they were guilty of an error in agreeing to the loose manner of expressing their belief, and thereby furnished matter of triumph to their enemies for the moment. Sensible then of their error and their weakness, they began to feel remorse, and by professing the Nicene Creed, endeavoured to repair the scandal they had given by their

unwary condescension. Their improvident act was no sooner known than reprobated by Pope Liberius, and the dispersed bishops of Italy, of Spain, of Britain, of Gaul, of Dalmatia, of Greece, of Africa, of the Islands, and with a few exceptions, of all the oriental Churches, which steadily adhered to the Nicene Creed, as St. Athanasius testifies in his letter to the emperor Jovinian. The acts of the council of Rimini, thus rejected by the Church, in the first instance, have so remained ever since.

Constantius having carried his point at Rimini, in the violent manner we have related, published a strict order, that all bishops to retain their rank, that all magistrates and officers to be qualified for service, should sign his new formulary, and hold communion with the Arians. This is the first religious test that ever was enacted to qualify for civil employments; it was enacted by an Arian despot, who was yet no Christian; it required that every magistrate and public officer to testify his fidelity to the state, should by an act of infidelity prove himself a traitor to Jesus Christ his God and Saviour. Shocking to Christian piety is the idea that such a test ever should have been invented, or ever imitated.

SECTION XVI. *Julian the Apostate.*

CONSTANTIUS, who had passed some time with his army in the east, was returning to Constantinople, when he fell sick in Cilicia. Finding the fever increase and his life in danger, A. D. 361. he sent for Euzoius, the Arian bishop of Antioch, and by him was baptized a little before his death. On the third of November, 361, Constantius died as he had lived, in the profession of Arianism, after a tyrannical and inglorious reign of twenty-four years. Leaving no issue behind him, he was succeeded in the empire by Julian his cousin-german, the son of Julius Constantius, Constantine's half-brother.

Julian, surnamed the Apostate, was about thirty-one years of age when the troops in Gaul proclaimed him emperor during the life of Constantius. He received his first education under the noted Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia, who admitted him to minor orders among the clergy of that church. Being afterwards sent to complete his studies at Athens, he contracted a close intimacy with Maximus and other noted adepts in the black art, by whom he was initiated in the superstitious practices of divination and heathen astrology. He publicly wore the dress and affected the stern deportment of a philosopher. In his discourse and academical disputations he ever betrayed a strong propensity for the Pagan worship, and though he still professed himself a Christian, was privately in fact a heathen. As soon as vested with sovereign power, he threw off all disguise, renounced the Christian name, underwent a superstitious lustration of blood in order to wash out, if possible, the sacred character stamped upon his soul at baptism, publicly professed himself a Pagan, and by law established the Pagan system over the whole Roman empire. Notwithstanding these notorious facts of determined apostacy, Mr. Gibbon, in his florid but romantic History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, gravely tells his readers, that Julian "very narrowly escaped from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint," as if

in this author's idea bishop or a saint were something worse than an apostate. Mr. Gibbon knew by experience what an apostate was, though not to the wide extent of Julian.

But to fill up the vacancy made by Julian's narrow escape from being a Saint, the same dashing writer has gratuitously bestowed that honour on George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria. "The infamous George of Cappadocia," says he, "has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter." He dares not say by whom this wonderful transformation has been made. It is in fact a forgery of the Calvinistical school, fabricated by Jurieu,* adopted by Echard, and transcribed by Gibbon. The flourishing Mr. Gibbon first tries to let his readers understand, that the transformation of George, the Cappadocian, from a persecuting Arian into a Catholic saint and martyr, was a mere device of the Catholic party to swell their religious calendar; then conscious, as it seems, that he had advanced more than could be proved, he subjoins in a corrective note,† "that this transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as *extremely* probable." This fancied probability of his is certainly no great compliment either to his reader's judgment or his own. To a reader of the least discernment can it appear extremely probable, that George of Cappadocia, a noted Arian, the usurper of St. Athanasius's See, a bloody persecutor of the Catholic faith, a miscreant universally detested for his immoral character, and at last massacred by a Pagan mob for his extortions and crying injustices, could be ever set up by Catholics as an example of virtue, and honoured as saint and martyr by the Christian world? To confirm the vulgar and erroneous notion that Catholics pay divine worship to the saints, Mr. Gibbon has taken care to say in his sarcastic narrative, that the worship of St. George was introduced into the bosom of the Catholic Church by those sectaries the Arians. Other stories equally fabulous were formerly published by the Arians of the great St. George, who is the patron of England, and suffered for his faith a glorious martyrdom under Dioclesian full fifty years before the infamous George was thrust into the See of Alexandria. The authentic acts of this Saint's martyrdom not being clearly ascertained, the Arians spread many apocryphal relations of him, as well as of other Saints with a view of depreciating their memory, which after a due examination were condemned and proscribed by Pope Gelasius I. in the year 494.

Julian, even after his accession to the throne, affected a philosophic moderation in his general conduct of life. He encouraged moral virtues, reformed the extravagant profusion of expense in the imperial court, and permitted the banished bishops to return to their respective churches. This act of grace he extended equally to Catholics and Arians, not from any good will that he bore to either, but with a view, as Ammianus his own historian writes, of casting an odium on the memory of his tyrannical predecessor, and of undermining the Christian Church, by fomenting quarrels between the two parties. Nothing less than the total abolition of Christianity

* Apol. de Reform. † Vol. II. p. 404.

and the re-establishment of idolatry, was the object of his detestable ambition : and this he calmly undertook to do, while he seemed to grant the Christians full liberty to practise their religion. For he neither unsheathed the sword, nor published any sanguinary edict against them. But by pecuniary impositions, by vexatious suits and insults, he cruelly oppressed and persecuted them. He stripped the clergy of their privileges ; he drove St. Athanasius again from Alexandria, because he took possession of the great church without his express leave : the pensions granted by Constantine for the support of churchmen, of virgins, and widows, he suppressed, as he sarcastically said, to teach them the practice of evangelical poverty : he forbade them to plead or to sue for justice in any court of judicature, alleging, that law-suits were not permitted them by the principles of their religion : he, in fine, shut up their schools, to deprive them of all literary knowledge, saying, it was sufficient for a Galilean, (so in contempt he called the Christians,) to live in ignorance, and to believe with blind simplicity. He exacted from them large contributions for the reparation of his heathen temples, demolished many of the Christian churches, and converted the sacred plate to Pagan uses. This in many places was not done without violence and bloodshed. In Cappadocia, in Syria, at Antioch, and Gaza, many suffered tortures and death for their religion.

The apostate's animosity against all revealed religion put him upon the mad project of rebuilding the temple and ancient city of Jerusalem. He had read the holy scriptures, and knew the prophecies that had been uttered concerning their ruin and final desolation. With a view of falsifying the inspired writings, and of giving the lie to his Redeemer, Julian, by letter, invited the Jews, from every quarter of the globe, to come and concur with him in a work which flattered their most ardent wishes. He ordered the materials to be brought at his own expense ; and appointed Alypius, one of his most intimate friends, to superintend and hasten the undertaking. Numbers of experienced workmen crowded to the spot. The old foundations of the former temple were dug up in a very short time, to make room for the new ; and then was completely verified our blessed Saviour's prediction, that not one stone should be left upon another. The trenches were now open, the foundation stones were at hand ready to be laid next morning, the Jews began to triumph, when during the night a sudden earthquake filled up the trenches, scattered abroad the materials, overturned the adjacent buildings, and buried many of the workmen under the ruins. This stroke astonished, but did not deter the Jews from prosecuting the work, which they wished to finish. Then from the bowels of the earth burst forth a flaming torrent of fire, which continuing to flow, made it impossible for any to approach the place without being consumed. The miraculous stream ceased at times, but began to flow again the moment any one attempted to approach.

Then was the obstinacy of the Jews overcome, and infidelity was compelled to own the sovereign power of God, who governs the universe, whose decrees no device of men can frustrate, and no force resist. The impious attempt that was made to falsify his divine word, by the ineffable disposition of his Providence, verified

it to the very letter. Jews and Gentiles confessed the divinity of Jesus Christ; many on conviction yielded to the force of truth, and embraced the Christian faith. Julian, in confusion was obliged to abandon his wicked project, but remained obdurate as Pharaoh, in his infidelity. The miraculous interposition of God on this occasion was visible to all; Christians, Jews, and Gentiles, concur in attesting the fact. St. Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, saw and laughed at the impotent undertaking. Its circumstances are related by Ammianus Marcellinus, the honest Pagan, as Mr. Gibbon styles him, a contemporary writer, whose hatred of the Christians, and admiration of Julian, place his testimony above all exception.

Julian all this while was making vast preparations for war against Sapor, the inveterate enemy of Rome. Not content to act upon the defensive, as Constantius had done, he put himself at the head of his army, and improvidently entered the enemies' country, where he had every disadvantage to contend with. But divine justice was hastening to overtake him for his apostasy. The Persian troops unexpectedly fell upon him on the march; he received a mortal wound from a dart, and died the next day in the thirty-third year of his age, after an impious reign of about twenty months.

SECTION XVII. *Valens the Arian Emperor.*

THE death of Julian left the Roman army in the heart of an hostile country without a leader, without provisions, without supplies, in danger of perishing by famine, or the sword, or of being trodden down by elephants. In this perilous situation, the officers of the army saw the necessity of putting themselves under the command of some one chief, vested with an authority to direct and provide for their common safety. They assembled, and unanimously agreed to confer not only the command of the army, but the purple likewise, upon Jovian, commander of the Pretorian band, a noble Hungarian, and a steady Christian. Julian had tried to make him an apostate like himself. "Resign your charge," said he one day to him, "or offer incense to the gods." Jovian instantly ungirded, and presented his sword; but Julian knowing his merit, and unwilling to lose the service of so brave an officer, refused to receive his resignation, and bade him keep his sword.

By artful contrivances the imperial apostate had betrayed many of the army, both officers and men, into acts of idolatrous worship. Jovian thought no good could come from men who stood guilty of such an abomination, and therefore hesitated for some time whether he should accept the crown or not. But on the loud assurance of the troops, that notwithstanding the temporising prevarication of many, all were Christians in their hearts, he submitted to their choice, was introned and proclaimed emperor. The first exertion of his talents was to extricate the legions from their present difficulties, which he did by a masterly retreat, and with safety gained the Roman territory. He then concluded a peace, which even on hard conditions he judged to be more advantageous to the empire than a war without the means or prospect of success against the superior power of Persia.

Jovian having thus guarded the state by treaty against the attacks of Persia, next turned his thoughts on repairing the havoc done to religion. The persecuting philosophy of Julian, and the fierce contention of jarring sectaries, of Arians, Semiarians, Macedonians, and Donatists, had spread desolation through the church, especially in the east. These with petitions in their hands beset the throne to solicit the protection of the new emperor. To them all he made this one answer, that he was the protector of the Catholic faith, as set forth in the great Council of Nice. Religion during the last and foregoing reign had suffered a temporary eclipse; it now began to shine forth with fresh brightness. The anti-christian decrees of Julian were annulled, the heathen temples were shut up, and no more bloody sacrifices allowed. The Catholic bishops regained possession of their respective churches, and the former pious grants, made by Constantine, were revived. By these religious acts, joy was painted in the looks of all good men, when in a moment they were plunged into the deepest grief. Jovian, in good health the evening before, and in vigour of life, was found dead in his bed, suffocated, as it is supposed, by the smoke of charcoal, which had been lighted to dry the walls of his room.

After an interregnum of ten days, the unanimous voice of the army raised Valentinian to the throne. Valentinian was a Hungarian of singular merit, and had held a high office under Julian, till disgraced for his attachment to the Catholic faith. The frontier of the empire in the west being attacked by barbarous invaders, and the east being ever exposed to new troubles, he thought himself not equal to the arduous task alone, and therefore divided the burden and the honour of governing with his brother Valens. To him he committed the charge of the east, while he himself undertook to defend the west.

Valens had scarce taken up the reins of government, when declaring himself an Arian, he began to renew all the horrors of persecution which had been exercised by Constantius. Eudoxus, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, by whom he had been recently baptized, absolutely governed and directed him in all his violence against the Catholics. By the advice of that vindictive churchman a severe order was given, under the imperial seal, for all those bishops who had been banished by Constantius, to be driven back into exile, and to be replaced by Arians. This edict appeared in 367. Then was St. Athanasius compelled for the fifth time to withdraw from Alexandria and the fury of his persecutors.—But his faithful flock, dreading the renewal of Arian cruelties, forced the governor to solicit the emperor for his return. The emperor did not choose to risk the resentment of a city so populous as that of Alexandria, by a refusal. Athanasius then, after having concealed himself for four months in a vault where his father lay buried, took possession of his church again, which he continued to govern with full liberty till his death, in 373. The same fear in Valens of irritating the people into revolt against his government, procured the like indulgence to some other populous cities. But in other places where the tyrant had nothing to apprehend, threats, insults, imprisonment, confiscation of goods, banishment and ca-

pital executions, were promiscuously employed to effect his design, which was to establish Arianism over the whole east. The solitaries of Egypt even could not escape his rage, many of them were barbarously massacred by his soldiers, many dragged from their cells, and forced to serve in his armies. Providence permitted him thus to ravage the Church for some years, when, in 378, severe justice overtook him. A barbarous horde of Goths had invaded Thrace; he led an army against them, he fought and lost the battle, in which he was wounded by an arrow: he took refuge in a neighbouring cottage, the Goths set fire to it, and he miserably perished in the flames, as is generally believed.

SECTION XVIII. *Theodosius Emperor.*

VALENS dying without issue, the empire of the east devolved A. D. 380. upon his nephew Gratian, the son of Valentinian. Valentinian had been dead three years, and left behind him two sons, Gratian and Valentinian II. The latter was a child only four years old at that time, but being proclaimed emperor by the army, Gratian, who had attained the sixteenth year of his age, readily acquiesced in the nomination, and shared the empire with him. Valentinian their father was a professed protector of the Catholic faith, but being beguiled by Severa, his Arian wife, and weakly yielding to the smooth discourse of Auxentius, bishop of Milan, he suffered this false pastor to teach and propagate the impious errors of Arius. Whether with the advice of this Arian, or of some heathen courtier, he passed a law the most unaccountable in a Christian emperor, which made it lawful for a man to have two wives at once, of which he himself set the example, by putting away his wife Severa, and marrying Justina the fair widow of Magnentius, while Severa was still living. Valentinian was of a very warm and irascible temper. In one of those violent transports of anger to which he was frequently subject, he burst a blood vessel, fell speechless back into the arms of his attendants, and suddenly expired in 375, leaving behind him two sons, Gratian, by Severa his first wife, Valentinian II. and three daughters by Justina his second wife.

Gratian had completed the sixteenth year of his age, and succeeded his father in the western empire; he consented to divide it with his half-brother Valentinian, an infant only four years old, whom the German army had proclaimed emperor by the contrivance of his mother Justina. Upon the death of his uncle Valens, in 378, he also inherited the sceptre of the east, a splendid but too weighty burden for a prince who had not yet finished his twentieth year of life. Wise policy directed him to look out for an experienced colleague, endowed with vigour and talents, to aid him in the government of a declining empire, attacked on all sides by the incursions of fierce and powerful barbarians. Such a man he found in Theodosius who had served with honour in Africa, and was then reduced to a private station in Spain, on account of his father's unmerited disgrace, when Providence called him forth to share the purple with his sovereign. Theodosius was in the thirty-third year of his age, lineally descended from the emperor Trajan, whose good qualities he

inherited in an ample degree without his defects. To great natural abilities he added great military skill, and a thorough knowledge of mankind. From the general opinion already entertained of his superior talents, sprung an universal joy at his promotion. In his subsequent conduct he proved himself worthy of the throne, to which the wise and political generosity of Gratian raised him : a series of brilliant and successful actions merited him the surname of Great. Gratian ceded to him the whole Roman territory of the east, contenting himself with half the west, while his brother Valentinian enjoyed the other half.

The first year of Theodosius's reign was marked with victories, which put an end to the Gothic war, and cemented a solid peace with the Persian monarch. After that he informed himself of the general state of religion throughout the east ; he found that Arianism, like a wild boar, had spread desolation far and wide through the vineyard, but no where more than in the imperial city of Constantinople, which at that time did not allow the Catholics so much as a single church for divine service. Being at Thessalonica, the capital town of Greece, he was visited with a serious sickness, which he patiently received as a warning from God to prepare for death. He sent for Ascolus, the bishop of the town, and humbly asked and received baptism from his hand. For through an abuse or neglect, which seems to have been frequent in that age, Theodosius was not yet baptized, though educated and well instructed in the Catholic faith. As if the waters of baptism had produced a salutary effect upon his body, as well as upon his soul, he speedily recovered. Grateful for the grace he had received, he immediately began to exert his zeal for the suppression of those blasphemous insults so long and so publicly offered to the divinity of Christ, his God and Saviour. He published an imperial edict, dated February the 28th, 380, in which he made known his will to the people of Constantinople, that all his subjects should steadily adhere to that faith which St. Peter once taught at Rome, which Damasus his successor then professed, and which through that channel had been faithfully delivered down to them. "Conformably to this apostolical tradition, which contains no other than the express doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe," says he, "the sole Deity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty, and a holy Trinity. It is our pleasure that the followers of this doctrine bear the title of Catholic Christians ; all others, in our opinion, being no better than extravagant madmen, we brand with the disgraceful name of Heretics, and we declare, that their conventicles or meeting-houses shall no longer assume the appellation of churches."

The term Catholic, which is taken from the Apostles' Creed, is here sanctioned by imperial authority, to distinguish the followers of Christ's genuine doctrine from the swarming sectaries who had newly started into life, and propagated their own fancies for gospel truths. The gospel truths are those alone which Christ has taught, which the Apostles preached, and which the Church, ever faithful to her trust, inviolably preserves. Whatever religious doctrine springs not from this sacred source, is a new and false doctrine, a doctrine unknown to the first teachers of Christianity. All doctrine

that is not founded in truth, is always upon the change, it alters its form, and varies its language according to the whims of men. Arianism in the space of a few years underwent no fewer than sixteen changes in the sixteen different formularies of faith, which its discordant teachers exhibited to the world.

Theodosius passed the summer at Thessalonica, and in November repaired to Constantinople for the purpose of putting his edict in execution. He sent for Demophilus the bishop, whom the Arian party had translated from Beræa to Constantinople, and proposed to his free choice either to embrace the Catholic faith, or to quit the See of Constantinople. The stubborn Arian chose the latter, and went back to Beræa, where he died six years after. The See of Constantinople being thus vacated by the resignation of Demophilus, the orthodox clergy and laity unanimously called upon the celebrated Gregory Nazianzen to replace him. Gregory for his profound erudition surnamed the Theologian, was a native of Nazianzum, in Cappadocia. His father was also called Gregory, who four years after his conversion to Christianity was made bishop of Nazianzum in 329. Some carping critics, ever ready to asperse the celibacy of bishops, and to insult the authority that ordains it, have ventured to assert, though without proof, that the younger Gregory was born after his father was promoted to the episcopacy. But from his writings, from his age, and other circumstances of his life, it is evinced, that he was born even before his father was baptized, as Baronius and F. Stilting the Bolandist clearly show.—He was qualified with all the polite learning of the age, which he had acquired in the celebrated schools of Cæsara in Palestine, of Alexandria, and Athens. In this latter place he had Julian the apostate for his fellow-student, and by what he saw in his irregular comportment, prognosticated what mischief the empire was then breeding up in that capricious prince. Here he contracted a virtuous and lasting friendship with the great St. Basil, by whom he was afterwards ordained bishop for the See of Sasima in Cappadocia, but never could take possession. His natural inclination ever led him to a studious and solitary life. In his beloved retirement at Seleucia, he received the pressing solicitations from Constantinople for him to come to the assistance of that desolated Church. After much persuasion he at length consented. Theodosius, in spite of the Arian faction, put him in possession of the cathedral church of St. Sophia; all the other churches of the city, upon the expulsion of the Arians were likewise given back to the Catholics.

SECTION XIX. *Second General Council.*

It could not be expected that at the sound of an emperor's voice men A. D. 381. should immediately resign the religious opinions to which they had been long attached by education, by habit, by prejudice, by party, and perhaps by principle. Something more persuasive than an imperial edict, nothing less than an authentic declaration of the Church, was required to dispel the clouds of error, and display the splendid truths of revelation. Notwithstanding the light that shone forth in the sanctity and learning of an Athanasius,

of an Hilary, of a Cyril of Jerusalem, of a Basil the Great, of the two Gregories, Nazianzen and Nyssen, a general confusion of doctrine for the last forty years, under the baleful influence of Constantius and Valens had pervaded the east. Constantinople, the new seat of power, was become the receptacle of every error and of every vice that had been lavishly imported from every province of the east. Arianism was at variance with itself; its irascible teachers had violently quarrelled among themselves about the terms and very object of their belief; some stiffly maintained an inferiority of nature in the Son, some warmly contended for a substantial likeness, others for a relative likeness only; but all agreed in denying the Consubstantiality of the Son of God. From this anti-trinitarian principle sprung up another heresy, which denied the divine procession of the Holy Ghost. The author of this heresy was Macedonius, whom Constantius thrust into the See of Constantinople, as is mentioned above, in the room of St. Paul. He held that See for twenty years, when an Arian faction pushed him out to make place for Eudoxus, a more popular zealot. The Macedonian error had rapidly spread through Thrace, Bithynia, and the Hellespont, and had seduced many from the path of truth.

To remedy these evils, so inimical to the welfare both of church and state, Theodosius sent letters of invitation to all the bishops within his imperial jurisdiction, to assemble at Constantinople, in the month of May, 381. A hundred and fifty Catholic bishops, besides thirty of Macedonius's followers, met at the time appointed. Their expences were defrayed by the emperor in a style not less magnificent than that displayed by Constantine upon the Fathers of Nice. The council was opened with a religious solemnity, St. Meletius, the venerable patriarch of Antioch presided, Theodosius assisted in person. The first subject of their consideration was the election of St. Gregory to the See of Constantinople, which they confirmed. The Macedonian or Semiarian bishops, being called upon to subscribe the Nicene Creed, abruptly quitted the assembly. Meletius unexpectedly died, St. Gregory then presided. At that juncture arrived the bishops of Egypt and Greece. These prelates not being on very good terms with the orientals, showed their displeasure by objecting to the translation of St. Gregory Nazianzen to the See of Constantinople, contrary to an ancient canon. The humble prelate perceiving some disagreement was likely to ensue on his account, thought himself obliged in charity to reply, that the canon alluded to had lost its force by long disuse; that were it even in force it could not regard him, who had never taken possession of the See of Sasima, to which he had indeed been ordained; that at Nazianzum he had only acted as vicar to his aged father, and consequently had never been translated from one See to another. "But if my holding the See of Constantinople," said he, "gives any uneasiness, behold I am willing, like Jonas, to be cast into the sea to appease the storm which I have not raised. This dignity I neither sought nor desired; I submitted to it much against my will. Discharge me only from the heavy burden, I shall with joy return to my little cottage, that you may remain united, and the Church of God enjoy peace. Let your choice for my successor fall upon the

person who is capable and willing to defend the faith. I desire nothing more." Having said this, he abruptly left the assembly, to the great astonishment of all, and repaired to the palace: there falling on his knees before the emperor, he earnestly requested his majesty's consent to resign his episcopal charge for the sake of peace. The emperor for some time stood in silent astonishment at so unusual a request; he at first refused, but at last with apparent reluctance gave his assent. St. Gregory, then master of himself, hastened to the cathedral, and from the pulpit, in a florid discourse, took a final leave of the council and of his flock.

Upon the cession of St. Gregory, Timotheus the bishop of Alexandria presided in the council, till a successor in the vacant See of Constantinople was appointed. Nectarius, a Roman senator, was elected, though he had nothing to recommend him to so important a charge but his grey hairs, his worldly rank, and a graceful figure, without learning, without talents, without elocution, and without experience. He was not even baptized. Strange as the nomination was, Theodosius and the council approved it; but as if a further sanction was requisite in so singular a case, deputies were dispatched to Rome to procure letters of confirmation from Pope Damasus. Damasus was the successor of Liberius, since the year 366. Nectarius in the interim received baptism, went rapidly through all the degrees of ordination, was seated in the episcopal chair of Constantinople, and presided in the latter sessions of the council.

The council of Constantinople followed the example of that of Nice, in pronouncing decisively upon the controverted points of faith, and in forming some canons for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. Of these canons the most remarkable is that which erects the See of Constantinople into a metropolitan See over that of Heraclea, which had hitherto enjoyed that privilege, and gives it rank, even above that of Alexandria, next to Rome. This privilege the council granted to Constantinople in consideration of its being the emperor's fixed residence, and the oriental seat of empire. The Fathers of the council would admit no other than the Nicene Creed, which they confirmed, as fully expressive of the Catholic faith against Arius; but because some new errors had been broached since that time by Apollinaris against the humanity of Jesus Christ, and by Macedonius against the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and by other false teachers against the Church, they judged it necessary to add a more explicit declaration of what the Church had always believed respecting those articles. "I believe in the Holy Ghost" is all the council of Nice had said concerning the third Person of the blessed Trinity: the council of Constantinople speaks the same belief in more explicit terms. "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is equally adored and glorified, who spoke by the Prophets. I believe one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church."

Theodosius received these decisions of the council, as spoken by God himself, and enacted a law to enforce the execution of all its decrees. This council, if we consider only by whom it was called, and of whom it was composed, appears to have been no more than a partial council, since none of the western empire were either in-

vited or assisted at it. But as its decisions in matters of faith were afterwards confirmed by the Pope, and received over all the west, it has been ever reckoned a general council by the Catholic Church.

SECTION XX. *Usurpation of Maximus.*

WHILE the Church thus triumphed under Theodosius in the east, the empire underwent a sad revolution in the west. A. D. 383. The storm burst from Britain. Maximus, who is said to have been a Britain by birth, and vested with a senatorial rank at Rome, received an invitation from some leading men in Britain to come and reside among them. Being nearly related to Constantine the Great by his father's side, as Matthew of Westminster relates, and having acquired great popularity during his military command in the island, he carried his ambitious views much too high to be satisfied with a subordinate station. Soon after his arrival in Britain he married the daughter of Octavius, whose influence and sway were very powerful in the country, and assumed the title of King. He had his eye on the imperial crown. The weakness of Gratian's government, and the discontent of the Roman legions, favoured his pretensions. He made no secret of his design; eager to share in the spoils of victory, the British youth, to the number of a hundred thousand, it is said, crowded round his standard. With these he crossed the sea into Gaul, where he had little more to do than to march and conquer. He took possession of that part called Armorica, from whence he expelled the ancient inhabitants, and parcelled it out among his followers: these gave it the name of Little Britany, which it retains to this day. Their language descended with their posterity; it is the old British, and with little variation the same now spoken by the Welsh. Maximus vigorously pursued his first good fortune, lost no time in slow deliberation, but pushed rapidly on to come up with Gratian. Gratian, a meek and virtuous prince, had neither the means nor resolution to cope with the hardy and skilful Maximus. Betrayed by his ministers, and abandoned by his army, he had no hopes of safety but in flight. With a few attendants he strove to reach Italy, but was overtaken at Lyons by some rebel emissaries, who basely murdered him in the year 383, the twenty-fourth of his age.

On the death of Gratian, Maximus without further contest entered into peaceable possession of all Gaul, Spain, and Great Britain, the whole of Gratian's share in the western empire. He fixed his residence at Treves, and assumed the title of emperor, which Theodosius through necessity was compelled at that time to acknowledge and admit. There, with dignity and at his ease, he might have enjoyed his ill-gotten empire, did ambition only suffer her slaves to know when and where to stop. The restless conqueror stretched his look beyond the Alps and Mediterranean sea; he grasped at the other half of the western empire, Africa, Italy, and the islands subject to Valentinian. Valentinian was only twelve years old, under the guardianship of his mother Justina, who with a feeble hand held the reins of government. Alarmed at the threats of an enterprising warrior, whose avowed intention was

to dethrone her son, she consulted her ministers. They advised her to try the means of negotiation, and recommended to her the superior abilities of Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, as the only person likely to succeed in so difficult an undertaking. The recommendation was a wise one, but unpleasant to Justina, who was at variance with the bishop, on the subject of religion. Justina was an Arian; there were many Arians in Milan; she insisted on having one of the Churches in the city assigned over to them. The bishop, as his duty to God required, positively refused his assent; she thought herself grievously injured, and seized every opportunity of showing her resentment. To become at once an humble supplicant to the man whom she hated, and by whom she thought herself slighted, was a humiliation to which the spirited Justina could not well submit. But the critical state of the empire left her no alternative. Maximus was bent on war; she had no troops to oppose him. Ambrose in a former embassy had obtained a truce; she now entreated him to exert his talents once more, and to avert, if possible, the fatal blow that was levelled at her son and the whole imperial family. The virtuous prelate, on the principle of duty to Valentinian his sovereign, readily undertook the commission, and immediately set off for Treves with full powers to negotiate a peace. There he found Maximus immoveably fixed in the resolution of dethroning Valentinian. Upon an ambitious rebel, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of Gratian his lawful sovereign, no remonstrances, no entreaties, no arguments, though urged with all the force of persuasive eloquence, made the least impression. Maximus dismissed the bishop, and set forward on his march towards Italy. The formidable appearance of his troops pouring down the Alps upon the plains of Italy, cast Justina, and the court into the utmost consternation. She waited not for the enemy's approach; she retreated with her son and daughters across the Adriatic into Illyricum, and put herself under the protection of Theodosius. Theodosius received her with that open generosity which was natural to him, promised her assistance as soon as he should be in a condition to give it, and being then a widower, married her daughter Galla, as a pledge of his sincerity.

SECTION XXI. *Victories of Theodosius.*

THEODOSIUS was not prepared for war; but motives of compassion, and gratitude towards an injured family, to whose A. D. 388. liberality he stood indebted for his share in the empire, prompted him to take such measures as he judged requisite to chastise the daring insolence of an usurper. His exchequer was empty, and money was necessary, which could not be raised without taxes. The people murmured: war with a distant power was unpopular. The citizens of Antioch in a riot threw down the statues of Theodosius and Flaccilla, his late empress, and dragged them through the streets with loud huzzas of insult and contempt. Theodosius was justly irritated, and being naturally of a warm temper, doomed the guilty city in the first transport of his anger to destruction. Being left to himself, he grew cool by reflection, and sent two commission-

ers to take cognizance of the cause. The rioters, now sensible of their guilt, threw themselves upon the emperor's clemency. Flavian, their venerable bishop, appeared at the court of Constantinople in the garb of an afflicted suppliant for a penitent people. Being introduced into the emperor's presence, and allowed to speak, he dissembled not the heinousness of the crime into which his flock had been unwarily betrayed; then, in a pathetic strain of sacred eloquence, he enforced the motives of Christian forgiveness with such energy, that the emperor melted into tears of compassion for a deluded multitude, and granted them a full pardon.

The victory gained by Theodosius on this occasion over himself, was a prelude to that which he soon after gained over Maximus. Being provided with a gallant army ready for action, he marched against the tyrant, defeated him in two battles, surprised him at Aquileia, and took him prisoner. When he saw the suppliant captive prostrate at his feet, he sorely felt for his misfortune, and probably would have spared his life, had not his more vindictive officers, who were present, hurried the miserable man away from the emperor's tent, and put him instantly to death by cutting off his head. By the fall of Maximus, the tyrant or the emperor, as he is styled by turns in history, Theodosius became master of the whole western empire. But increase of territory or of power was not the wish of that generous conqueror. Content with the glory, he bestowed the fruit of his victory on Valentinian. He bestowed a favour still more valuable to him as a Christian, by procuring him instruction in the true faith of Christ, from which his Arian mother had hitherto debarred him.

Theodosius spent three years in Italy; during that time an unfortunate riot happened at Thessalonica, in which the governor of the city lost his life. The account provoked the emperor's anger to a violent degree; he denounced severe punishment against the whole city. St. Ambrose undertook to reason with him, and by persuasive arguments soothed him into the humour of forgiveness. Here the matter might have ended, if courtiers had not interfered. These officious men took an opportunity of representing to their sovereign, that ill-timed clemency was an encouragement for his subjects to insult him, that no riots at Thessalonica would have happened if those at Antioch had not been pardoned, that exemplary punishment, in fine, now became necessary to secure the public peace. Upon these representations Theodosius gave a secret order, that a certain number of the Thessalonian citizens should be executed, to expiate the murder that had been committed amongst them. The order was executed in the following manner. When the citizens were assembled as usual in the circus, to see the public games, an armed body of soldiers suddenly fell upon them, and without distinction of age or sex, of innocence or guilt, cut to pieces as many as seven thousand. St. Ambrose, with great grief, but with zeal becoming his character, represented to the royal murderer the enormity of his crime, and refused to admit him within the Church till he performed a regular course of canonical penance for the same. The bishop spoke with the spirit of Nathan, and the monarch humbly submitted with the penitential sentiments of David.

In November 391, Theodosius, crowned with victories over himself and Maximus, returned to Constantinople. He had not been there many months, when behold, to his great surprise, an ambassador appeared from one Eugenius, whom a sudden revolution in the west had placed upon the throne of Valentinian. This amiable and inoffensive prince, in the twenty-second year of his age, being desirous of receiving baptism from the hand of St. Ambrose before he entered Italy, had dispatched a messenger to Milan for the bishop to meet him at Vienne, in Gaul. But the villainy of Arbogastes, the general of his army, prevented his receiving that holy sacrament of regeneration. This man was a heathen, by birth a Frank; he had assumed an insolent ascendant over his meek sovereign, and could brook no controul. He had long insisted upon a renewal of certain privileges, formerly annexed to the Pagan worship, which the emperor absolutely refused to grant. Upon this the exasperated Frank resolved his death, and among the guards found traitors ready to execute his bloody design. These miscreants having watched the time when the unsuspecting Valentinian was alone in the garden of his palace upon the banks of the Rhone, suddenly rushed forth and strangled him. They hung up the dead body by his own handkerchief twisted round his neck, that the world might think he had himself committed violence upon his own life. St. Ambrose had advanced as far as the Alps in his way to Gaul when he received the melancholy account. He poured out a flood of tears upon the spot, and returned with a sorrowful heart to Milan. There he celebrated a solemn mass for the repose of his murdered sovereign's soul, and pronounced his funeral oration, in which he hesitates not to say, that the earnest desire of the deceased to receive the sacrament of baptism supplied the want of it, and promises always to remember him in his sacrifices and prayers.

Arbogastes, raised by fortune above the reach of public justice, then usurped the power without the title of emperor; he chose to reign, but not in his own name. He set the crown upon the head of Eugenius, one of his own devoted creatures, who had acted as secretary of state to the late emperor. Eugenius was a man in some repute for learning and eloquence, but totally void of principle and religion; he was a favourer of Paganism. Theodosius scorned the friendship of a man who had mounted into the throne over the dead body of his murdered brother-in-law. He sent back the usurper's envoy, and declared war against him. Having implored the aid of heaven by fasts and public prayer, he displayed the banner of the Cross, and marched his army into Italy. His enemy advanced to meet him with vaunting confidence, under the standard of Hercules. Both armies came in sight of each other near Aquileia: a bloody battle ensued; victory hung for some time in suspense, but turned at length in favour of the imperialists. Eugenius fell into the hands of the conqueror, and paid for his usurped dignity by the loss of his head. This decisive victory put Theodosius for a second time in possession of the whole Roman empire, which no one sovereign has held since.

That incomparable prince had now reached the summit of his earthly glory. A holy hermit of Egypt prophetically admonished

him that his end was near. He held himself in watchful readiness to receive the awful summons. In the following year, 395, he fell sick at Milan, and piously expired in the arms of St. Ambrose, after a prosperous and religious reign of sixteen years. By his will he divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. To Arcadius, who had attained the eighteenth year of his age, he bequeathed the east; to Honorius, only ten years old, he bequeathed the west, under the administration of Stilico, an experienced statesman, and a good general. By all writers, excepting Zosimus, the sworn enemy of Christianity, Theodosius is represented as a perfect pattern of public and private virtue, worthy of the imitation of all Christian princes. His exemplary conduct during the stay he made in Rome, moved many of the heathen senators to embrace the Christian faith. St. Siricius, the successor of St. Damasus, then presided over the whole Church. St. Anastasius succeeded him in the year 398.

SECTION XXII. *View of the Fourth Century.*

FROM the time of Constantine's conversion, Christianity received the imperial sanction, and became the religion of the empire. A. D. 398. The terrors of persecution no sooner ceased, and men were left free to follow the dictates of reason without risking their civil rights, than multitudes of every rank and profession eagerly listened to the voice and embraced the comfortable doctrines of divine truth. The altars of idolatry no longer smoked with incense, or with the blood of slaughtered victims. The Pagan temples were either shut up or pulled down, and magnificent churches for the Christian worship rose in every province from the eastern to the western bounds of the vast Roman empire. Nations differing in climate, in language, and in manners, agreed in their belief of the same religious tenets, and though formed into many particular congregations and ecclesiastical divisions for their better instruction under their respective pastors, yet all being united by one and the same bond of faith, as members of the same mystical body of Christ, they composed one universal Church, under one visible Head, the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter the chief of the Apostles and vicar of Jesus Christ. Such was the hierarchy and spiritual constitution of Christ's Church in the fourth century; such as it was from the beginning it still is, and will always be to the world's end.

Before her civil establishment under the Christian emperors, the Church chiefly depended on the alms and pious liberalities of the Faithful for her temporal support. But in the fourth age she began to be possessed of fixed revenues for the use of her altars, for the maintenance of her clergy, for the relief of her poor, of her orphans and widows, under the protection of imperial laws, enacted by Constantine, by Jovian, by Valentinian, and Theodosius. These imperial grants contributed to her temporal encouragement, to her ornament and comfort; but they were not essential to her existence. She had existed for three hundred years without them; she increased, she flourished, and she triumphed over all the efforts that were made to depress and destroy her. The apostate Julian stripped

her of all temporal privileges ; she triumphed still in spite of him. Some other apostate may, with equal violence, throw her into the like state of desolation ; she will still remain unshaken and secure upon the Rock on which her divine Founder first built her.

Strange dogmatizers attacked her faith, and in succession strove to adulterate her doctrine with their new conceits. Arius impugned the divinity of the Son of God, Appollinaris contended that Jesus had no soul, Photinus asserted him to be no more than a pure man ; Macedonius denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Jovinian, who had exchanged the abstemiousness of his monastic profession for the luxuries of a worldly life, advanced erroneous positions against the merit of fasting, as well as against the superior excellence of virginity over the engagements of matrimony. Donatus set up his schismatical chair at Carthage, against that of St. Peter at Rome, and contended that the true Church of Christ was exclusively confined to his sect. Against these monsters of the fourth century the Church raised her voice, and their blasted errors fell by degrees like blighted fruit, to the ground. In vain did those bigoted tyrants of the east, Constantius and Valens, endeavour to establish Arianism on the ruins of Catholicity : the venerable bishops of Rome, Liberius and Damasus, without arms and worldly power, defeated their impotent attempts ; and if Liberius, through human weakness, made a temporary slip, he quickly recovered himself, as soon as free, to renew the combat with fresh resolution. The tyrant's power vanished with his life ; his memory is in execration. But the decisions of the Church in the two œcumenical Councils of Nice and Constantinople will retain their full force, and command respect to the end of time.

When the young reader of ecclesiastical history meets with these decisions of councils in the Church, he must be careful to remember, that the Church by such decisions enacts no new article of faith, she only declares what has been revealed to her from the beginning ; in more explicit terms she then announces to the Faithful what she always believed, though not so openly expressed. The watchfulness of her pastors was such, that no new doctrine could be broached without being perceived by them. Whenever any new doctrine began to spread and disturb the Church, they assembled to examine and proscribe it, if found repugnant to the ancient practice and belief. By these means the primitive doctrines of the Apostles were preserved fresh in the memory of the living generation, and faithfully delivered to the rising race : by these means the true sense of Scripture, as at first understood, was clearly ascertained, and the unity of faith effectually secured. Destitute of this advantage, the Arians soon began to vary in their doctrine and formulas of belief, they split into different factions, and from one heresy fell into another, as we have seen in Macedonius, and shall hereafter have occasion to remark in all sectaries, when they have once started from the centre of unity.

In this fourth century flourished many holy and enlightened men, vigilant pastors of the flock, and eminent doctors of the Church. There was St. Athanasius bishop of Alexandria, St. Gregory Nazianzen, no less renowned for eloquence than for holiness of life, St.

Basil the Great bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, his brother St. Gregory bishop of Nyssa, St. Cyril bishop of Jerusalem, St. Hilary bishop of Poitiers, St. Epiphanius bishop of Salamina in Cyprus, St. Ambrose bishop of Milan, St. Damasus bishop of Rome, with his learned secretary St. Jerome. The repute which these venerable Fathers of the Church have ever had, both for knowledge and virtue, leaves no room to doubt the truth of their evidence respecting the doctrines that were taught and believed in their days. For of these doctrines they are not witnesses, only but the very teachers. Being always upon the watch against all novelty, as history informs us, they believed nothing, and they taught nothing that was new ; nothing but what was primitive, and delivered to them by their Catholic predecessors. In this age, say the centuriators of Magdeburg, the face and form of the Church was fair and bright. Clear indeed must be the evidence which could draw so neat a concession from those devoted proselytes of Martin Luther. What were the doctrines then, and what were the virtues which rendered the face of the Church so fair, and her form so bright ? Let the writings of these Fathers be consulted, not in the spurious editions which stand exposed for the inspection of common readers, slashed and mutilated by some falsifier's pen, but in those genuine editions which lie undisturbed, it seems, in certain academies, covered over with dust, and concealed from the young student's sight, under lock and key. These genuine works of the Fathers, who lived in the fourth age, faithfully unfold the self same doctrines which the Catholic Church has invariably believed and taught through every subsequent age to the present—viz. the Unity and Trinity of God, the Incarnation and Divinity of the co-eternal Son of God, the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, the pure oblation of the Mass, the real presence of Christ's Body in the holy Eucharist, auricular Confession, the invocation of Saints, prayers for the Faithful departed, the merit of fasting, and practice of the three religious vows of voluntary poverty, chastity, and obedience.

END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Fifth Century.

SECTION I. *Alaric, King of the Goths.*

THEODOSIUS, by his military achievements, had recovered the declining glory of the Roman empire; by the abolition of A.D. 401. Pagan rites he gave an exclusive sanction to the Christian form of divine worship; but by the final division he made of the east and west, between his two minor sons, Arcadius and Honorius, he disjoined that union of power which should have concurred for the preservation of the whole. Constantine had already lessened the strength of the west by drawing no small part of it to his new city of Constantinople, which he founded in the year 330. But at the death of Theodosius in 395, the west received an irreparable diminution of strength, when two distinct empires were formed out of one, and a jealous rivalry of interests and power was established between the two. From the earliest times the Greeks and Romans were never cordially united. If the Romans had learned to value the arts and eloquence of Greece, they continued to despise the effeminate and fickle temper of the people: and if the Greeks revered the arms and military genius of Rome, they had not yet forgot the sentiments of hatred and contempt which their polished ancestors had ever entertained for the rude inhabitants of the west.

The imperial majesty of Rome was now upon the decline; the Roman legions were no longer considered as the defence of the empire. Mercenary troops of Goths, of Huns, and Vandals, collected from the banks of the Vistula, from the east and north of the Danube and Euxine sea, were taken into pay to fight the battles, and to garrison the towns of Christian emperors. Alaric the noted chieftain of the Goths, had learned how to fight and how to conquer, in the camp of Theodosius against Eugenius. Rufinus, whom Theodosius had raised from an obscure corner in Gaul to the post of high chamberlain at Constantinople, contributed his share to the disgrace and misfortunes of the empire. To a bold and ready elocution, this base sycophant owed his first rise: an artful cunning in concealing the most atrocious crimes under the cloak of affected piety, gained him the confidence of his sovereign. The favour he enjoyed at court inspired him with a vain presumption, that in the appointment to every office of trust he ought to have the preference. He then thought himself disgraced by the preference which Theodosius in his last will had given to Stilico. To make himself amends for this fancied disgrace, he planned a matrimonial connexion between his own daughter and the young Arcadius. But Rufinus had enemies at court, and by their secret contrivance his project failed. Arcadius gave his hand to Eudoxia, the fair daughter of Bauto, a general of the Franks, in the service of Rome.

Upon this the disappointed Gaul sought revenge at the expence of the empire. He formed a close friendship with Alaric, the Gothic

chief, by whose aid he seems to have flattered himself with the hope of being able to mount the throne of Constantinople. To bring this project to bear, it was necessary to raise a quarrel between his sovereign and Alaric, who had hitherto been faithful in the imperial service. Rufinus knew, that the ambitious Goth wished to have the command of the imperial troops; he instigated him to ask for it, which he foresaw would be refused, and that war would be the consequence. So it happened. Alaric, on meeting with a refusal to his request, boldly erected his independent standard, and commenced hostilities. The signal of war being given, innumerable swarms of savage combatants flocked to his banner from the forest of Scythia. There was no army to oppose him, he had but to march and conquer. To sit down before the impregnable walls of Constantinople, and to attempt its reduction by a regular siege, would be losing time; he hastened to reap a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in the fields and towns of Greece. His march was accompanied with all the outrages of barbaric war. The fertile plains of Thessaly, of Macedonia, and Attica, were laid waste, the cities plundered, the inhabitants ruined and dishonoured. Uncertain how these scenes of desolation might be carried, and compelled moreover by the cries of his defenceless subjects, the weak Arcadius proposed terms of accommodation. The terms were advantageous to the conqueror, and accepted. An imperial edict published at Constantinople, proclaimed Alaric master-general of the eastern Illyricum. His followers gave him the title of king.

SECTION II. *Alaric invades Italy.*

ALARIC, emboldened by success, and having an army at his devotion, resolved to push his fortune. The bare name of A.D. 402. king, without the power, did not content him. Italy tempted his ambition. Thither he led his savage followers, all soldiers of fortune like himself, with the firm resolution of finding there a kingdom or a grave. Stilico, at the head of a gallant army, which he had hastily drawn together, was ready to receive him. Two bloody battles were fought; the Goth retreated with disgrace; Stilico had the honour of a triumph. The Roman general had scarce time to breathe, when a more formidable invader from the north called him again into the field. From the borders of the Baltic a barbarous horde of confederate adventurers, known by the name of Vandals, Sueves, Alains, and Burgundians, to the number of two hundred thousand fighting men, with as many women and children, spread desolation far and near in their way to Italy, under the command of Rhodogast, or Radagaisus. They met with no opposition in their march till they reached Tuscany. Florence had the courage to shut her gates against them. They laid siege to the town, which gave Stilico time to collect a few troops together. In the open field his little army must have been overpowered by numbers. He prudently declined a pitched battle; he sought to reduce them by small attacks, and by intercepting their convoys, in which he luckily succeeded. Partly by famine, and partly by the sword, he cut off one-third of their numbers; to the rest he opened a retreat.

They gladly seized the opportunity, and thereby delivered Italy from present ruin. Like a swarm of devouring locusts, they took their course along the eastern side of the Rhine; and in the winter, when the river was frozen over, they marched across the ice, and entered the defenceless provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean and the Alps, thus became a prey to those savage rovers. These barbarians, equally strangers to religion and humanity, and being under no restraint, massacred thousands of Christians in cold blood, to possess their property.

But Italy was still doomed to be ravaged by barbarians. Alaric appeared again with loud complaints and insolent demands, on the pretence that his Goths in the imperial army were ill-treated, and his services but ill-requited. He insisted on being put in possession of one of the western provinces. Stilico for that time silenced him with a sum of money, which with much difficulty he persuaded the senate to grant. This was the last public act of that subtle statesman. His enemies construed it into an act of partiality for the Goths, and accused him of a design to place his Pagan son, Eucherius, upon the throne of Honorius, by the help of a Gothic ally. How far he was guilty, the variety of opinions upon the subject makes it difficult to determine. But an imperial order for the seizure of his person was obtained and executed. He was taken and beheaded on the spot without any form of trial. Stilico had incurred general odium by his conduct, so fell unpitied. But by his fall the state lost its firmest prop, and Alaric was delivered from the only antagonist he had to fear in his projected scheme against Rome. For to sack that proud city, and to enrich himself with the spoils of Italy, was the object which that Gothic king kept constantly in view. He had now considerably increased his army with fresh recruits, whom the expectation of plunder drew to his standard: he waited only for a fair pretext to re-commence the war. That pretext the court of Ravenna soon furnished by not paying him the stipulated sum, as the senate and Stilico had promised. Ravenna was a strong city upon the Adriatic coast, where the weak and timid Honorius had now fixed his residence, as a place the most secure against any hostile attack.

Alaric now began to march; he passed the Alps and the river Po, then directing his course along the Adriatic coast, and pillaging the unfortified towns that lay in his way, rapidly advanced through the country without opposition, and pitched his camp under the walls of Rome. The trembling Romans hoped their strong walls would shelter them, till troops should come to their relief. No troops were near, and all communication with the country being intercepted by the enemy, they soon began to feel the dreadful effects of famine and pestilence. They had no recourse but in the clemency of a barbarian. The senate deputed two of their body to treat with him. With great difficulty he was at last prevailed on to grant a suspension of arms, on condition that a certain sum of money was immediately paid him. The sum was enormous, and could not be raised but by melting down the gold and silver statues of the gods that were still in being. Thus by the disposition of

an all-directing Providence, a Gothic adventurer became instrumental to the final abolition of idolatry in Rome.

Alaric retired into Tuscany for the winter, during which he entered into a negotiation for peace. But the court of Ravenna not meeting him on the terms he expected, the conferences were broken off, and he marched again to Rome. The dread of a second famine induced the senate to propose a peace on any terms that his Gothic majesty might choose to impose. Alaric upon this drew back his troops, and held out to Honorius fresh offers of peace. But his offers were received by the imperial ministers with such disdain, and answered in so lofty a style, that he resolved to take severe revenge. Burning with resentment and the thirst of plunder, he led his army, for the third time, to the walls of Rome. It was the year four hundred and ten. Treachery opened to him the Salarian gate: a host of Goths poured in, like a torrent, and in the first transport of victory set fire to some houses. A general pillage then took place, and saving the two churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, which the tyrant ordered to be spared, Rome, the mistress of the west, experienced for three days all the outrages and all the horrors which a savage soldiery, stimulated by passion, and licensed by martial tyranny, was capable of perpetrating. On the sixth day Alaric led forth his myrmidons to ravage the rest of Italy. He carried devastation through the country, as far as the utmost point of land in Calabria, where death put an end to his career. The Gothic troops chose Ataulph, his wife's brother, for their king and leader.

Ataulph, with sentiments of humanity, beheld the devastation made by his predecessor, and resolved to give peace to Italy. He entered into a treaty of friendship and alliance with Honorius, who disdained not to give him Placidia his sister in marriage, as a pledge of future amity between them. The peace of Gaul was sacrificed to cement this extraordinary alliance between a Gothic adventurer and the son of Theodosius. The brother-in-law of Honorius led off his wandering host to seek a residence in Gaul. Thus within the space of a few years, unnumbered tribes of rapacious strangers, the honourable friends of the Roman empire, as they were called, the Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Franks, obtained a permanent establishment in those fertile provinces, and the disinherited natives were forced to relinquish with a sigh the rich possessions of their ancestors. Ataulph settled the kingdom of the Visigoths in Aquitain and Languedoc, making Toulouse his capital.

SECTION III. *St. John Chrysostom.*

FROM the sack of Rome we turn back to view the scenes that were going on at Constantinople. There Arcadius, the A.D. 407. degenerate son of the great Theodosius, wore the imperial purple, but wicked agents directed the wheels of government. Not possessed of one manly virtue, that unsteady prince betrayed as much weakness in abandoning, as he showed imprudence in choosing his favourites. Upon the fall of Rufinus sprung up the infamous Eutropius, who during his short administration is noted for no one

laudable deed, but that of promoting the election of St. Chrysostom to the See of Constantinople. Pride and extortion quickly brought on the downfall of this detestable minister by the hand of Gainas, the commander in chief of the auxiliary Goths.

St. John, surnamed Chrysostom from his golden eloquence, was a native of Antioch, born in the year 347. Trained from his early years to piety and learning, he became eminent in both. To ground himself in the principles of solid virtue, he passed three years under the direction of St. Meletius, bishop of Antioch, and four among the holy anchorets, who had their solitary cells in the neighbouring mountains of that city. A dangerous illness obliged him to quit the damp abode of a hermit, and to return to Antioch. St. Flavian the successor of Meletius, ordained him priest in 386, and made him his preacher. The piety, the zeal, and eloquence, that he displayed in the discharge of his ministerial duties, rendered his name famous not only in Syria, but over all the east. His merit was known at the court of Constantinople; on the death of Nectarius in 398, Arcadius wished to see him placed in that patriarchal See, and at the suggestion of Eutropius, his chamberlain, secretly contrived to have him conveyed thither with that view. John himself had no previous knowledge of the contrivance, nor suspicion even of the honour intended him. Theophilus, the proud and turbulent bishop of Alexandria, was already at Constantinople, trying by illegal practices to traverse the canonical election, and to promote a creature of his own. His intrigues were detected, and to his confusion he was forced to consecrate the man whom he had so unjustly opposed.

It was to a post of difficulty and labour rather than of honour that St. John was now promoted. He found the imperial city defiled with vice and the dregs of Arianism. Through the incapacity or neglect of his predecessor many irregularities prevailed among the clergy, the reform of which engaged his first attention, and procured him much odium. The luxury of a corrupt nobility, the indecency of female dress, the oppression of the poor, the neglect of religious duties, and a general licentiousness of manners, opened a spacious field for the laborious and eloquent exertions of his pastoral zeal. All admired the elegant and easy flow of his language in the pulpit, but the glowing colours in which he painted the deformity of vice offended many who felt themselves guilty, but not inclined to profit by the truths they heard. The intemperate Eudoxia, whose avarice and injustice knew no bounds, as Zozimus, a heathen historian, tells us, considered the bishop's reprehension of public vice as a personal affront, and vowed revenge. She undertook to depose him, and had unfortunately the power in her hands. For since the disgrace of Eutropius she governed her husband Arcadius, and the empire, with an absolute sway.

In Theophilus, the intriguing prelate of Alexandria, Eudoxia had a tool at her service, every way qualified for the work she had undertaken. He had already exhibited strong proofs of his talents for persecution, by his violent proceedings against four respectable abbots of Nitria, called the tall brothers, harmless tenants of the desert. She knew how cordially he hated the holy bishop of Con-

stantinople. She sent for him; he promptly obeyed her call, glad of the opportunity to concur in the deposition of a venerable brother, whose promotion he had not been able to prevent. He landed at Constantinople in June 403, with several Egyptian bishops in his train. Agreeably to his instructions from the empress he got together a cabal of six and thirty bishops, all enemies of St. John, and repaired with them to the town of Chalcedon. They assembled in one of the churches there, calling themselves the Synod of the Oak, which grew near, and gave name to that quarter of the town. A list of accusations, false and frivolous in themselves, was produced, and sentence of deposition in a summary manner pronounced against a metropolitan bishop, over whom they had no jurisdiction and no canonical power whatever. St. John at the same time had convened a legal synod of forty bishops to justify his conduct, in not submitting to the cabal sitting at the Oak.—But this did not screen him from the determined violence of his enemies.

Theophilus sent the iniquitous sentence he had dictated at Chalcedon to the emperor, who at the instigation of Eudoxia signed and issued an order for the banishment of his slandered bishop. The people showing a disposition to resist the order, the submissive prelate privately withdrew, lest his stay might occasion a riot in the city. The night after his departure a violent earthquake shook the town: conscience awoke in the breast of Eudoxia at the shock. In the utmost consternation she ran to Arcadius, crying out, “Our empire is undone, if John be not recalled.” The emperor readily consented; she wrote that very night letters full of pretended friendship and esteem to the venerable exile, begging him to return with all speed. He returned amidst the joyful acclamations of the people; his enemies disappeared; he resumed his pastoral functions with the same intrepid zeal as before; Eudoxia grew furious again; fright had only checked, not extinguished the desire of revenge, which still fiercely burnt within her breast. She called her episcopal cabal together. These mitred mercenaries took up the cause on fresh ground; they urged a canon which had been fabricated in an Arian synod held at Antioch, under the direction of Eusebius of Nicomedia against St. Athanasius; the import of this Arian canon was, that no bishop deposed by a synod should recover his See till restored by another synod. On this false plea they solicited and obtained from the weak Arcadius a second order for the banishment of a man, whose only crime was the faithful discharge of his pastoral duty. The order was executed by military force on holy Saturday; soldiers were sent to drive the bishop and his people out of the church, which was not effected without tumult and bloodshed. The name of John was struck out of the list of Catholic bishops, and an intruder thrust into his episcopal chair by imperial authority.

The oppressed prelate, judging his cause to be that of the Church, appealed to the common father of the Faithful, Innocent, the bishop of Rome, and immediate successor of St. Anastasius. St. Innocent exerted himself with vigour in the cause of justice: he directed that a free convocation of bishops should assemble upon the spot,

and decide conformably to the canons which had been enacted by the council of Nice for the termination of such controversies. In a free assembly the schismatics knew they had no chance, and therefore resolved to prevent its meeting, for they had the power in their own hands. The weak Arcadius listened to none but Eudoxia and her court sycophants, who on every occasion usurped his name and authority to serve their own wicked purposes. Eudoxia fixed upon Cucusus, a poor town in Armenia, near Mount Taurus, for the place of the bishop's banishment, hoping that ill-treatment and the length of the journey might put an end to his life, and satiate her revenge. In that she was for once disappointed. The Saint arrived in good health, and received every consolation and kind service from the bishop and inhabitants of the place for near three years that he was permitted to remain amongst them. When his implacable enemies were apprized of the respect there shown him, they procured an order for his removal to Pityus, a town on the Euxine sea, near Colchis, at the extremity of the empire. Two brutish officers were sent to conduct him thither within a limited time through rough roads, with a promise of promotion if by hard usage he should die in their hands. They executed their commission with savage fidelity. They hurried him on, though sick, sometimes through heavy rains, and sometimes under a scorching sun, till they came to Comana Pontica, in Cappadocia. There exhausted nature sunk under the weight of accumulated sufferings. He lodged in the oratory of the priest who served a chapel there, in which lay the relics of St. Basiliscus, formerly bishop of the place, and martyred for his religion. During the silence of the night the blessed martyr appeared to him, and said, "Be of good courage, to-morrow we shall be together." The holy confessor felt himself exceedingly comforted, though reduced to the last extremity of weakness. In the morning he received the holy Eucharist, spent the short remains of life in fervent prayer, which he concluded with his usual act of thanksgiving to God for all things; then having said Amen, and signed himself with the sign of the cross, he placidly expired on the fourteenth day of September, 407. His remains were interred with great respect near the body of St. Basiliscus.

SECTION IV. *Theodosius the Younger and Pulcheria.*

THE death of St. John Chrysostom was followed within eight months by that of his persecutor, Arcadius. The sharp throes of childbed, which lasted with exquisite pain for four day, had put an end to the life and crimes of Eudoxia four years before. The whole period of Arcadius's reign, and he reigned full thirteen years, has not furnished a single action that denotes the son of the Great Theodosius. Arcadius left a son, known by the name of Theodosius the Younger, and three daughters, Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina: all three by vow consecrated their virginity to God. Theodosius in the eighth year of his age began his reign under the administration of the sage and steady Anthemius, the admirer and friend of St. Chrysostom. Pulcheria, who for her superior talents, for her eminent piety and prudence above her age,

may be justly styled the glory and wonder of her sex, directed the education of her two sisters and of the emperor her brother, two years younger than herself. She procured him the most qualified masters of the east for his instruction in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy; she wisely introduced into the palace several noble youths for the sake of exciting, by their example, a laudable emulation in her brother for study and improvement; she had other masters to teach him the military exercise, the art of riding and shooting with the bow. She considered these accomplishments not absolutely requisite, but highly proper and graceful in a prince who ruled over an extensive empire. Her principal care was to have him well grounded in the principles of solid piety and true religion, as necessary to true honour and everlasting happiness. Thus educated, Theodosius for many years filled with dignity the high station he was born to. Though weak and indolent by nature, he was by principle and habit chaste, temperate, liberal, and beneficent. On the noble motive of gratitude, he conferred upon his incomparable sister at the age of sixteen the title of Augusta, and shared with her the imperial prerogatives of his crown.

Of all the descendants of Theodosius, Pulcheria seems to have been the only one that inherited any portion of his manly spirit and abilities. For near forty years she governed the eastern empire, with glory to herself and advantage to the state. She commanded respect both at home and abroad. The laws were observed, or duly vindicated if transgressed; justice was administered with an impartial hand. Never did religion or the empire shine with greater lustre than when Pulcheria sat at the helm of government. Through her discernment the imperial council was composed of persons the most upright, the most wise, and the most experienced, that the east could produce. In matters of importance she never took any resolution but with their advice, and after mature deliberation. Her orders were then positive, the execution prompt and vigorous, though always in the emperor her brother's name, to whom she humbly and discreetly gave the whole honour. Her private practices of devotion, for which she had her fixed hours, never diverted her attention from the public good. In Pulcheria, the piety of a Christian virgin was adorned with the glowing virtues of an empress. Mistress of the Greek and Latin languages, she wrote and spoke them both with fluency and elegance.

Theodosius had attained the twentieth year of his age, when Providence, in a manner the most singular, presented him with a royal consort. A fair and virtuous maiden, the daughter of Leontius, a heathen philosopher of Athens, came to Constantinople. She came to obtain redress from the whimsical testament of her late father, who had bequeathed the whole of his rich patrimony between her two brothers, leaving her but a small legacy, on the odd pretence, that for his daughter beauty and learning were a sufficient fortune. Athenais, for that was her name, having asked and obtained an audience, gracefully flung herself at the feet of Pulcheria, and in moving accents related her mournful tale. Pulcheria listened to her eloquent complaint, and being charmed both with her person and manner, resolved upon the spot to make her the consort of Theo-

dosius. Her choice was readily acceded to by the parties principally concerned. Athenais renounced the errors of paganism without reluctance, was duly instructed in the Catholic principles of faith, and baptized. She took the name of Eudocia, and gave her hand to the young emperor, amidst the joyful acclamations of the capital, in the year 421.

SECTION V. *Schism of the Donatists.*

FOR near a century the church of Africa had been miserably desolated by schism, which in the beginning appeared to be no more than a little spark, but by the intemperance of party was at length kindled into a mighty flame. To trace the evil to its source we must look back to the eleventh year of the foregoing century. Upon the death of Masurius, bishop of Carthage, the neighbouring bishops assembled, without waiting for those of Numidia, to choose a successor; their choice fell upon Cecilian, a deacon of Carthage; the approbation of the people was universal, and he was consequently ordained bishop. Two ambitious clerks were disappointed by the choice, and began to call the validity of his election into doubt. They laid their complaints before the bishops of Numidia, who were not a little piqued at their not being summoned to assist at the election. Donatus, a turbulent prelate, and an enemy of Cecilian, put himself at their head, and drew seventy discontented bishops together in the city of Carthage to discuss the point, whether the election and consecration of Cecilian were canonical or not. They decided in the negative, passed sentence of deposition against Cecilian, and elected Majorin to the See of Carthage. Cecilian referred his cause to Melchiades, the bishop of Rome, by whom, after a thorough discussion, he was pronounced duly elected. His opponents would not acquiesce, but appealed to the emperor Constantine, though not yet a Christian. Constantine, by an imperial decree, supported the Pope's decision, and a numerous Council held at Arles in 314, solemnly confirmed it.

But the sturdy Donatists were not disposed to submit. In defiance of all authority they formed themselves into a separate congregation, and on the death of Majorin elected one Donatus to succeed him. This Donatus gave the name of Donatists to his party, and is different from him of the same name, mentioned above.—Under the guidance of this hypocritical bishop they completed their schismatical system. To schism they added heresy, asserting that God the Son was less than the Father, and greater than the Holy Ghost: that the Church of Christ had failed, and was to be found only amongst them; that no where but with them existed any true virtue, any baptism, or other sacraments. Their numbers soon swelled into a formidable faction, animated with the most violent hatred against the very name of Catholic. Their insolence and audacity increasing with their numbers, they denounced open war against the Catholics, took possession of their churches by main force, drove away their clergy, profaned the sacred vessels, and overturned the altars: and what is still more horrid to relate, they laid their sacrilegious hands on the Holy Eucharist, which had been

consecrated by Catholic priests, and gave it to the dogs. Their rage at times so far carried them beyond the bounds of reason that it seems to have bordered on downright madness. On the wild notion, that baptismal grace could no otherwise be conferred than through the hands of a Donatist, they induced some by dint of importunity, and compelled others by tortures, to receive the form of a second baptism.

These outrages had been continued with more or less violence from the middle of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century. The Catholic clergy in their defence against them employed no other arms than those furnished by the Gospel, exhortation and patient suffering. But on men, hardened in iniquity by sacrilege and bloodshed, words had no effect. The infection spread from Carthage through Numidia and Mauritania to such a degree that the Donatists in numbers surpassed the Catholics. They reckoned above five hundred bishops of their sect; there was scarce a town in Africa which had not two bishops, a Catholic and a Donatist. The turbulent spirit of the latter rendered the restraint of prohibitory laws necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the state. Some for their seditious practices were fined, others banished. But the severity of laws was even too weak to restrain the enormities of a sect, which by principle had thrown off all respect for lawful authority. The meek ministers of the Gospel, with St. Austin at their head, persisted in a softer mode of conciliation; they wished to remove rather than to punish the errors of a deluded multitude. They proposed the mode of conference, and in a national council of all Africa, held at Carthage in 403, the Catholic prelates agreed to invite the Donatist bishops to a public conference, in order to discuss the articles which divided one party from the other. The Donatists rejected the invitation, till Honorius, by a rescript, dated in 410, compelled them to accept it.

Carthage was the place appointed for the rendezvous: the conference began on the first of June, 411: the numbers were two hundred and eighty-six Catholic prelates, and two hundred and seventy Donatists. By mutual agreement seven bishops were chosen on each side to argue the controverted points, four notaries to take down the acts in writing, with four bishops to superintend them, and fourteen other bishops, seven on each side, to act as council to the disputants. To this select committee was left the management of the conference, which lasted three days, under the protection of Count Marcellinus, commissioned by Honorius to see due order observed. The defenders of Donatus omitted nothing that art and sophistry could devise in support of a bad cause. St. Austin, the learned bishop of Hippo, and one of the seven Catholic disputants, in a very satisfactory manner answered their objections, exposed their sophisms, refuted their arguments, and from authentic records proved the election and ordination of Cecilian, the capital point of controversy, to have been canonical. By demonstrative arguments he then proceeded to show his adversaries that nothing could justify them in separating from the Catholic Church, although Cecilian had been even guilty of the charge brought against him; that no crime, however enormous, of one individual member could affect

the whole body; that the Catholic Church was the only spouse of Christ, inseparably united to him, and that an attempt to break this union must be a crime of the first magnitude; that the Church of God was not confined, as they erroneously contended, to a narrow corner on the coast of Africa, but was spread according to divine promise, over all the earth; that among her numerous children she comprised indeed very opposite characters, an aggregate of good and wicked men; but although we are forbidden to communicate with the wicked in their evil ways, that we were not to break off all external communication with them on that account. The conference ended by Marcellinus pronouncing sentence in favour of Cecilian, as far as related to the matters of fact which had given rise to the schism. Honorius confirmed the sentence, the effect of which was the triumph of truth, and the gradual extinction of schism.

SECTION VI. *Pelagianism.*

IGNORANCE, and the fear of being persecuted by the party, had A. D. 412. hitherto been two principal causes which held many of the Donatists in schism. But those causes being now removed, the one by a clear statement of the truth in the late conference, and the other by the recent laws of Honorius, they returned in crowds within the pale of Catholic communion. The privilege also of retaining their rank, granted to those schismatical bishops who should publicly abjure their errors, induced many to reconcile themselves with their mother Church. Some indeed remained obstinate, but their number and their consequence were too insignificant to disturb the public peace. It was the misfortune of Africa at that time to send forth a second brood of false teachers, the cause of fresh troubles and affliction to the Church. The Donatists had not yet wholly disappeared, when the Pelagians crawled into light. Pelagius, the progenitor of this new sect, was by birth a Briton, by profession a monk of Bangor, in Wales; possessed of no great learning, but not deficient in genius. He quitted his cloister and travelled to Rome, where he remained for some years, and grew into some repute. The character he bore of a learned and virtuous monk, opened to him an epistolary correspondence with St. Austin and St. Jerome. From his letters, these holy men soon discovered his real character; under the mask of piety they disclosed a depth of hypocrisy; and under an imposing language, frightful errors of doctrine, against which they judged it necessary to caution the Faithful.

The errors of Pelagius, in doctrinal points, were congenial with the inbred pride of his heart. He denied the existence of original sin in the soul of man, and rejected the necessity of divine grace for the merit of good works; contending, that Adam by sinning only hurt himself, and that his descendants are now born in the very same state they would have always been, had he never sinned.—Doubtful of the reception which these new doctrines might possibly meet with, he ventured not to assert them openly at first, but warily tried the public mind by employing his disciples, of whom Celestius was the chief. This man was a subtle, smooth-tongued Scot, who

had formerly pleaded at the bar, and afterwards made himself a monk. The errors they taught were not of their own invention; they imbibed them from a dogmatising Syrian, named Rufinus, with whom they became acquainted at Rome. Rome being threatened by Alaric, they left Italy and sailed for Carthage, where they arrived in 411. Pelagius made but a short stay, and embarked for Palestine. Celestius remained there in order to procure ordinations, and to disseminate his wicked doctrines. A charge of heresy was preferred against him. St. Aurelius, the bishop of Carthage, assembled a council of bishops in 412. Celestius was cited to appear before them, and to answer the accusation that was brought against him. On his own confession he was clearly convicted of heresy, condemned and excommunicated. He appealed to the apostolic See; but instead of pursuing his appeal, he went to Ephesus, where he had the address to get into priest's orders.

Pelagius, during this time, was in Palestine, labouring under a similar accusation of holding erroneous doctrine. In December 415, a synod of fourteen bishops met at Diospolis, known in scripture by the name of Lydda. They cited Pelagius before them to give an account of his faith. A list of propositions, extracted from his writings, was produced against him. He began his defence by endeavouring to wipe off the suspicion entertained of his orthodoxy; and to do away the bad opinion his judges might have conceived of him, he read to them some letters, which in the course of his correspondence he had received from several bishops of the greatest eminence in the Church; amongst others there was one from St. Austin, in which the holy doctor expressed real kindness and friendship for him. When he came to answer the propositions, which he acknowledged to be his, he began to quibble, to equivocate, and to gloss them over with a plausible, though very unsatisfactory explanation in a Catholic sense, in which he always meant them, as he said, to be understood. He acknowledged an inaccuracy of expression in them, but denied the construction put upon them by his accusers. This answer did not satisfy the council; the obvious meaning of the propositions conveyed an heretical sense; the bishops insisted upon his condemning and abjuring them; he did so; they thought him sincere, and dismissed him without censure.

Elated at his escape from censure, though by an act of perjury, Pelagius published an imperfect account of what had passed at Diospolis, and boasted in a letter to his acquaintance in Africa, that the council had decided in his favour. The African bishops knew his artifices too well to be imposed upon, and as his heresy began to spread, they assembled two councils, one at Carthage, and another at Milevis, in the year 416. Both these councils, in conformity with Catholic belief, expressly defined that the sin of Adam has descended to his posterity, and that without the help of divine grace, which moves and strengthens the will of man, man can perform no meritorious act worthy of a supernatural recompense. They sent this decision to Pope Innocent at Rome, praying it might be sanctioned by his apostolical authority. The holy Pontiff, after bestowing great praises on the zeal and pastoral vigilance they had shown for the defence

of the Catholic faith, confirmed their decisions, condemned the errors of Pelagius and Celestius, and declared them and their adherents separated from the communion of the Catholic Church. St. Austin, who had taken a very active part in this business, considered it to be now ended. "Rome," says he,* "has spoken; the sentence of the African bishops has been transmitted to the Apostolic See; the Pontiff's letters, that confirm it, are come to hand; the cause is finally decided." *Causa finita est.*

Pride, the stubborn parent of all heresies, would not suffer her Pelagian offspring to renounce their errors. Pelagius and Celestius, both profoundly skilled in the art of dissimulation, only studied how to elude the sentence that condemned them, how to guard against the disgrace of being accounted rebels to the Church, and yet retain their heterodox opinions. They feigned submission. In modest and respectful terms Pelagius addressed a letter to Pope Innocent with his profession of faith. His asseverations seemed to breathe sincerity; his real sentiments lay concealed under the cover of a dubious and deceitful language. Celestius made his appearance at Rome, presented to the Pope his profession of faith, which was word for word the same as that of his friend Pelagius, complained bitterly of the violence of his accusers, and in general terms professed an entire deference to the judgment of the holy See, begging to be directed and corrected by it if through mistake he was wrong. Zosimus, who had lately succeeded St. Innocent, judging from the goodness of his own heart, was inclined to believe, what he charitably wished, that Celestius was sincere, and even wrote a letter in his favour to the bishops of Africa, but refused to take off his excommunication before he received their answer. The African prelates immediately perceived that his Holiness had given too much credit to specious promises. St. Aurelius of Carthage lost no time in summoning the bishops to meet him in Council at Carthage: they met to the number of two hundred and fourteen, in the year 418. The Council fully entered into the merits of the cause, developed the complicated folds of imposture, detected its malice, declared their firm adhesion to the apostolical decree of Pope Innocent, and concluded that the sentence of excommunication pronounced by him against Pelagius and Celestius ought not to be revoked, till they had condemned and abjured their heresy in terms the most explicit, lest the Faithful should imagine that error had been countenanced or approved by the holy See. They sent their decision with a synodical letter to Rome. Zosimus now saw that the two equivocating hypocrites had only sought to amuse and deceive him. He cited Celestius to appear again; but the conscious heretic was gone. Zosimus then published a decree in which he solemnly condemned the Pelagian heresy, and confirmed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his predecessor against Pelagius and Celestius. He sent it into Africa, and to the chief churches of the east, where it was respectfully received and supported by the imperial edicts of Honorius and Theodosius.

The Pelagian faction, in a transport of obstinate resistance,

* Serm. 131.

made an impotent appeal from the Pope's decree to a general council; a procedure never heard of before that time, but copied since by the schismatical disciples of Jansenius. The two heresiarchs, Pelagius and Celestius, lurked secretly in the east, till they died in silent obscurity. In Italy eighteen bishops refused to submit to the Papal decree, and were deprived of their Sees. The most distinguished among them was Julian, bishop of Eclanum in Campania; a vain man, full of Pelagian pride, but of quick parts, and of no contemptible learning, as his writings show. St. Austin, in his elaborate answer to him, has refuted his arguments with invincible force, and established, on scripture ground, the Catholic doctrine of divine grace beyond reply.

From the ashes of Pelagianism sprung up a new sect less extravagant in terms, though not less erroneous in principle. This error originated with certain priests and monks in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, at Lerins in Gaul. These men, taking offence at St. Austin's doctrine of grace as destructive of free-will, erroneously contended that the beginning of faith and the first desire of virtue, are from the powers of man alone, unassisted by divine grace, and that these virtuous desires of the human heart move God to bestow such grace as is necessary for the accomplishment of good works. This doctrine holds a middle course between the Catholic truths of St. Austin and the errors of Pelagius; hence it has acquired the name of Semipelagianism. Cassian at Marseilles, one of the greatest masters of a spiritual life, and certain monks of Lerins, were the principal persons who espoused this doctrine. St. Austin, at the request of St. Prosper, a learned layman, confuted their error in two books, but treats them as brethren, because they erred without obstinacy. The Semipelagian heresy was condemned in the second council of Orange, in which St. Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, presided in the year 529. Pope Boniface II. confirmed the sentence in a letter to that holy bishop.

SECTION VII. *Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople.*

THE violence of Eudoxia's party drew after it very evil consequences, which lasted for some years both at Constantinople and Alexandria. By the intrigues of that faction we have seen the great St. Chrysostom unjustly expelled and banished from his See, and his name disgracefully expunged from the register of Catholic bishops. These proceedings appeared to St. Innocent, the bishop of Rome, so repugnant to every principle of justice, of charity, and religion, that he rejected the authors and abettors of them from his communion. In that state of schism died the proud and boisterous Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, in 412; the public voice chose his nephew Cyril to succeed him. At Constantinople, upon the expulsion of St. Chrysostom, Arsacius, the brother of Nectarius, then eighty years of age, was thrust into his place. He held, rather than enjoyed, his usurped dignity only one year, and then dying left it to Atticus, one of the most active and most violent of the party. In those schismatical sentiments Atticus persisted till the year 415, when being compelled by the voice of the people, as

well as by the voice of conscience, he consented to insert the name of the injured Chrysostom in the dyptics, and was thereupon received by St. Innocent into his communion. He did all he could to persuade Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, to profit by his example: for Cyril was in the same error. Having received his education under Theophilus, he had unfortunately imbibed his prejudices against St. Chrysostom. Hurried away by a blind deference to the pretended synod of the Oak, he continued deaf to all remonstrances made to him upon the subject, till the year 419, when he at length yielded to the warm expostulations of St. Isidore of Pelusium. He then received letters of reconciliation with the See of Rome, not from Zosimus, who died the year before, but from Boniface his successor. Atticus died in the year 425, and was succeeded by St. Sisinnius, a man of singular piety and charity towards the poor. The death of Sisinnius in 428 made place for Nestorius the heresiarch.

Nestorius, a native of Syria, received his education in the monastery of Euprepus, near Antioch; there he entered into holy orders, and was employed by the bishops as a catechist to instruct the catechumens. In that capacity he declaimed against the unpopular sectaries of the east, the Arians, the Apollinarists, and Origenists; he professed himself the admirer and imitator of St. John Chrysostom. His modesty of dress, gravity of his gait, a mortified look, and retirement from the noisy world, acquired him a general reputation for piety and learning. An easy flow of language uttered with a fine accent, and an agreeable tone of voice, recommended him to the public as an eloquent and pleasing orator. With these external accomplishments he came to Constantinople, and was chosen to succeed Sisinnius in that archiepiscopal See.

Nestorius had scarcely taken possession of his church, when he began to distinguish himself by the novelty of his doctrine. It had always been the uniform belief of the Catholic Church, that Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God, no other than the divine Word made flesh, as St. John expresses it; so that in Jesus Christ there are two distinct natures and only one person, which is that of the Son, the second person of the most adorable Trinity. In opposition to this Catholic doctrine, Nestorius preached two distinct persons in Christ, that of God and that of Man, joined together by a moral union in such sort that the Godhead dwelt in the humanity merely as in its temple. Hence he denied the Incarnation, or that God was made man; hence he asserted, that the blessed Virgin Mary ought not to be styled the mother of God, but mother of the man Christ, whose humanity was only the temple of the Divinity, and not a nature hypostatically assumed by the divine person. This strange system, delivered for the first time from the pulpit of St. Sophia, so shocked the audience, that they stopped their ears, and ran out of the church, lest by staying they should become partakers of his blasphemy. The clergy and the people were equally scandalized. This first and general burst of disapprobation is worthy of notice, because it is a sure mark of new doctrine, never heard before. But the blasphemer had his partisans at court, nor was he without hopes of gaining the emperor himself. Notwith-

standing the general cry against him, he would not listen to the advice of his own respectable clergy, who refused to communicate with him; he persisted in his errors, and sent abroad his homilies that contained them.

These homilies fell into the hands of St. Cyril, the learned bishop of Alexandria: shocked at the doctrine which he there met with, he immediately noticed it in a letter to the author, and exhorted him to retract. In answer to this charitable expostulation, he received nothing but the abusive language of pride and contempt. Dreading then the fatal consequences which seemed likely to ensue, he judged it necessary to provide the Faithful with a timely antidote against the poisonous cup that was held out to them by the hand of Nestorius. This he did by setting forth in clear and concise terms a Catholic exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation. Among other things he says, "I am astonished how any Christian can call in question the divine maternity of the blessed Virgin Mary, or doubt whether she is to be styled the Mother of God. For if our Lord Jesus Christ is God, and that he is so the Scriptures clearly teach, the holy Virgin, his mother, who brought him forth, must consequently be the Mother of God. This the Apostles taught, this all our predecessors have delivered to us, this is the Catholic doctrine and belief of Christ's Church: not that the divine Word had a beginning from Mary, but that in her was formed a pure body, animated with a rational soul, to which the Word was hypostatistically united, and so became man in one and the same divine person. Thus, in the order of nature, a woman, who bears a son, is truly called the mother of a man, although she only concurs in the formation of his body, and has no part in the creation of his soul." To cut the matter short, St. Cyril drew up twelve propositions, with anathemas, and sent them to Nestorius, requesting him to sign them as a proof of his orthodoxy. Nestorius rejected them.

St. Cyril being thus disappointed in his hope of bringing Nestorius back to his duty by a friendly admonition in private, denounced him to the Church. To Pope Celestine, the successor of St. Boniface, he wrote a full account of what had passed between him and Nestorius, and strongly urged the necessity of applying some speedy remedy to the growing evil. St. Celestine immediately assembled a council of the neighbouring bishops. The writings of Nestorius were laid before them, diligently examined, and found repugnant to the truths of divine revelation. The Pope condemned the errors contained in them, by a formal sentence, an authentic copy of which he sent to all the metropolitans of the east. He moreover pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication against Nestorius, if, within ten days after the notification of it, he did not publicly abjure and condemn the errors he had publicly advanced. The sentence was accompanied with a commission to St. Cyril to see it duly executed. The constant recourse which was had to the Roman See from every part of the Christian world, in all causes of greater moment, is an undeniable proof that the supremacy, not of honour only but of jurisdiction, was universally acknowledged to reside in the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, over the whole Church. To this rock, as to their last resource, the great Sees

of Alexandria, of Antioch, of Jerusalem, of Constantinople, and Carthage, finally recurred in the obstinate contests they had to support against Arians, Donatists, Pelagians, and Nestorians, as the historical facts of those times clearly testify.

SECTION VIII. *Third general Council at Ephesus.*

IN the affair of Nestorius, St. Cyril now moved with superior powers under a commission from the holy See. He immediately adopted such measures as a prudent zeal suggested, to bring matters to a happy issue. He convened a synod at Alexandria, wrote pressing letters to John and Juvenal, the bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem, for their concurrence with him in this important controversy, solicited the emperor's support, and exerted all the force of exhortation and argument to draw Nestorius from the pit he was running into. But St. Cyril soon found that it was not a single bishop, but a powerful opposition he had to contend with. Nestorius had the address to gain a respectable party both at court and among the bishops, though none of them seem to have espoused his errors. The proud Theophilus was still remembered by many; his violences against the holy Chrysostom were not forgotten. Cyril was his nephew and successor in the See of Alexandria; he himself had for many years resisted the first authorities, and refused to do justice to the memory of a persecuted confessor, taken from the clergy of Antioch as well as Nestorius, and advanced to the See of Constantinople. From that circumstance many were inclined to think, that the present contest was no more than a mere rivalry of ecclesiastical pre-eminence, and therefore opposed at all hazards the Alexandrine prelate.

By John, the patriarch of Antioch, and by Theodoret, the learned bishop of Cyr, a town in Syria, it was moreover contended, that Cyril had gone too far in his twelve anathematisms against Nestorius, and had fallen into the errors of Appollinaris. Theodoret took up his pen and wrote against them. In this conflict of writings and opinions, the evil increased, the Faithful were divided, and nothing but a general council, it was thought, could repair the breach. Both parties addressed the emperor on that subject, as without his aid the distant bishops could not be brought together. Theodosius readily adopted the proposal, and jointly with the young Valentinian III. who had succeeded his uncle Honorius in the western empire, directed an order of convocation in the usual style to be sent to all the metropolitans of the empire. The letter was dated November the nineteenth, 430. The day fixed for their meeting at Ephesus was the seventh of June of the following year.

As soon as the Easter holidays were over, St. Cyril and Nestorius set forward for the town of Ephesus, the first with about fifty bishops of Egypt, the latter with a number of soldiers, and two military Counts at their head, Candidian and Irenæus. Juvenal of Jerusalem, with the bishops of Palestine, arrived five days after the fixed time; with them came Peter, bishop of the Saracens or wandering Arabs, who had lately embraced the Christian faith. John of Antioch and his Syrians were affectedly slow, on purpose, as the event

showed, not to concur in the disgrace of their countryman Nestorius. When at no great distance, John wrote a friendly letter to St. Cyril, and sent on two of his bishops to desire that the opening of the Council might not be deferred on his account, promising to be there as soon as he conveniently could. Upon this St. Cyril, with the approbation of the other bishops, who were arrived, fixed the twenty-second of June for the day of holding the first session, hoping that the Syrians would, as they might, arrive by that time. On the twenty-first, four bishops were deputed to notify to Nestorius and his adherents, that the Council would hold its first public session on the next day, according to appointment. He answered by a formal protestation against it, signed by sixty-eight bishops of his party. Theodoret was one of them.

In the morning of the twenty-second of June, as had been agreed on, a hundred and fifty-eight bishops met in the great church of Ephesus, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the centre, upon a high throne, was placed a book of the holy gospel; the bishops sat on each side, according to their rank; St. Cyril, in the name of Pope Celestine, presided as his representative. Scarce had the Fathers taken their seats, when Count Candidian appeared, and in the emperor's name forbade them to proceed. They called upon him to show the imperial order; he had it not to show; he retired in great wrath, and the Council entered upon business. Nestorius having received three citations, and refusing still to appear, an authentic copy of his sermons was produced and read. A general cry instantly arose, repeating "Anathema to these impious errors; anathema to him who holds this doctrine; it is a doctrine contrary to the holy Scripture, and to the tradition of our forefathers." Extracts from the most illustrious Fathers of the Church were then read and compared with the positions of Nestorius. In the last place each bishop present was called upon by name to give evidence of the faith believed and taught in his respective church. Unanimous was the testimony of all, and each individual in affirming the same belief, that the blessed Virgin Mary was truly the Mother of God. The definition of this declared truth was drawn out in due form, and sentence of excommunication and deposition solemnly pronounced against the heretic Nestorius. The decision of the Council was received with loud shouts of approbation from every quarter: the name of Mary the Theotokos, that is, the Mother of God, was instantly echoed through all the streets of Ephesus.

Five days after arrived John of Antioch with fourteen Syrian bishops. The Council deputed some of their body to meet and compliment them on their arrival, and to warn them against holding any communication with Nestorius, whom the Council had juridically condemned and excommunicated for heresy. But the soldiers, whom Candidian had sent to escort the patriarch John into town, had orders not to let the deputies approach. John and his Syrians went strait to the lodgings of Nestorius, with whom they formed a separate assembly, condemned all the Council had done, and proceeded so far as to pronounce sentence of excommunication and deposition against Cyril of Alexandria, and Memnon of Ephesus, and of excommunication against the rest of the Council. Candidian lent all

his authority to the schismatics, and as he had taken care to intercept the synodical letters of the Council in their way to Constantinople, gave so plausible an account of the Nestorian party in his dispatches to the emperor, that slander triumphed for a while, and truth lay suppressed. Strange confusion reigned at Ephesus. The schismatical bishops were thirty-five in number, protected by a military force and the civil power. But the Council was steady and not to be intimidated. Threats of banishment hung over St. Cyril, when three legates arrived from Pope Celestine, and gave a new turn to affairs. A second session was held in which the decisions and acts of the first session were revived and ratified by the new legates; the sentence against Nestorius was confirmed, that of the schismatics against St. Cyril, and the Council declared to be null and void. The catholic doctrine of the Incarnation was defined and subscribed by upwards of two hundred bishops.

The object of the Council being now attained, the bishops might have departed home, had it not been for the disputes between them and the schismatics, of which the emperor thought proper to take cognizance. This tedious and disagreeable process detained them at Ephesus till towards the end of October. During that time they held four other sessions on different subjects, chose a successor to Nestorius in the See of Constantinople, and confirmed the condemnation of Pelagianism to stop the mouths of the appellants. The emperor, at length, being fully informed of the true state of things, respectfully submitted to the decrees of the Council, and supported them with his whole authority. Nestorius was banished first to his monastery, near Antioch, and then to Oasis, a town in Upper Egypt, where he died miserably and impenitent, in the year 435. His blasphemous tongue is said to have been gnawed away by worms. Of his episcopal adherents, some persisted in their error, others submitted after some demur, and reconciled themselves with the Church: the patriarch John of Antioch, and Theodoret, were among the latter. The heresy of Nestorius spread afterwards among the orientals, and many of that sect there remain to this day.

SECTION IX. *Saints Germanus and Lupus.*

ST. CELESTINE, whose pastoral solicitude extended over the whole flock of Christ, was not so engaged in settling the disputes of the east, as to withdraw his attention from the west. Agricola, a disciple of Pelagius, had ventured to broach his errors among the Britons, his countrymen. The British clergy were alarmed at the appearance of new doctrines amongst them. Better versed in the practice, than in the disputes of religion, they applied to the neighbouring prelates of Gaul for theological assistance, against the subtle enemies of divine grace. Palladius, a deacon of Rome, was already in the island, and had informed St. Celestine of the danger that threatened the British Church. Celestine commissioned St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, to go thither in quality of his vicar in 429, as St. Prosper, a cotemporary writer in Gaul, tells us, in his Chronicle. The bishops of Gaul, in a numerous assembly convened for the same purpose, chose St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, to

accompany him in that important mission. They were joyfully received by the inhabitants of Britain: the fame of their sanctity, doctrine, and miracles, soon roused the whole country: they preached in the open air, the churches being too small to admit the multitudes that crowded with eagerness to hear and learn. Their labours were crowned with wonderful success. The Pelagians at first shunned their company, till reflecting that such shyness seemed to indicate a consciousness of guilt, they consented to discuss the controverted points of religion in a public conference to be held at Verulam, now called St. Alban's. A vast concourse of people flocked thither on the day appointed to hear the disputation. The Pelagians spoke first, and mustered up every argument they could, in defence of their master's doctrine. When they had done, the apostolic missionaries entered at full length upon the question in dispute, brought such convincing proofs from scripture of the Catholic doctrine concerning grace and original sin, and so completely silenced their antagonists, that they had nothing to reply.

In confirmation of the truth, it opportunely happened, that a blind girl was presented to Germanus by her parents, begging him to restore her sight. The humble prelate bade them lead her to the Pelagian doctors. But they, having no pretensions to the gift of miracles, sent her back to the Catholic bishop. Then Germanus, laying a little box of relics, which he always carried about him, upon the girl's eyes, and invoking the blessed Trinity, restored her to her sight, in testimony of the truths he taught. The whole multitude witnessed the miracle, and gave joyful thanks to God. From the place of conference the two bishops went to the tomb of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain. Germanus caused the sepulchre to be opened; there he deposited his box of relics, and in return took from thence a little of the dust, which had the appearance of having been tinged with the martyr's blood.

The account of St. Germanus's mission and transactions in Britain is given at some length by Constantius, a priest of Lyons, his contemporary and biographer. Archbishop Parker has transcribed it almost word for word into his book of Antiquities, except the miracle and relics, which he passes over in silence. Such silence undoubtedly had its meaning in the transcriber's mind: it has enabled him to tell his readers in another place, if not with truth, at least without contradiction to himself, that the doctrines of miracles, of relics, and of the veneration of saints, were not known in Britain before they were sent thither by Gregory the Roman Pontiff. Doctor Cave speaks more candidly of the miracles wrought by St. Alban; and the ingenious Mr. Collier says, "He does not see why they should be questioned, being attested by authors of such credit. That miracles were wrought in the Church at that time of day is clear from the writings of the ancients."

Germanus and Lupus having fulfilled the object of their mission, returned to Gaul. But some seeds of Pelagianism were still left, which in the course of a few years sprouted out afresh, and called Germanus back into the island. In the year 446, he crossed the sea again, with St. Severus the archbishop of Triers. They discovered the authors of these new disturbances, reduced them to

silence, and restored peace to the British Church a second time. About the year of St. German's first arrival in Britain, St. Patrick, his disciple, was ordained by Pope Celestine the bishop and apostle of Ireland. Palladius also, who had resided some while in Britain, and was instrumental in procuring it assistance against the Pelagian heresy, was made bishop about the same time, and sent by Celestine to preach the gospel to the northern Picts. To the southern Picts, who bordered upon the north of Britain, the Gospel had been announced some years before by St. Ninian. This apostolical man, a native of Caledonia, had spent part of his youth at Rome, where he acquired a solid fund both of virtue and learning. Being ordained bishop, he was sent by Pope Siricius to carry the name of Christ to his idolatrous countrymen. There, with unwearied zeal, he laboured for eight and thirty years to instruct and civilize that fierce and uncultivated people. He erected a church of stone at Whithern, in Galloway, where he fixed his episcopal See, and where after his death he was honourably interred in 432, leaving a memory behind him no less renowned for miracles, than for sanctity of life, as the Centuriators of Magdeburg testify. Thus from Rome, the centre of Catholicity, we see the faith of Christ diffusing its salutary beams over the rugged mountains of Caledonia, and the hospitable shores of Hibernia, as it had done long before through the Roman province, of Britain.

SECTION X. *State of Britain.*

BRITAIN from the time of its first conversion to Christianity enjoyed the free exercise of religion without molestation, till A. D. 440. the reign of Dioclesian, when with the rest of the Christian world it bled under the persecution of that cruel tyrant. The discipline, the doctrine, and the government of the British Church, was in every respect conformable to the Roman practice. She had her national bishops in communion, and under the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, from whom she received the faith through the ministry of Saints Fugatius and Damianus. That faith she preserved pure and unblemished for the space of two hundred and fifty years, as Bede testifies. Pelagianism at length made an effort to disturb her peace, and to alter her belief. St. German, deputed from the Gallican clergy by Pope Celestine, came over and announced the orthodox faith of Rome. Heresy was confounded, and appeared no more.

But, notwithstanding their orthodoxy, the Britons in the beginning of the fifth century had greatly degenerated from the zeal and piety of their forefathers. A deluge of licentiousness began to overflow the nation. The vices that prevailed among the nobles, the clergy and the people are amply described by St. Gildas, in his account of those times. With bitter grief does that ancient writer deplore the destruction of a people to whom he had preached the Gospel truths, and who, by their obstinacy in sin, had drawn that dreadful scourge upon themselves.

Britain, though reduced to the form of a Roman province, being allowed to retain her own laws and internal policy, may be said to have been under the protection rather than the dominion of impe-

rial Rome. The presence of the stationary legions at once commanded internal peace, and secured her territory against foreign invasion. The Picts from Caledonia, and the Scots from Ireland, had frequently infested her with their depredations on the northern frontier and the western coast, but never ventured to face her legions in the field. But when the Roman troops were recalled to defend the capital itself against Goths and Vandals, then was Britain exposed to the more dangerous attacks of her old invaders. Saxons likewise, Jutes and Angles from the opposite coast of Germany, found their way to her eastern shore. Thus attacked on different sides, she applied to the imperial court for assistance. Honorius was too much distressed himself to succour or protect her; he freed her from the bond of allegiance, and declared her independent. Independence only served to betray her weakness. Drained of her warlike youth by the ambitious Maximus, and not yet sufficiently recovered to resist her fierce invaders, she sent to solicit succours from the Armoricans, her former offspring. But the Armoricans had other employment for their troops. Like the other provinces of Gaul, they were fighting for their own independence, against the imperial generals, and had no succours to spare for their mother country.

The disappointed Britons then found they had no other resource than in their own national strength. By universal consent they resolved to choose a king, and to invest him with sovereign power. They fancied the name of king would command respect, and unite the nation in one general confederacy against the common enemy. Their choice fell upon Vortigern, a noble Cornishman, who was thought to be possessed of abilities equal to the exigencies of the state. But those abilities he either never had, or never chose to show. Vortigern began his reign in 438. Pleased with the gaudy pageantry of power, he gave himself up to pride, to indolence, and lust. Instead of drawing the national force together, and of meeting his northern enemies in the field, he sent deputies into Germany to hire troops for his service. An idolatrous troop of Saxons came over in 449 to fight his battles, under the command of Hengist and Horsa. Hengist brought with him his beautiful daughter Rowena. Captivated with her charms, the adulterous Vortigern made her his queen, and dismissed his lawful wife: on the idolatrous father he bestowed the principality of Kent. This first importation of Pagan mercenaries was quickly followed by a succession of others, who were glad to exchange the bleak wilds of Germany for the fertile fields of Britain. Fresh crowds continued to come over, till they found themselves in sufficient force to conquer the country which they had been hired to defend. The Britons saw their error when it was too late to retrieve it. The Saxons turned their arms against them, and by progressive conquest, as will be seen, forced them to relinquish one district after another, till they shut them up in the extremity of the island, among the mountains of Wales and Cornwall. Through all the conquered country, where religion had so nobly flourished, the gloomy rites of Paganism were now established. Then it was that many of the Britons crossed the ocean, and sought a settlement in Armorica, where a kindred colony, the followers of Maximus,

had erected themselves into an independent state against the languid powers of Rome. Thither St. Ursula, with a numerous train of British virgins, intended likewise to retire, but by contrary winds was driven up the channel as far as the mouth of the Rhine. There they were no sooner set on shore, than assailed by a rude banditti of Huns, and barbarously massacred in defence of their virginity. This memorable event happened, according to the best accounts, about the year 453, and not in the foregoing century, as some careless writers have related. Amongst other improbable circumstances that accompany the narrative of these authors, they fix it at a period when no Huns had been yet known to approach the banks of the Rhine.

SECTION XI. *Desolation of the Western Empire.*

THE Goths, who contributed so much to the ruin of the Roman A. D. 441. empire, sprung originally from Sweden, near the Baltic sea. Being afterwards divided into two nations, and gaining settlements both in the eastern and western empire, they are distinguished by two appellations. Those in the east are called Ostrogoths, those in the west Visigoths. Before their separation they had embraced the Christian faith, but under the reign of Valens became tinged with Arianism. The followers of Alaric quitted Italy, as has been related, and under the command of Ataulph settled themselves in Gaul. The Vandals and other savages from Germany, under Rodogastus, followed them. The enterprising leaders of these barbarians made cruel war upon the old inhabitants, and, by successive conquests, established several independent states in the very heart of the Roman empire. The generals of Honorius made but a feeble stand against their growing numbers: the imperial eagle was compelled to fly before the victorious banners of the petty kings of Burgundy, of Soissons, of Orleans, and Toulouse. About the year 408 a motley tribe of Goths, Vandels, Sueves, and Alians, passed the Pyrenees, and penetrated into the rich provinces of Spain. These roving warriors being either Arians or Pagans, spread universal desolation through the country, destroyed the churches, put the inhabitants to the sword, and exterminated all public practice of the Catholic religion, wherever they conquered. In the year 427 Genseric, a furious Arian, established his kingdom of the Visigoths in Andalusia, planted the seeds of Arianism through the whole extent of his dominions, and, during the course of a long reign, persecuted the Catholic religion with unrelenting rage as far as his power reached. But before we proceed to recount his cruel deeds in Africa, the order of time calls us back to relate the changes that took place in the imperial court at Ravenna.

From the time that Alaric invaded Italy, the pusillanimous emperor Honorius spent his days in ignoble security at Ravenna, from whence he sent his generals to encounter the dangers of the field. After the death of Stilico, he seems to have reposed his chief trust in Constantius, one of his generals. This able officer commanded the Roman army in Spain and Gaul against their barbarous invaders, and if his military exertions had not the success he hoped for, they

at least deserved it. In reward of his services, Honorius gave him in marriage his sister Galla Placidia, then a widow by the death of Ataulph, and in the year 420 made him his colleague in the western empire. Constantius enjoyed that honour no longer than seven months, when death hurried him from his throne to the tomb. He left behind him two children by Placidia, Honoria and Valentinian. Honorius, who survived him only two years, had quarrelled with Placidia the year before he died, and forced her with her two children to seek an asylum in the court of Constantinople. Dying without issue he was succeeded in the empire by his infant nephew Valentinian III. Valentinian had the name, Placidia held the reins of government.

Placidia was a religious princess, endowed with good natural talents ; she admired and strove to copy the eminent abilities of the wife and sister of Theodosius. But she possessed not the elegant address of Eudocia, nor the wise policy of Pulcheria ; the quarrels of her generals unhappily betrayed her into errors, which in the end proved fatal to the state. The imperial armies were commanded by two experienced generals, Ætius and Boniface, whose united talents might for some time longer have buoyed up the sinking empire. Their discord brought on the loss of Africa. Ætius was an intriguing courtier, bold in action, but false in the cabinet. He commanded in Italy, and had the ear of Placidia. Boniface was his rival in fame, his equal in military skill, in principle and honour his superior. He commanded in Africa, and for his virtues was the intimate friend of St. Austin. Being sent by the court on a secret commission into Spain, he there married a Vandal lady, and got acquainted with Genseric, king of the Visigoths. His treacherous friend Ætius, who envied his good fortune, laid hold of that circumstance to effect his ruin. He insinuated to the empress, that Boniface had formed a plan of making himself an independent governor of Africa by the arms of the Visigoths, and that to be convinced of the truth of it, she need but send an order for him to return into Italy ; his conduct upon the receipt of this order, said he, will manifest either his innocence or his guilt. In the interim, he dispatched letters, under the cover of friendship, to inform the unsuspecting general, that his loyalty was called in question, that there would be an order for his return to Italy, but if he obeyed, that he was a lost man.

This intelligence from a brother officer, to whom he had been always kind, and whom he thought sincere, threw him into a strange agitation of mind. The alternate dictates of loyalty on one hand, and of self-preservation on the other, held him for some time in suspense what to do. The love of life in the end prevailed. He armed the Africans in his defence. But Africans alone he knew would be too weak to resist the forces he expected would be sent against him. He dispatched a trusty messenger with advantageous offers to Genseric in Spain, if he would lead an army to his assistance. The Vandal readily accepted the offer that favoured his ambitious views. He embarked with an army of fifty thousand fighting men, set sail from the spot where Gibraltar now stands, and

landed safe on the opposite shore in the year 428. His first undertaking was to strengthen his army by the accession of new allies. Mauritania, which borders on the great Desert and Atlantic ocean, swarmed with a sullen race of men, whose savage temper had been rather exasperated than tamed by the Roman arms. They looked upon the Romans as the polished tyrants of mankind, who without provocation had expelled them from their hereditary possessions, from the native sovereignty of the land. The desire of revenge drew vast crowds of these naked savages round the standard of Genseric.

Count Boniface's conduct all this while was a subject of no less wonder than concern to his friends in the court of Ravenna. They could not believe that it sprung from a principle of disloyalty; they suspected some hidden cause, which they could not discover. With the empress's approbation they passed over into Africa to sound him. He laid before them the letters of Ætius. The whole secret appeared at once; the villany of that perfidious general was detected. Boniface saw in a moment and bewailed the error into which his hasty credulity had betrayed him. But the mischief was now done. He pretended no excuse for the fact he had committed, but wholly threw himself upon the imperial clemency. Placidia lamented with him their common misfortune; generously pitied and forgave him.—She moreover confirmed him in his military command. Boniface's concern was how then to get rid of Genseric. By entreaties, by menaces, and by offers of money, he endeavoured to prevail upon him to go back into Spain. The Vandal saw himself at the head of a sufficient force to reduce the province, and would hearken to no proposals: he attacked the Roman general and defeated him. This defeat laid the country open to the ravages of merciless Moors and Vandals. Boniface retreated to the strong city of Hippo Regius, where he was besieged. The siege lasted fourteen months, during which, in 430, died the learned St. Austin, bishop of the place, the light and glory of the Catholic Church. The town was at last taken and burned by the savage conqueror. After that, Genseric entered into a treaty of peace, by which he gained possession of a part of the province. Under that cover he watched the time when the Romans were off their guard, and seized upon the city of Carthage in 439. This treacherous act deprived the imperialists of their last strong hold, and established the Vandal power along the whole coast of Africa, from Tangier to Tripoli.

Thus was that fertile province irreparably severed from the Roman empire. The Vandal tyrant immediately began to oppress and persecute his Catholic subjects in a most cruel manner, declared himself a particular enemy to the clergy, drove the bishops from their sees, and made Arianism the established religion of the country. To view the desolation of Africa in a political light, we see nothing beyond the ordinary course of human events. But in a religious light we discover the hand of God turning the projects of ambitious men to his own adorable designs, for the punishment of a sinful people. The African people at that time were defiled with every kind of sin that cries to heaven for vengeance, as Salvian writes in

answer to the heathens,* who ascribed the calamities of the Roman empire to the abandoned worship of its ancient deities. This taunt of the heathens is likewise solidly confuted by St. Austin, in his City of God.

SECTION XII. *Dissolution of the Western Empire.*

THE dissolute character of Valentinian III. gave the world an idea, though without the least foundation in truth, that A. D. 455. Placidia had neglected his education, and diverted his attention from every princely pursuit, in order to keep the reins of government in her own hands. As soon as he attained the age of puberty, she married him to Eudoxia the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais, or Eudocia. In the year 450, the imperial family removed from Ravenna to Rome, where they fixed their court. Placidia died before the end of the year. Valentinian, no longer awed by her authority, or directed by her counsels, plunged without restraint into every disorder to which his vicious inclination led him. To the weakness of a distracted government was added the invasion of a formidable enemy. Attila, the dreaded monarch of the Huns, a vagabond and warlike race from Tartary, had formed a design of reducing the east and west into one vast empire, under his sole authority, and of sweeping every other independent potentate from the globe. Full of this wild enterprise he assembled myriads of fierce adventurers, whom he disciplined into military order. At the head of five hundred thousand men he marched along the banks of the Danube to the Euxine sea, from whence he rolled on, like a resistless torrent, through the southern provinces of Europe in his way to Constantinople, ravaging, burning, and destroying the whole country, with its towns and villages. Theodosius made a fruitless attempt to stop his progress; his army was defeated in three bloody battles; the impregnable walls of Constantinople saved the empire. Glutted with blood and plunder, the barbarian at length consented to listen to proposals of peace, which he granted on very humiliating terms to Theodosius. Proud of having forced the Christian emperor of the east to become his tributary, he led back his army into Hungary.

An inactive life of peace suited not the genius of that enterprising barbarian. From the plundered east he turned his baleful eye upon the west. In the year 450 Attila began his expedition against the western empire. With an immense army he set off from Hungary, directing his course through Germany, towards the lower Rhine. Large swarms of adventurers joined him upon the march, and swelled his whole force to half a million of hardy combatants. Devastation, plunder, cruelty, and bloodshed, with every kind of outrage that can be dreaded from armed and lawless savages, accompanied the march of Attila. He bore down all before him; Metz, Triers, Tongres, Rheims, Cambrai, and all the towns from the banks of the Rhine to the very centre of Gaul, were plundered, burned, or laid in ruins. The former invaders of Gaul, the Goths, Bur-

* De Gubern. Lib. vii.

gundians, Franks, and Alains, then saw themselves in danger of losing their new possessions, and that to preserve their existence it was necessary to unite their forces against the common enemy. They joined the Roman standard under the command of Ætius. In the plains of Champagne, near Chalons, the two armies met. Fierce, obstinate, and bloody was the conflict. No less than a hundred and sixty-two thousand Huns are said to have fallen in that memorable battle, fought in the year 451. This defeat forced Attila to quit Gaul, and to lead back his broken troops into Hungary.

In the following spring Attila over-ran Italy. Meeting with no resistance, he ravaged the country at discretion, reduced several of the fairest towns to heaps of stones and ashes; and to finish the work of desolation by one decisive stroke, marched against Rome. Rome was not in a state to resist. Submissive offers and negotiation were the only weapons she had to ward off the blow. In the chair of St. Peter was seated the holy and eloquent Leo, the successor of Sixtus III. who had succeeded Celestine. The venerable Pontiff, moved at the danger that threatened the capital of the empire, generously consented to put himself into the power of a savage Tartar, and to expose his life for the public safety. Without arms, and without a guard, relying solely on the protection of God, who guides the hearts of kings, he went to treat with the sanguinary monarch, who was styled the scourge of God and the terror of mankind. Contrary to expectation, Attila received him with honour, listened with attention to his pathetic and eloquent harangue, and for once suffered the natural ferocity of his temper to be softened into reason. He promised peace to the Romans, drew off his troops, and evacuated Italy. Not long after his return to the royal village which he had chosen for his residence in Hungary, upon the fertile banks of the Danube, he burst an artery in his sleep, and was suffocated in his own blood. The quarrels that divided his sons and followers of his standard dissolved the vast unwieldy empire of the Huns, which had extended from the Volga to the Rhine.

The dissolute Valentinian, now free from the terrors of a foreign enemy, lent his own hand to hasten the downfall of the empire. Jealous of the power, or provoked at the treachery of Ætius in letting Attila escape from Gaul, he stabbed him with his own hand. Thus the murderous attempts of that intriguing general against Count Boniface, at length received their just punishment, though in a manner little becoming a Christian emperor, whose crimes brought him soon after to the like untimely end. Valentinian by force had invaded the chaste bed of Maximus, a wealthy patrician. Maximus in revenge procured his assassination, and stepped into the vacant throne, in the year 455. Upon the death of his injured wife, he compelled Eudoxia, the late emperor's widow to marry him. The high spirit of that empress could not brook the insult done to herself and family. In the transport of her rage she invited Genseric, from Africa, to come and avenge her wrongs. The invitation was precisely such as that enterprising warrior could desire.

With a vast army of Moors and Vandals, Genseric landed on the Italian coast, and meeting no resistance, marched straight to Rome. Maximus, unable to protect whom he had undertaken to govern,

sought to save himself by flight. The indignant populace fell upon the coward and murdered him in the street. The Roman citizens, seeing themselves destitute of help in a most forlorn situation, had no other hope than in the zeal and eloquence of St. Leo. Fearless of danger, the holy Pontiff put himself at the head of his clergy, and went out in procession to meet the approaching Vandal, hoping to find him not less inexorable than Attila had been. His hope deceived him. All he could obtain was a faint promise, that no house should be burned, that none should be murdered, and no one put to the torture. The gates of the city were thrown open, and an army of rapacious Moors and Vandals was let loose upon the citizens, with full liberty to rob and rifle at discretion for a whole fortnight. Immense was the public and private wealth of Rome in massy plate, in gold, in silver, in jewels, and precious stuffs, all which the barbaric plunderers, without distinguishing sacred from profane, industriously collected and conveyed in ships to Africa. Among the thousands that were carried off into captivity, was the wretched Eudoxia and her two daughters, a mournful spectacle of the vicissitudes of human life.

The western empire had now no resources left to retard its rapid fall. Violence and intrigue gave and took away the purple from no fewer than nine emperors in the last twenty years of its existence. Augustulus was the last that wore it. A faction of degenerate Romans had invited Odoacer, a Scythian and an Arian, to come into Italy. He came with an army of barbarians, called the Heruli, from Hungary; he met with no opposition, took the title of King of Italy, and in that capacity was peaceably acknowledged by the Roman people. To him the senate swore allegiance; they solemnly disclaimed the necessity, and even the wish of continuing the imperial succession in Italy any longer; in their own and people's name they consented that the seat of universal empire should be transported from Rome to Constantinople; thither in confirmation of their act they sent the imperial ensigns, the ornaments of the throne and palace, which were willingly received by Zeno the emperor, and not regretted by Odoacer. This final dissolution of Roman power in the west, in the year 476, leaves us the following fragments of its former greatness; Italy possessed by king Odoacer, Africa by the Vandals, Spain and a great part of Gaul by the Goths, the rest of Gaul by the Burgundians and Franks, Great Britain by the Saxons. Amidst all these temporal revolutions, and the disorders that attended them, the Church still maintained itself in the same purity of faith and doctrine as it had done under the persecutions of the three first ages.

SECTION XIII. *Eutyches.*

DURING the disasters of the west, the court and church of Constantinople were thrown into confusion. While Pulcheria A.D. 450. had the management of affairs all went smoothly on, both in church and state. For some years the marriage of Theodosius with the young Athenian Eudocia made no alteration in the government of the empire. Eudocia admired the virtues and revered the

superior talents of her sister-in-law, to whom she gratefully acknowledged herself indebted for the rank and title of Augusta. But the impression which a favour first makes upon the human heart is apt to wear away by degrees; and what in the beginning was deemed a favour, is at last considered as a debt due to personal merit. Gratitude is seldom one of the steady attendants of a court. Eudocia grew jealous; Chrysaphius, a profligate courtier in great favour with Theodosius, immediately perceived it, and took every opportunity to sow the seeds of discord between the two sisters. His object was to supplant Pulcheria's power, and to procure her banishment from court. Theodosius was an affectionate brother, a pious and religious prince, but so unfortunately weak and indolent, that to the importunities of a wicked sycophant, and the caresses of an envious wife, he sacrificed his incomparable sister, and in her resigned his own and the public good. To Flavian, the holy and faithful patriarch of Constantinople, he sent an absolute order to make her a deaconess of his church. Flavian privately informed her of the order he had received, and advised her to get out of the way. She retired to a country-seat in the plains of Hebdomon, fully intending there to spend the remainder of her days in quiet solitude, sequestered from the busy scenes of a faithless court. Her enemies were satisfied with her retreat, as it gave them entire possession of the imperial power, and left them free to abuse it for their own sinister ends without control. The church soon felt the want of Pulcheria's presence and protection against the new heresy which began to disturb the public peace.

Eutyches, abbot of a numerous monastery near Constantinople, had zealously opposed the heresy of Nestorius; but in opposing one error he blindly fell into another, equally repugnant to truth. Nestorius erred in asserting two Personalities in Jesus Christ; Eutyches erred in confounding the two natures of Jesus Christ, and admitting only one: after the hypostatical union of the two natures in Christ, he maintained that his human nature was totally absorbed by the divine, and became one with it; so that in his opinion Christ had no real body, and consequently, as the divine nature was incapable of pain, that he neither died nor suffered in reality, but in appearance only. This strange jumble of errors was denounced to the patriarch Flavian. Flavian tried every lenient and persuasive method to reclaim the deluded man. But finding him obstinate and deaf to all he said, he assembled thirty bishops to discuss the subject with him, and cited Eutyches to appear before them. Docility seldom marks the character of an innovator in religious principles. The stubborn abbot refused to retract his errors, and suffered the sentence of condemnation and deposition to pass against him. Obstinate in his heresy, and sanguine in his hope of being able to elude the sentence that proscribed it, he put himself under the emperor's protection. He had powerful friends at court, the chief of whom was the eunuch Chrysaphius, and he resolved to try them on that occasion. He moved for a revision of his cause before a more numerous assembly of bishops. Under the influence of Chrysaphius it was no hard matter to obtain from the emperor an order for that effect. Theodosius, as directed, issued an imperial

summons for a general council to meet at Ephesus, and to decide the controversy between Flavian and Eutyches. Dioscorus, the turbulent bishop of Alexandria, and a decided Eutychian, was appointed to preside. A hundred and thirty bishops, in consequence of the emperor's order, assembled at Ephesus on the sixth of August, 449. This assembly, on account of the violence and injustice that accompanied its decisions, is commonly called the *Latrocinale*, or the Ephesian conventicle of robbers. Under the terror of an armed soldiery, introduced into the assembly by two imperial commissaries, threatening all who should dare to oppose the will of Chrysaphius, Eutyches was pronounced orthodox, and St. Flavian condemned. The holy patriarch appealed from the iniquitous sentence to Leo, the bishop of Rome. But that appeal hindered not his being imprisoned, deposed, and banished into Lydia, where he died a few days after, in consequence of the kicks and blows that he received from some hot Eutychian monks. The miserable Theodosius was made to ratify by a public edict the whole proceedings of Dioscorus, and his faction. St. Leo, on due information, annulled all that had been done.

Pulcheria was all this while enjoying the sweets of her peaceful solitude, from which nothing could have drawn her but a zeal for religion, and compassion for her brother, whose simplicity was so shamefully abused, to the grief and scandal of all good men. The pressing letters she received from St. Leo upon that subject, at last determined her. She went to the palace and asked an audience. Being admitted, she so forcibly represented to the emperor, her brother, the unjustifiable acts into which his evil counsellors had basely led him, that he plainly saw and repented of his error. He banished the infamous Chrysaphius, the author of his misfortunes, but lived not long enough to repair the many wrong things he had done; he died soon after in July 450. Eudocia his widow retired into Palestine, where she ended her days. She carried with her the prejudices she had imbibed in favour of Eutyches, and retained them for five years, before she opened her eyes to the Catholic truth. She lived six years after her return from schism, in the fervent exercise of good works, and died piously in 461.

Pulcheria, after an inactive life for near three years, in her retreat of Hebdomon, took up the reins of government again, to the great joy and advantage of the empire. To give energy to her authority she judged it expedient to take an associate in the throne. The object of her choice was Marcian, a sage and virtuous senator, a native of Illyricum. Him she invested with the imperial purple, and moreover married, on the condition of being allowed to remain, as she was, a virgin. Marcian readily accepted the honour and condition.

SECTION XIV. *General Council of Chalcedon.*

THE decisions of the cabal of Ephesus, sanctioned on one hand by the late Theodosius, and condemned on the other by A. D. 451. St. Leo. excited quick sensations in the public mind at Constantinople. The errors of Eutyches, under the influence of

Dioscorus, were making rapid progress through Egypt and the eastern provinces. Deluded by the cry that Eutychism was nothing more than the bare opposite of Nestorianism, multitudes mistook and embraced it for orthodox doctrine of the Catholic Church. The authority of a general Council was thought absolutely necessary to undeceive the people in this point. Conformably to the Pope's desire, Marcian issued an imperial mandate to the bishops within his jurisdiction, that by the first day of October 451, they should repair to Chalcedon, a small town near Constantinople. Three hundred and sixty bishops met at the time and place appointed. St. Leo wished to assist and preside in person : but the critical situation of affairs in the west not suffering him to quit Rome, he sent three legates, two bishops, and a priest, to preside in his name. They assembled in the great church of St. Euphemia, which stood out of the town of Chalcedon, on a gentle declivity bordering upon the shore of the Bosphorus : the first session was held on the eighth of October. Dioscorus, the patriarch of Alexandria, having taken his seat according to the rank he held in the church, Paschasinus, the Pope's legate and bishop of Lilibeum, rose up and publicly preferred a formal accusation against him for his uncanonical conduct in the conventicle of Ephesus, and insisted, according to his instructions from Pope Leo, that this point should be discussed and settled, before any other question was proposed. Dioscorus, thus accused, was compelled, after some altercation, to leave his seat, and to sit down in the middle of the assembly. Notorious facts evinced his guilt ; sentence of deposition was pronounced against him ; he appeared no more.

After this, the fathers entered upon the question of doctrine concerning the divine and human nature of Jesus Christ, the prime object of their meeting. Some time after Eutyches had broached his new opinions, and an assembly of bishops at Ephesus was to be held upon them, St. Leo wrote a long doctrinal epistle upon the subject to St. Flavian. That epistle Dioscorus had suppressed in his conventicle ; it was now ordered to be read in the council. In this epistle the assembled Fathers of the Church found the Catholic doctrine upon the mystery of the Incarnation, that is to say, the identity of one only Person, and the distinction of two natures in Jesus Christ, so solidly established, conformably to the symbol of faith set forth by the two general councils of Nice and Constantinople, that they unanimously exclaimed, "This is the doctrine of our forefathers, this is the doctrine of the Apostles ; it is Peter himself who has spoken by the mouth of Leo." Expressive of this belief they approved and signed a formulary, in which they unanimously declare, that to be orthodox we must confess one only Jesus Christ our Lord, true God and true Man, consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity, and consubstantial with us according to his humanity ; so that He perfectly possesses two distinct natures, the one divine, which he has had from all eternity ; the other human, which he received in the womb of Mary his virgin mother, both united in one and the self-same Person, which is the second Person of the most blessed Trinity. Marcian received this decision of the council of Chalcedon with the same respect as Con-

stantine received that of Nice, and enforced it by imperial authority through all his dominions. After the definition of faith, the bishops enacted thirty canons of ecclesiastical discipline, the twenty-eighth of which assigns the second rank to the See of Constantinople. This canon was formed in the absence of the Papal legates, and vigorously opposed by them the next day, as an innovation and encroachment upon the prerogatives of the other patriarchal Sees. St. Leo refused to confirm it, but by usage in process of time it obtained the force of law. Before they separated, the Fathers of the Council directed to St. Leo a synodical letter, in which they acknowledged him for the interpreter of St. Peter, for their head and guide. St. Leo, by his apostolical authority, confirmed all their decisions, with the sole exception of the said twenty-eighth canon, as appears from his letters.

The council of Chalcedon was not so peaceably received in the east as it was in the west. Notwithstanding the emperor's zeal for its support, it was not duly respected in Palestine and Egypt. By many of the oriental bishops it was absolutely rejected, by others it was let to lie unnoticed in a neutral state, neither rejected nor admitted. Their refusing to hear the Church, as Christ commands,* made them schismatics, and classed them with heathens and publicans: such in fact they are represented by the writers of that age. Pulcheria survived but two years; her eminent piety and religious deeds have merited her place in the list of saints. She is the last of the illustrious house of Theodosius the Great, who swayed the sceptre of Constantinople. From that time all hereditary right to the imperial crown seems to have been set aside or overlooked. The emperor Marcian died four years after Pulcheria, in 457. His memory is in benediction, on account of his virtues, and the services he rendered to religion. Leo, a native of Thrace, succeeded him, and was crowned by Anatolius. The beginning of his reign was disturbed by the violences of Timothy, an Eutychian, who thrust himself into the See of Alexandria, and who by his persecutions and anathemas against the Catholics, threw all Egypt into confusion. Similar commotions were likewise raised by the schismatics in other parts of the east, which the imperial power could not quell.

Upon the death of Leo, in 473, Zeno his son-in-law, an Isaurian by birth, a man void of all principle and morality, pushed himself forward and mounted the throne. After a wicked and oppressive reign of seventeen years, Anastasius was advanced from a rank among the guards to succeed him. Anastasius had no personal merit to recommend him to so exalted a station, he even passed for a heretic, and had turned the sixty-fifth year of his age. But Ariana, the widow of the late emperor Zeno, and daughter of Leo, took him by the hand, married him, and by her interest placed him in the throne in 491. This emperor, who affected to be the friend of peace, would not declare either for or against the Eutychians, and was at once a tyrant and a persecutor of the Catholics. He perished in a thunder-storm, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

* Matt. xviii. 17.

SECTION XV. *Fathers of the Fifth Century.*

IN the course of the fifth century we have seen the eastern and western empires overrun by an irruption of barbarous invaders; we have seen their provinces plundered and dismembered from their ancient government; we have seen the western empire finally dissolved, and its former splendour totally extinguished. But amidst the ruins of a fallen empire the Church of Christ stood unhurt and unshaken, the same unblemished mystical spouse of the Lamb.* We have seen her faith attacked by Donatists, by Pelagians, by Nestorians, and Eutychians. But by the vigilance and vigour of her pastors, supported by the unerring Spirit of God, according to the promise of Christ,† truth and religion maintained their empire: their enemies, like dead limbs cut off from the mother stock, dropped to the ground and perished with disgrace. Amidst the confusion of the times divine Providence raised up many eminent men, who, by their learning, their miracles, and virtues, illustrated and confirmed the purity of faith and morality invariably professed and taught by the holy Roman Catholic Church. In the east we behold a St. Cyril of Alexandria, an Isidore of Pelusium, a Theodoret, a St. Euthemius, a Simeon Stylites, a St. Sabas, with a host of sanctified solitaries in the deserts of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. In the west we find a St. Jerome, a St. Austin, a St. Peter Chrysologus, a St. Vincent of Lerins, a Salvian of Marseilles, a St. Prosper, a St. Leo the Great, and a multitude of others of like happy memory, though less distinguished for learning.

St. Jerome, a doctor of the Church, and in some respects the most learned of the Latin Fathers, was born at Stridonum, a small town near the ancient Aquileia, in 329. Being sent by his father to Rome for the advantage of a public education, he there laid a foundation of classical and profane literature, which he afterwards improved by travelling and conversing with the most polished scholars of the age. His library was a choice collection of all the best authors, ancient and modern. But pleased as he was with the elegance of those florid compositions, he found upon experience nothing sufficiently solid in them to content the pious longings of his soul; he found neither true wisdom nor the science of saints. He resolved to relinquish all earthly pursuits, and to devote himself wholly to the divine service. He made a vow of perpetual continency, went into the east in quest of solitude, visited Antioch, where Paulinus ordained him priest, passed from thence into Palestine, and concealed himself in a lonesome desert for four years. There he practised great austerities, studied the holy scriptures, and perfected himself in the Hebrew tongue under a Monk, who had been a Jew. Pope Damasus called him to Rome, and employed him as his secretary for some years. On the death of Damasus, in 384, he became once more his own master; his natural love for solitude drew him back to Palestine in 385. With a view of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the monastic life, he visited the religious communities of Egypt, and then settled at Bethlehem, in a monastery built for him by St.

* Rev. xx. 9.

† John, xv.

Paula, a rich Roman lady. There he spent the rest of his days in the meritorious exercise of a studious and devout life, till the year 420, when at the age of ninety-one he was called to receive the reward of his labours.

The writings of this holy doctor fill eleven volumes in folio; the most valuable of them are his elucidations of the holy scripture. His version of the Bible, from the original Hebrew, has, in preference to all others, been adopted by the Church, under the name of the Latin Vulgate. The Latin version of the New Testament he likewise revised and corrected by the Greek original. In his polemical writings he solidly confutes the errors that were broached in his time against the primitive doctrines of the Church. Such were the errors of Helvidius, an Arian presbyter of Milan, who impudently arraigned the perpetual virginity of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God. Such were the errors of Jovinian, an apostate Monk, against the merit of virginity and fasting. Such were the errors of Vigilantius, an unworthy priest of Barcelona, who decried the merit of holy virginity, and condemned the invocation of saints and the veneration of their relics, even so far as to declare all those to be idolaters and cinerarians or worshippers of ashes, who paid this inferior honour to the saints. These erroneous positions St. Jerome refutes by the authority of the New Testament, by the sense and tradition of the Catholic Church, by the rule, in fine, of ecclesiastical discipline, which enjoins perpetual celibacy to the ministers of the altar, and which he saw observed in the three patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. Respecting the honour paid to saints, he says, "We do not adore the relics of the martyrs, but we honour them, that we may adore Him whose martyrs they are. We honour the servants, that the respect which is paid to them may be reflected back upon the Lord. If the apostles and martyrs, while living upon the earth, can pray for other men, how much more may they do it after their victories?" This we see was the Catholic doctrine in the first ages; it is the same in this. Jovinian cavilled against it in the fourth age; John Calvin repeated his cavils in the sixteenth age; the loud voice of antiquity contradicts and confutes them both.

St. Augustin was cotemporary with St. Jerome, and his rival in repute for piety and learning. He was born at Tagaste, a small town of Numidia, in Africa, in 354. In his youth he went headlong into vice; thus blinded by passion, he fell into heresy, and professed himself a Manichean. Fond of eloquence, he taught rhetoric at Tagaste, at Carthage, at Rome, and Milan. At Milan he became acquainted with St. Ambrose, and attended his sermons. The truths he heard made a deep impression upon his soul, he entered seriously into himself, obeyed the voice that called him from his evil habits, and in the spirit of a sincere penitent received baptism from the hand of that holy prelate in 387. After this he returned to Africa, distributed his goods to the poor, established a community of religious men in the town of Hippo, and lived amongst them. In 391, he entered into holy orders, and four years after was consecrated bishop of Hippo. Placed in that high station, as a light to shine before men, St. Austin then began to display his learning and his zeal in repelling the various attacks made upon the

Church by Pagans, Manicheans, Predestinarians, Arians, Donatists, and Pelagians. The vast extent of his literary undertakings has swelled his writings to eleven folio volumes, in which he unfolds such strength of genius, and such a fund of erudition, joined with such humble sentiments of himself, and such noble sentiments of God, that he is justly styled, even by those of the reformed church, "the greatest of all the Fathers, and the worthiest Divine the Church of God ever had since the Apostles' time." * In various parts of his writings St. Austin frequently mentions purgatory, strongly recommends prayer and sacrifice for the Faithful departed, teaches the intercession of saints, speaks of their relics, of the honour due to them, and of miracles, which he himself had seen wrought by them. He died in the year 430, aged seventy-six.

Less voluminous than the two fore-mentioned authors, but more eloquent and more sublime appears St. Leo, surnamed the Great. His thoughts are just, bright, and strong; his diction pure and elegant; his periods well rounded; his style concise, clear, and pleasing. His piety and theological knowledge equally instruct and edify the reader in the 196 sermons, and the 141 doctrinal epistles, which compose his works in one folio volume. With admirable fortitude and prudence he governed the Church in times the most difficult, from the year 440 to 461. St. Hilarius succeeded him.

St. Peter, surnamed Chrysologus, acquired great reputation by his golden eloquence in the pulpit, was happily clear and concise in his diction, as his sermons show. He was bishop of Ravenna from the year 433 to 458.

About the time of the council of Chalcedon, the name of Patriarch began to grow into use, and it was employed to express the extended jurisdiction of a bishop over the whole, or a considerable part of the Catholic Church. To the bishop of Rome only this title is applied in its full extent, because to him alone, in quality of successor to St. Peter, is given the divine right of feeding the whole flock of Christ. To the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch was also given the like title of Patriarch, with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction limited to a certain extent of territory. The like dignity was afterwards allowed to the bishops of Jerusalem and Constantinople. The latter obtained even the second rank after Rome. After the Patriarchs come other ecclesiastical dignitaries, with ordinary jurisdiction, in the following order, the Primates, the Metropolitans or Archbishops, the bishops, and lastly, the Parish-Priests, who, under the authority of the bishops, have the care of souls. Such is the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. All of the episcopal order have their spiritual courts, from which, in certain cases, there is a right to appeal. The privilege of appealing from an inferior to a higher court is always free: the last appeal is to the Pope, the supreme pastor of the Faithful, the head of Christ's Church, and the centre of Catholic unity.

* Dr. Field, Dr. Couel, Luther, &c.

Sixth Century.

SECTION I. *Conversion of the Franks.*

AFTER the death of St. Hilarius, the Chair of St. Peter was filled in succession by St. Simplicius, St. Felix II. St. Ge- A. D. 511.
lasius, St. Anastasius, and St. Symmachus, to whom the institution of ecclesiastical benefices, granted to the clergy for life, owes its origin.

Between the two epochs, when Gaul first yielded to the arms of Julius Cæsar, and was lastly deluged by an inundation of barbarians, a period is included of about four hundred years. During that space of time the Gauls had gradually assumed the language, the habits, and privileges of citizens of Rome. The liberal studies were cultivated in the schools of Bourdeaux and Autun. In Gaul, as well as in the other western provinces of the empire, the Latin tongue was spoken with elegance, till corrupted by the Germanic idiom. The Christian religion was there planted at an early period, and continued to flourish with great lustre, as appears from the eminent men it produced, both for sanctity and learning, till its glory was sullied by the vices of Arian and idolatrous invaders, who fiercely strove for the possession of its fairest provinces. From the barren mountains of Franconia swarmed a colony of hardy warriors, who seized upon the country that is watered by the lower Rhine. About the year 420 they are said to have been under the command of a leader called Pharamond, whom the modern French style their first king, but of whom history furnishes very little to be relied on. Clovis, the son of Childeric, his great grandson, claims the honour, with a better title, of being the founder of the French monarchy.

Clovis was a youth of a bold aspiring genius when he succeeded his father Childeric in 481, as king of the Franks. Though no more than fifteen years of age, he put himself at the head of his troops, not very formidable in number, but resolute in action, crossed the Rhine, and attacked Syagrius, who presided over a considerable track of country in the Roman name. Clovis was victorious; the accession of territory to his hereditary dominions increased his strength, and enabled him to undertake new conquests. The last spark of the civil power of Rome was now extinct in Gaul; the conquering Frank gave it the name of France.

In the year 493, Clovis married Clotilda, the daughter of Childeric, and niece of Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians. Clotilda was a virtuous princess and a Catholic, though born and educated amidst professed Arians; she was now married to a Pagan. By example and discourse she first sought to soften the rugged temper of her husband, then by the persuasive powers of reason and religion she gradually disposed him to become a Christian. The fruit of their marriage was a son, whom she caused to be baptized. The

child died within the week ; the Pagan father attributed his death to the waters of baptism. It was with great difficulty that she disabused him of his error. In the course of time she produced another son, and, notwithstanding the king's opposition, had it baptized. Unluckily the infant fell sick ; the king grew furious ; but the mother's prayer saved the sick infant. She never ceased from that time to exhort her husband to quit his idols, the manufactured works of men, and to acknowledge the true God, the omnipotent creator of heaven and earth, and of all things in them. She could not yet prevail, but still had grounds to hope : for Clovis in his conquests treated the Christians with kindness, spared their churches, and respected their bishops, which she considered as a happy presage of his conversion.

A martial prince of Germany suddenly broke into the French territory. Clovis marched against him, and encountered him in the plain of Tolbiac, twenty-four miles from Cologne. The battle was obstinate and bloody ; his men gave way, and the shouts of victory spread among the German ranks. In that critical juncture, Clovis called aloud upon the God of Clotildo, and solemnly vowed to make himself a Christian should he gain the day. Jesus Christ accepted his vow, and turned the scale of victory. The Germans yielded in their turn and fled. The death of their king, who fell in that battle, put the conqueror in possession of a territory that extended to the Elbe. The grateful monarch hastened to fulfil his vow. After full instruction in the principles of Catholic belief he repaired to Rheims, where the venerable bishop Remigius was ready to baptize him. The feast of our Lord's nativity, in the year 496, was the day appointed for the solemn ceremony, which was performed in the cathedral with every circumstance of pious magnificence that could impress an awful sense of religion upon the minds of the spectators. About three thousand of his warlike followers were baptized at the same time. On that day the Church received a Catholic king within her bosom, the only one at that time existing in the Christian world : for Anastasius, the emperor of the east, was an Eutychian ; and the crowned despots of Africa, of Italy, of Spain, and the rest of Gaul, were professed Arians.

Baptism altered not the political and military plans of Clovis. With his usual ardour he pursued his schemes of conquest. Within the course of twelve years Armorica, Burgundy, Aquitaine, and all the country lying between the Loire and the Pyrenees, submitted to his arms, and owned him for their sovereign. He made Paris his royal residence, and the capital of his kingdom. There, after an active and glorious reign of thirty years, he died in 511, and was buried in the church he had built in honour of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Twenty-five years after his death, the emperor Justinian signed a formal treaty, by which he yielded to the Franks the sovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps, released the provincials from all tie of allegiance to the empire, and established, on a legal though not more solid foundation, the hereditary throne of Clovis and his successors. Then was the distinction of Goth, of Burgundian, of Gaul, and Vandal, laid aside, and all were moulded into one general mass of Franks or Frenchmen. France at that

time was divided into a hundred dioceses, governed in spiritual matters by as many bishops, under the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. In that See the succession of bishops after St. Symmachus counts St. Hormisdas, St. John, St. Felix III., Boniface, St. John II., St. Agapitus, St. Silverius, to the year 538.

SECTION II. *St. Benedict.*

THE monastic institution, which for two hundred years had flourished with so much celebrity in the east, began to extend A. D. 529. through the west towards the beginning of the sixth century. To worldly men, who confine their narrow views of happiness to earthly enjoyments only, as if they were created for no other, the mortified life of a recluse may perchance appear to be mere folly, or an error in devotion. A Luther or a Calvin will call it superstition. But as the sublime and noble aim of an immortal soul is nothing less than everlasting happiness with God in his heavenly kingdom, the adoption of means the most conducive to that exalted end must certainly be deemed a rational and prudent step. To wean our affections from vain and sinful objects, to lift the mind above all earthly pursuits, to sanctify the soul by pious habits of devotion, and to quicken her desire of loving and serving God in the most perfect manner, is the exercise and end of a monastic life. "If thou wilt be perfect," said our blessed Lord, to the young man who wished to know what was wanting in him for the perfection of his virtue, "go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven : and come follow me."* Such is the counsel given by divine wisdom, and whoever, on mature deliberation, chooses to follow it, surely cannot be said to mistake his object.

Egypt, which had afforded an asylum to the infant Jesus in his flight from the sword of Herod, received numbers of his faithful followers, who fled to lonesome deserts for protection against the rage of persecuting tyrants. There, in silent solitude, and in the evangelical renunciation of worldly vanities, they cultivated the virtues of an ascetic and contemplative life. These were called hermits, or anchorites. St. Antony, a native of lower Thebais, was the first who drew these devout solitaries together into religious communities. They then obtained a new name, and were called monks or cenobites. He gave them no written rule ; but by verbal instruction and example, he trained them to the practice of pure virtues in an eminent degree. In the barren deserts of Nitria no less than fifty monasteries were erected by the disciples of St. Antony. In upper Thebais, the uninhabited wilderness of Tabenna was occupied by St. Pachomius and fourteen hundred of his brethren. This holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries for men, and one for women, who religiously followed a written rule, which he gave them for the uniform observance of monastic order. From Egypt the spirit spread over the sands of Lybia, through the dreary wilds of Syria and Palestine, to Pontus, and along the coast of the Euxine sea. St. Athanasius introduced the practice into the west

* Matt. xix.

at the time that he went to Rome, attended by some of St. Antony's disciples. The illustrious St. Martin of Tours promoted it in Gaul. Great Britain received it, as the celebrated monastery of Bangor, in North Wales, testifies. In Africa the religious order of the hermits of St. Austin dates its foundation from the year 388. They followed a monastic rule, which that enlightened doctor penned down for their observance.

But the most renowned founder of monastic discipline in the west is St. Benedict, or Bennet. He was born in the year 480, of noble parents, at Norcia, a town in Umbria. At a proper age for study his father sent him to the public schools at Rome. Ignorant of vice till that time, he was shocked at the licentious conduct he observed in some of the Roman youths. To preserve his innocence he resolved to forsake the world as soon as he should become his own master. He accordingly took an opportunity to quit his father's house, and secretly retired to the mountains of Sublacum, forty miles from Rome. There he met with a monk of a neighbouring monastery, called Romanus, who gave him the monastic habit with suitable instructions, and conducted him to a narrow cave, formed by nature in the rock. Here, unknown to all the world except Romanus, the young hermit passed three years. He was at last accidentally discovered by some shepherds, who reported his name and sanctity through the country. Many came to visit him, to whom he gave suitable instructions. His reputation for holiness of life became general. The monks of a monastery in the neighbourhood chose him to replace their deceased abbot. His endeavours to introduce regularity amongst them did not please; they soon wished to get rid of him; he willingly went back to his beloved solitude. Benedict was now famed, not only for sanctity, but for the gift of miracles. The instructive exhortations he made to his numerous visitors wrought wonderful conversions. Many put themselves under his direction, and embraced his manner of life. In a short time the desert of Sublacum swarmed with devout solitaries, whom he gathered into communities in twelve different houses, each of which had its own superior. The success that attended these religious establishments, provoked the jealousy of a neighbouring priest, who seemed to delight in giving the inoffensive founder all the disturbance in his power. For the sake of peace the humble Benedict retired from Sublacum to Mount Cassino.

Cassino is a small town in the kingdom of Naples, situated upon the declivity of a high mountain. On the summit of the mountain, St. Benedict found an old abandoned temple of Apollo, surrounded by a grove. He took possession of the place, cut down the grove, demolished the temple, and upon the same spot laid the foundation of the famous abbey of Mount Cassino, in the year 529. Here he fixed his residence for life: he died in 543.

For the stability of monastic discipline, St. Benedict composed a rule which has for its basis prayer, solitude, humility and obedience. By this rule the abbot is charged with the whole government of the monastery over which he presides, perpetual abstinence from flesh is enjoined, seven hours in the day are allotted for manual labour, and two for pious reading, besides meditation from the end of the

nocturnal office to the beginning of Lauds, about break of day. To the former labours of these religious men, England stands much indebted for the improvement of her waste lands.

SECTION III. *Reduction of Africa.*

GENSERIC, the Arian tyrant and scourge of Africa, returned from the sack of Rome loaded with rich spoils, and carrying with him amongst his captives, as has been mentioned, A.D. 535. the unhappy empress Eudoxia, and her two daughters Eudocia and Placidia. He married Eudocia to his eldest son Hunneric, and sent her sister and the empress mother soon after to Constantinople, at the request of Marcian. The other Roman captives experienced the most inhuman treatment: left to the mercy of savage Moors and Vandals, they were reduced to the condition of slaves; husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. Genseric, naturally ferocious and despotic, expected implicit obedience from all his subjects, in religious as well as in civil matters; he required that at his nod all should embrace and profess what he professed, the tenets of Arius. In that he found the Africans not so pliant as he wished. Vexed to see himself openly resisted in the Church by those very men who had fled before him in the field, he had recourse to violent measures, hoping thereby to overthrow their faith with the same ease as he had overthrown their liberty. The sight of tortures and a cruel death vanquished many weak believers, who preferred a short respite from present sufferings to the hope of endless happiness, while thousands of courageous champions bravely chose to sacrifice their fortunes, their ease, and lives, rather than basely deny the divinity of their Redeemer. Africa ceased not to flow with the blood of martyrs, as long as the tyrant lived. He died in 477, forty-nine years after he landed in Africa, at the solicitation of Count Boniface.

Hunneric, his inglorious son, who inherited his vices and his crown, began his reign by holding out some glimmering hope of moderation. At the request of Placidia, his sister-in-law, and of Zeno the emperor of Constantinople, he permitted Eugenius to be consecrated for the See of Carthage, which had been without a bishop for four and twenty years. This gleam of sunshine quickly vanished; the Catholics soon found that they had no favour to expect; a violent persecution broke out in every kind of cruelty. Under severe penalties all exercise of the Catholic religion was forbidden through the whole extent of Africa, no churches were suffered to be open unless for Arians, no bishops or priests to be ordained: and had not a zeal for God's honour and the salvation of souls inspired the bishops with a courage superior to the terrors of imprisonment, of tortures, of confiscations, of banishment, and death, the orthodox Church of Africa must have ended with the present generation. The tyrant enjoyed the savage sport of torturing and destroying his best subjects but for seven years, when a miserable death, like to that of king Antiochus, snatched him from the world.

The death of Hunneric gave no respite to the Faithful; a rage for

persecution was hereditary in the Vandal race. His two nephews, Gondamund and Thrasimond, swayed the sceptre in succession, one after the other, who for nine and thirty years continued to exhibit the same scenes of barbarous oppression. The shocking variety of torments that were practised, marks at once the fortitude of suffering martyrs, and the brutality of their persecutors. Some had their ears, some their nose, others their tongue and right-hand cut off; noble matrons and consecrated virgins were stripped naked, then bound by their hands with cords, and raised by pulleys from the ground with heavy weights at their feet; suspended in that painful and ignominious posture, their bodies were torn with whips, or burnt in the most tender parts with red hot plates of iron. Numbers were crowded together, without being able to stir, in close dungeons, where the filth and stench soon became worse than death itself. Thousands were driven like herds of cattle into the great Desert, there to perish in want and misery. The death of Thrasimond, in 523, put an end to the dreadful persecution. His cousin Hilderic, the gentle son of Hunneric and Eudocia, ascended the throne; although an Arian, he restored the Catholic bishops, and allowed his subjects the free exercise of the Catholic religion. Gilimer, his kinsman and his heir, envied him his crown and moderation; for he himself was an intolerant Arian. He rebelled and dethroned him after a peaceful reign of seven years.

The emperor Justinian had long beheld with an indignant eye the outrages committed by Vandal usurpers, in a province which, by right, belonged to the empire. He seized the opportunity, which Gilimer's usurpation gave him, of breaking the peace that subsisted between the two crowns, and of declaring war. He had a fleet of five hundred vessels ready for sea; he put a select body of troops on board, under the command of Belisarius, and ordered them to sail for the African coast. The imperial general landed his troops without opposition from the enemy, who did not expect him, and directed his march to Carthage. Gilimer made but a weak resistance; the Vandal army fled almost as soon as attacked, and left him prisoner in the hands of the conqueror. The whole country submitted without further struggle. Thus ended the Vandal kingdom of Africa, after it had lasted 107 years; and that fertile province was again united to the Roman empire in the year 535. Belisarius at his return to Constantinople had the honour of a triumph. Amongst other trophies of his victory carried in the procession, were the sacred vessels of the ancient temple of Jerusalem, which Titus had brought from thence to Rome, and Genseric from Rome to Carthage. Justinian ordered them to be conveyed back to Jerusalem.

The year before the reduction of Africa, Justinian published a complete edition of his celebrated work, the Justinian Code, which has acquired him a more lasting fame than all his victories over the Persians, Goths, and Vandals. It is a body or collection of Roman laws, to which he has added a digest of select decisions made by learned judges and magistrates, which were dispersed in near two thousand books, and are reduced by him to the number of fifty, called the *Digesta*, or *Pandectæ*. He likewise published four books

of institutes, and one volume of new laws. For the execution of these works he employed the best lawyers of his time, and the principal officers of the empire.

SECTION IV. *Fifth general Council at Constantinople.*

WE have mentioned the strong opposition made by the Eutychians against the council of Chalcedon: that opposition increased A. D. 553. under the two reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, which include a space of forty-five years. Zeno weakly fancied that his imperial authority alone would be sufficient to silence the disputes that divided the oriental churches, and published a conciliatory edict for that purpose. Instead of peace, greater confusion ensued; heresy was emboldened, the liberty of religion was oppressed. Catholic bishops were expelled, and Eutychians thrust into their places. Peter Moggus succeeded Timothy in usurping the See of Alexandria. Peter the fuller invaded that of Antioch, and Acacius possessed that of Constantinople, all three Eutychians, and violent oppugners of the Council of Chalcedon. Pope Felix II. excommunicated them for their impiety and heresy. Such was the turbid state of religion in the east, under Zeno, and such it continued under his successor Anastasius, till the year 518, when Justinus, succeeded to the throne. Justinus, a Thracian of low birth, but of sound faith, had risen by merit from a private soldier to the first rank in the army. Popular favour raised him to the throne; his conduct proved him worthy of the high station he filled, though so illiterate as not to know how to read. The first concern of this Catholic emperor was to check the insolence of the Eutychians, and to procure a re-union of the oriental churches with the See of Rome. He succeeded happily in both. After a prosperous reign of eight years, he left the crown to his sister's son, the famed Justinian. Justinian professed himself the protector of the Church; but a natural inclination to meddle and decide in ecclesiastical matters beyond his sphere, rendered him in many instances its oppressor and persecutor. His false zeal for peace never can excuse the violences he committed against the holy Popes, St. Agapitus, St. Silverius, and Vigilius. The warmth with which he took up the subject of the Three Chapters, was the rock on which he imprudently dashed.

To understand this matter clearly, the reader must know, that in the beginning of the controversy between St. Cyril and Nestorius three publications appeared, which either openly or covertly contained the principles of Nestorianism, and which, in ecclesiastical history, go under the name of the Three Chapters. They are the writings of Theodore, bishop of Mopsuesta, the letter of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to Maris; and the dissertations of Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, against St. Cyril. These writings brought their authors into a suspicion of being Nestorians, both in fact and principle. When the Council of Chalcedon was called to examine the doctrine of Eutyches, Theodoret and Ibas there appeared among the other bishops; Theodore was dead. Some objections being started against Theodore and Ibas, as tainted with Nestorianism, the Council called upon them for their profession of faith, and re-

quired that they should pronounce anathema against Nestorius and his doctrine. They did so; the council was satisfied, and declared them orthodox. Of their writings nothing was said; these were neither denounced nor examined into. The Eutychians represented this omission as a criminal oversight, from whence they drew the invidious but false conclusion, that the Council of Chalcedon had erred in a capital point, that its subsequent decisions were therefore null, and ought to be set aside. This was their aim, and this they hoped to compass by the emperor's authority. Of the emperor's readiness to act in the affair they had no doubt: but in an affair of that nature they knew the imperial authority was not sufficient, and that nothing effectual could be done without the Pope's concurrence. They addressed themselves to the empress Theodora, who held an absolute sway over her husband Justinian, and was wholly at their devotion.

Silverius was Pope. To him Theodora dispatched an imperial mandate, that he should either condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and receive the Eutychians into his communion, or repair immediately to Constantinople, and there revise the cause of Anthimus the patriarch. Anthimus had been canonically deposed for his adherence to the Eutychian heresy, and Mennas, a holy man, had been ordained by Agapitus, the late Pope, to replace him. Silverius, in a short and peremptory answer, let the empress know that he could not obey her commands without betraying the Catholic faith, which he would not do. Theodora saw by the firmness of this answer that nothing favourable to her schemes was to be expected from so steady a Pontiff; she resolved to depose him.

Vigilius, an archdeacon of the Roman church, who had been employed by St. Agapitus at the court of Constantinople, was still there in a private capacity; a man of fine address, a devoted courtier, and ready to catch at any proposal that flattered his ambition or his avarice. The empress, who had watched his dispositions, thought him a fit tool for the execution of her schemes. She promised to make him Pope if he would but engage to condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and to receive the Eutychians into his communion. The tiara was a tempting bait; the venal deacon readily caught at it, and pledged his word. She prepared her dispatches, and sent him off with them to Belisarius, who commanded the imperial army in Italy, and had lately taken possession of Rome in the name of Justinian. The dispatches contained an express order for the general to strip Silverius of the Pontificate, and to place Vigilius in his stead. With the meanness of a low sycophant the great Belisarius consented to stain the lustre of his victories, by an act the most tyrannical and unchristian. For no other cause than that of having done his duty contrary to the wishes of an imperious woman, Silverius, the peaceful vicar of Jesus Christ, was deposed by the rough hand of a soldier, and banished into the barren island of Palmaria, where he died soon after for want of food. Belisarius then compelled some of the Roman clergy to make a sham election in favour of Vigilius. The simoniacal intruder got himself ordained bishop, and with the shadow of a title mounted the Papal throne. He stole into St. Peter's Chair like a thief; the Faithful looked upon him as

a mercenary and no pastor, as long as St. Silverius was alive. But after the death of that holy martyr, Vigilius sincerely repented of his past guilty conduct, broke off all communication with the Eutychians, refused to execute the wicked promise that he had made to Theodora, was changed, in fine, into a new man, and became a strenuous defender of the Catholic faith, for which he suffered cruel hardships. His election was either canonically confirmed by the Roman clergy, or tacitly admitted by the Church. He was universally acknowledged Pope.

The disputes among the bishops, about the Three Chapters, were carried on all this while with great warmth and difference of opinion. The western bishops, particularly in Africa, in Illyricum, and Dalmatia, defended those writing, as containing nothing against faith. The Catholic bishops in the east, who were better versed in the Greek tongue, and in the nature of the dispute, could not approve those writings, yet were afraid of condemning them, lest they should thereby weaken the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, and afford matter of triumph to the Eutychian faction. The Eutychians saw this, and therefore, with all the interest of Theodora added to their own, urged the emperor to condemn the Three Chapters by a public edict, assuring him there was no other means of ending the disputes. Justinian, with his usual eagerness to engage in theological disquisitions, published a profession of faith, in which he denounces anathema against the writings of Theodoret, in which St. Cyril is attacked, against the letter of Ibas, and against the person as well as the writings of Theodore. Of the person of Theodoret and Ibas he said nothing. It is to be remembered, that the Council of Chalcedon had made no mention of the writings of these two authors, nor of the person of Theodore, consequently its authority is not in the least arraigned by the imperial edict. The Eutychians, however, maintained that the edict amounted to an equivalent condemnation of the council, and that the merits of the council were involved in the merits of the Three Chapters. Their pretensions were vain, as the event has shown.

Justinian called upon the bishops to sign his edict. St. Mennas, bishop of Constantinople, after some difficulty signed it; his example drew many others; many refused, and strange confusion was the consequence. In this state of affairs, 546, Justinian called the Pope Vigilius to Constantinople. He arrived in January the following year, but refused to communicate with St. Mennas and his subscribers. At the end of five months he grew reconciled; the party then hazarded the proposal for him to subscribe the edict, and condemn the Three Chapters as they had done. This at first he positively refused to do; but worn down at length by incessant importunities, he thought he might condescend with a safe conscience to humour them in a pure matter of fact, where faith was not concerned. In a public deed, called his *Judicatum*, Vigilius condemned the Three Chapters, under the saving clause "without prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon." The *Judicatum* gave offence to both parties. Violent commotions arose; strong symptoms of schism appeared; personal outrages and insults were heaped upon Vigilius.

Vigilius had now no longer hopes of peace; he proposed to Jus-

tinian the convocation of a general council, at which the bishops of the west should jointly assist with those of the east. The emperor issued letters for that effect. Two hundred and fifty bishops obeyed the summons, all from the east, except five from Africa. The Pope seeing so many bishops from the east, and so few from the west, refused to assist at the council, for fear of giving scandal to his absent brethren of the west, who mostly differed in opinion from the orientals upon the point in dispute; he promised to deliver his sentiments separately, and in writing. The council met for the first time on the fourth of May, 553. St. Eutychius, the successor of St. Mennas, in the See of Constantinople, seems to have presided. In eight sessions, which are called Conferences, the Three Chapters were minutely examined and discussed. Several propositions in them, found to be erroneous, were condemned, as containing or favouring the principles of Nestorius. But the fathers of the council, before they pronounced the sentence of condemnation, expressly confirmed the Council of Chalcedon, and placed its authority upon a level with that of the three first general councils, by which means they effectually guarded against every plea that the Eutychians might think of setting up to elude their own condemnation. Vigilius in a pastoral letter, confirmed the sentence of the council, in condemning the Three Chapters, but spared the persons of Theodoret and Ibas, whom the Council of Chalcedon had admitted to be orthodox.

Thus was the subject of long and acrimonious disputes happily terminated, and internal harmony restored to the Church. The Greek original of this council is not in the Vatican: we have only an ancient Latin version, in which the condemnation of the errors of Origen is not mentioned: yet it is certain that they were condemned in this fifth council, at the solicitation of the patriarch of Jerusalem, where those errors were in vogue. Vigilius had now nothing more to do at Constantinople; he had been seven years absent from Rome; he set off upon his return, but got no farther than Syracuse, in Sicily, and there died, anno 555. He had for successors in the Pontifical Chair, Pelagius, John III., Benedict, Pelagius II., and St. Gregory the Great.

SECTION V. *Gothic Kings of the West.*

THE Gothic nation, which stretched along the eastern and western banks of the Danube, became acquainted with the Catholic faith in the reign of Constantine the Great. Religion there flourished for near fifty years; Ulphilas their bishop laboured with great zeal and profit amongst them, till being grievously persecuted by one of their idolatrous kings, they applied to the emperor Valens for leave to pass the Danube and settle in Thrace. Ulphilas went to Constantinople on that commission, and succeeded; but having been unfortunately prevailed upon to join the Arian party, he carried back the errors of Arius amongst his flock; and as he was universally respected in the country, the people gave implicit credit to the doctrine he preached, so that in a few years Arianism became the predominant religion of the Goths. Hence the seed

of Arianism was planted in all the provinces of the west, wherever the Goths carried their victorious arms.

Odoacer, who founded the Gothic kingdom of Italy upon the ruins of the empire, reigned peaceably in Ravenna, till the year 493, when he was deprived both of his crown and life by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric was an Arian, but left every one free to follow the dictates of his own conscience, as his predecessor had done. He is even celebrated for the protection he gave to Catholics against his Arian officers, and for his other princely virtues. The execution of Symmachus and Boetius, two noble senators, whom he despotically ordered to be put to death without the shadow of a crime, has left an indelible blot in his character. He died in the year 526, and appointed Athalaric his grandson to succeed him in the throne. After him, Theodalus, a weak and wicked prince, obtained the crown. Under him the strength of the Gothic kingdom in Italy sunk into a very languid state; this encouraged Justinian to attempt its conquest. Belisarius, the conqueror of Africa, commanded the expedition. Sicily, and the lower part of Italy, quickly yielded to his victorious arms; Rome at his approach opened her gates, and acknowledged Justinian for her sovereign in 536. The Gothic chiefs offered the crown to Belisarius, which he nobly refused, and which Vitiges assumed, but was compelled to relinquish in 538. The vanquished Goths remained quiet, as long as Belisarius staid in Italy, but after his departure they rallied again, chose Evaric first, and then Totila for their king. Totila reduced the country to his obedience, took the city of Rome, razed its walls to the ground, and plundered it twice, first in 546, and a second time in 549. These outrages roused Justinian out of his theological slumber, and determined him to send an army into Italy. Narses had the command; he engaged, defeated, and slew the Goth, in 552. With Totila fell the Gothic race of kings in Italy, and Rome by right of conquest became subject to the emperor of Constantinople. The emperor governed by a deputy lieutenant, called an Exarch, who fixed his residence at Ravenna. The walls of Rome was rebuilt; a wise and necessary precaution against the future insults of foreign enemies.

Justinian died in 565, after a reign of near forty years, and was succeeded by his weak and profligate nephew, Justin II. Two years after, Italy was overrun by a horde of barbarians, who, from their long beards, or according to others, from their long halberts, are called Longobardi or Lombards. They burst from the forests of Hungary, under the command of Albion their king. They were Arians, and collecting in their march vast numbers of Pagan savages, they committed horrid outrages wherever they came. The unprotected Italians were too weak to resist; the Lombards made themselves masters of the whole country, excepting the fortified cities of Rome and Ravenna.

The evils occasioned by the Goths in Spain were happily terminated. For the space of 173 years, from the invasion of Ataulph in 414, to the conversion of king Recared in 587, Spain exhibited a long series of sieges, of battles, and bloody struggles for superiority. A general licentiousness of manners followed the Gothic

bands. The once flourishing church of Spain was now disgraced with every kind of vice ; Arianism every where prevailed ; profligate kings encouraged the bishops and their clergy to acts of immorality, that they might prevent all reproof from the pulpit ; wickedness, by example, spread like wildfire among the people. In the year 567, Leovigild reigned sole monarch of Spain. He had two sons, Hermenegild and Recared. With a view of securing to his family the royal crown, which had hitherto been elective, he surrendered a part of his domain to his eldest son Hermenegild, and made him an independent king. The young prince, who was married to a Catholic princess of France, and had informed himself of the true faith of Christ, renounced the errors of Arianism, and was received into the Catholic communion by St. Leander, bishop of Seville.

Leovigild was highly incensed to see his son abandon the belief of his forefathers ; he took the desperate resolution to strip him either of his crown or of his faith. The rights of conscience and his crown were precious prerogatives, which the royal convert conceived to be indisputably his own, and to be defended against the unjust aggression even of a father. Both parties took the field ; they fought ; the son was worsted, taken prisoner, and consigned to prison. His father tried every inducement to bring him back to the Arian communion ; he offered to forget all that was past, and to restore him to favour and to his former honours, if he would only consent to receive communion from the hand of an Arian bishop at the great festival of Easter, which was now approaching. A bishop went by order to the prince in prison, and endeavoured to persuade him into a compliance. The well-instructed prince upbraided the Arian for his impiety, and rejected his sacrilegious offer. Enraged at the report, the unnatural father gave an order for his son's immediate death. No time was lost ; the bloody executioner repaired in haste to the prison, and with one stroke of his hatchet clove the royal martyr's skull in two. The old king upon reflection expressed a sorrow for what he had too hastily done, owned the Catholic religion to be the true one, but from human considerations had not the resolution to embrace it. During his last illness in the following year 587, he sent for Leander, the holy bishop of Seville, and earnestly requested, that he would be careful to instruct his son Recared in the Catholic faith. The docile Recared believed, abjured his former errors, and within the compass of a few years brought over all his Arian subjects to the true faith of Christ.

SECTION VI. *Heptarchy of England.*

OF all the various revolutions which the western provinces of A. D. 585. the Roman empire had undergone for the last hundred and sixty years, none was so complete as that of Great Britain. In the other dismembered provinces we have seen new kingdoms rise, new rulers and new forms of Government established, heavy oppressions indeed, and cruel outrages committed ; yet a remnant of the former order of things was still preserved, and an intercourse kept up between the conquerors and the conquered.

Barbarous invaders sat down with the former citizens of Rome, content to share the common advantages of the country with them, without expelling or exterminating their race. But in the revolution of Britain all was new. The Saxons fought not for dominion, but for possession. Their savage policy was not simply to subdue, but to exterminate. That policy they barbarously pursued; religions, laws, and inhabitants vanished, as they extended their conquests. The fields of battle might be traced in almost every district by monuments of human bones; the churches were either demolished, or converted into Pagan temples; the whole country, as far as the mountains of Wales, was depopulated by the slaughter, or the flight of its ancient possessors, and occupied by a new nation. Small as our island is, it was divided by gradual conquest into no fewer than seven independent kingdoms, called the Heptarchy, besides what remained to the native Britons.

To show the regular progress of the Heptarchy from its first beginning, we must look as far back as the reign of king Vortigern, who invited the Saxons into Britain to fight against the Caledonians. That wicked king, at his marriage with Rowena, bestowed the government of Kent upon Hengist, the lady's father, a foreigner and a Pagan. By the continual arrival of fresh Saxons, Hengist thought himself sufficiently strong in the space of a few years to claim the rights of an independent prince. He rebelled, he threw off all allegiance, and founded the first Saxon kingdom of Kent in the year 457.

The Britons now saw the danger into which their weak sovereign had betrayed them; after his death in 466, they chose Ambrosius to command them, as their general or their king. Ambrosius was of Roman extraction, endowed with courage to undertake, as well as with skill to manage the defence of the country. He held the reigns of government for two and thirty years, during all which time he had a combined and stubborn host of invaders to contend with; and although he gave them many a check and many an overthrow, yet they still came on with new reinforcements, that arrived incessantly from the continent. By a hard and persevering struggle numbers at last prevailed; and in the year 491 Ella founded the second Saxon kingdom, which included Sussex and Surrey.

After the death of Ambrosius in 498, the supreme command devolved on his brother Uther Pendragon, who reigned ten years, and at last nobly fell in battle, fighting for his country. His active and gallant conduct prevented the Saxons from gaining any ground during his time. He was succeeded by his renowned son King Arthur, of whom many entertaining and fabulous exploits are told by the romancing writers of succeeding ages. King Arthur had a long and arduous reign, from the year 508 to 542. During that period he was constantly engaged with the enemy, over whom he gained twelve pitched battles. These defeats retarded, but did not prevent the ultimate success of the obstinate invaders. In the year 519 Cerdic established the kingdom of the West Saxons, and eight years after Erchenwin established that of the East Saxons; this comprehended Middlesex, Essex, and part of Hertfordshire; that of the West Saxons included Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Somers-

setshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire, to which Cornwall was added some time after.

With the valiant Arthur fell the spirit and support of Britain. Constantine his successor had neither talents nor conduct to stop the rapid decline of his country. In 547 the victorious Ida erected a fifth kingdom, which comprised the six northern counties, as they now stand in the geography of England.

The sixth kingdom, called that of the East Angles, was founded by Usfa, in the year 575. It contained Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely. This kingdom in process of time gave the name of England to the whole Saxon conquest.

The last of those Saxon chiefs, who raised their achievements into a monarchy, was Cerda. This successful warrior, by pushing his military operations into the very heart of the island, founded the kingdom of Mercia in 585. This, for tract of country, was the most considerable of the seven Saxon kingdoms; it contained all the midland counties of England.

In this surprising revolution, which rooted out one race of men, and planted another in the same soil, the only views of the invaders were to possess themselves of a fertile country, and to keep it without a rival. Providence employed those political views of men for the accomplishment of its own designs, the punishment of a degenerate and sinful nation. The Britons, by the abuse of divine grace, forfeited their inheritance; the Saxons, idolaters then, were the chosen people, destined by the supreme disposer of all things, to enter as it were into the promised land, and to form a new kingdom of faithful believers.

SECTION VII. *St. Austin the Apostle of England.*

SCARCE had the darkness of infidelity completely spread over A. D. 596. that part of Briton's isle which is properly called England, when divine Providence sweetly disposed the means for dispelling it by the rays of truth. From Rome, as from the centre of the Christian religion, the faith of Christ diffused its light a second time over the idolatrous land of Britain. To the preaching of apostolical men, sent from Rome, the descendants of our English Saxons owe their knowledge of salvation, no less than the ancient Britons. Under God, the first visible mover of this religious work, was the holy Pope Gregory, justly called by Bede, the Apostle of England.

Gregory, who held the See of Rome from the year 590 to 604, was the Son of Gordianus, a rich Roman senator. Being endowed with talents, and a happy propensity for learning, he diligently applied himself betimes to the study of grammar, of eloquence, and philosophy, to which accomplishments he added afterwards an eminent knowledge of the civil and canon law. His ample patrimony he dedicated either to charitable or religious uses, not to the empty purposes of pomp and vanity. Besides six monasteries, which he erected and endowed in Sicily, out of his estates there, he founded one in Rome, in honour of St. Andrew, in which he took the monastic habit in the year 575, being thirty-five years old. Pope Be-

nedict took him out of his retreat to employ him as his nuncio at the court of Constantinople. Pelagius II., his successor, called Gregory to Rome, and made him his secretary, permitting him at the same time to retain the government of his favourite monastery of St. Andrew, of which he had been chosen abbot. Upon the death of Pelagius the unanimous voice of the clergy, of the senate, and people, placed him, against his will, in the chair of St. Peter. The eminent services which St. Gregory has rendered to the Church by his prudence, by his sanctity, by his miracles, by his writings, and pastoral achievements, have acquired him the surname of Great. With St. Ambrose, St. Austin, and St. Jerome, he is counted one of the four principal Doctors of the Church.

Such was the prelate to whom this island stands indebted for her second conversion from heathenism to Christianity. This happy event took its rise from the following circumstance. Gregory, before his ecclesiastical preferments, passing one day through the slave market at Rome, observed some comely youths there exposed to sale. Struck at their fair features, he enquired from what country and of what religion they were. Being told they were Angli and idolaters, he immediately resolved to use his best endeavours for the conversion of their countrymen in England. He obtained Pope Benedict's leave to go and preach the gospel to them. The Romans would not part with him. The Pope thought it prudent to recall his mission, and the affair lay dormant till Gregory's advancement to the Pontificate. The nature of that exalted station precluded the zealous Pontiff from executing his former intention in person; he looked round for others to supply his place. In his monastery of St. Andrew he had his choice of subjects, every way qualified for the important mission. He selected a certain number, of whom Austin the Prior was the most conspicuous.

The missionaries, with St. Austin at their head, having received letters of recommendation to several bishops in France, set off upon their apostolical expedition. In France they received so frightful a description of the manners, language, and ferocity of the people they were going to, that their courage failed, and Austin was deputed to solicit the Pope's leave for them to go back to Rome. The discerning Gregory considering their fears as a temptation, suggested by the infernal enemy of mankind, encouraged and persuaded them to proceed in their meritorious enterprize, where they had either the crown of martyrdom to receive, or a nation to convert to Christ. At the return of Austin they engaged some Frenchmen, who spoke the Saxon language, to accompany them as interpreters, pursued their journey with fresh zeal to the sea coast, where they embarked, and after a quick passage landed in the isle of Thanet, in the year 596. From thence St. Austin dispatched a messenger to Ethelbert, the powerful king of Kent, to inform him that he and his companions had undertaken a long and perilous journey from Rome, and had landed in his territory with no other view than to teach him and his subjects the way to everlasting happiness.

Ethelbert was the fourth in descent from Hengist, a wise prince, and not an entire stranger to the Christian religion; for he was married to a Catholic princess, Berta, the daughter of Charibert, king

of Paris. Queen Berta, by agreement, had the free exercise of her religion, with liberty to educate her children in the same principles. Near Canterbury, the capital of the Kentish kingdom, stood an ancient church of St. Martin, once belonging to the Britons, now fallen to decay: the queen had it repaired and ornamented in a manner suitable to her devotion. There she used to pray, and there Luidhard, a French bishop, her director and almoner, performed the divine office.

Pleased with the missionaries' message, Ethelbert went over to the island of Thanet, and gave them a public audience upon the naked beach. The missionaries, drawn up in order, respectfully advanced towards him in procession, carrying for their banner a silver cross, with the image of our Saviour, and singing the Litany. As they approached the king, St. Austin bowed, and modestly addressed him in a speech explanatory of the Christian doctrine, at some length. The king listened with attention, seemed to relish the interesting truths he had heard, and promised to reflect upon them at his leisure. He invited them to come over to the royal city, appointed them a convenient residence, with provisions for their table, and granted them free permission to impart to his subjects the same comfortable doctrines which they had imparted to him. The humble missionaries gave hearty thanks to God for these prosperous beginnings, and received them as undoubted marks of his special protection over their undertaking. They made full use of the royal license, as zeal and prudence directed, to preach the Gospel, and establish the worship of the one true God amongst a Pagan people. Their apostolical manner of living, their abstemiousness, their modesty, their retiredness, their disengagement from all worldly enjoyments, was a strong recommendation for the doctrines they preached. The church of St. Martin, which was assigned for the queen's use, afforded them the advantage of exercising their sacerdotal functions in a public and solemn manner. There they assembled, there they prayed, there they sung the praises of God, there they said mass, there they preached and baptized. The heathens saw and admired, they heard and believed. The multitude of converts was great. Before the end of twelve months the king himself received baptism, and a royal grant was published for the repair and building of churches through all his dominions.

Not to forget the writers of the sixth century, at the head of whom appears St. Gregory the Great, we must mention St. Cæsarius, archbishop of Arles; Evagrius the Syrian, an ecclesiastical historian; St. Fulgentius, an African bishop; St. Gregory of Tours, who in ten books has written the history of the Franks; St. John Climacus; Boetius. In the first ages of the church it appears that the episcopal elections were made by the con-provincial bishops, the clergy, and the people, though not with the same right, nor in the same manner: the chief right was vested in the bishops. The confirmation of the bishop elect was made by the metropolitan. When the rulers of the state became Christians, they bore great sway in these elections.

Seventh Century.

SECTION I. *St. Austin's conference with British Bishops.*

IMMEDIATELY after king Ethelbert's conversion, Austin, as it seems, went over to France to confer with Virgilius, the A.D. 604. archbishop of Arles and apostolical legate, from whose hands he then received the episcopal consecration. His stay at Arles was not long. At his return to England he found the harvest of souls to be very great, and the labourers few. He dispatched two of his companions, Peter and Lawrence, to Rome for a new supply. The Pope sent him a chosen band of religious men, amongst whom were Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus. He sent with them "all things in general for the divine worship and the service of the church, viz.: sacred vessels, ornaments for the altar, vestments for the priests, relics of the holy apostles and martyrs, and many books," as Bede informs us. Two years after, that is in the year 600, he sent over many other noble presents with the archiepiscopal pall to St. Austin, empowering him to ordain twelve suffragan bishops, subject to his metropolitan see; he moreover authorised him to ordain a bishop of York, who should likewise be a metropolitan, with twelve suffragan bishops under him, when the northern English had embraced the faith.

While the holy Pope Gregory was thus providing for the new English Church, he forgot not the ancient British. With deep concern he had learned how shamefully the Britons of his time had degenerated from the piety of their forefathers, and into what strange customs of ecclesiastical discipline they had fallen. For by the testimony of St. Gildas they were sunk into the lowest degree of ignorance and barbarism, so as to retain little more than the name of Christians. Shut up within the recesses of barren mountains, they were left to themselves without help, without advice, or information, from the rest of mankind. St. Gregory, like a good shepherd, cast an eye of compassion on that distressed part of his flock, and in his instructions to St. Austin, directed him not only to preach the word of life to the English, but also to procure by persuasive means, if he could, a reformation of discipline and morals among the Britons. In compliance with these directions the apostolic man, under the protection of king Ethelbert, made an excursion through the country, as far as the borders of Wales, from whence he let the British prelates know the motives of his coming thither, and signified his wish of conferring with them upon a subject in which the interest of religion was deeply concerned.

"The Apostle of England," says Camden, "and the British bishops, met at a place upon the skirts of Worcestershire, which was called in Bede's time, Austin's oak; the precise spot is not known." Austin began by brotherly admonitions, says venerable Bede, to

remind them of two material points, in which they differed from the practice of the universal Church; first in the time of keeping Easter, and secondly in the manner of administering the sacrament of baptism. By exhortations and entreaties he tried to prevail upon them to correct those two errors, and then to unite their endeavours with his for the conversion of the English. Their violent animosity against the English would not suffer them to undertake the least offices of charity in their regard: and a tenacious attachment to their own customs would admit no change. St. Austin, seeing that neither exhortation or argument had any weight with them, appealed by a kind of divine impulse, as St. Germanus had done in a former dispute with the British Pelagians, to the miraculous powers. "Let some infirm person," said he, "be brought in, and let their tradition be followed as acceptable to God, by whose prayer he shall be healed." The condition was accepted, though very unwillingly, by the Britons. A blind man of English race was brought forward, and presented to the British priests, but received no benefit from their prayers or other endeavours. Then Austin bent his knees to God and prayed, that by restoring corporal sight to this blind man, he would make his spiritual light shine on the souls of many. The blind man that instant saw; the Britons witnessed the miracle, acknowledged Austin's doctrine to be true, but said that they could not depart from their traditionary customs without their nation's consent. They desired that a more general synod might be held on a fixed day, and the matter be more fully debated. St Austin consented.

In the country, not far distant from the place of rendezvous, lived a hermit much respected for holiness and reputed wisdom. To this hermit, on the day before the meeting, certain persons were deputed for advice how to act, whether to adopt Austin's doctrine or to retain their own. The hermit answered, "If he be a man of God, hear and follow him." "But how are we to know that," said the deputies? "By his meek and humble behaviour," replied the hermit. "You must so contrive it, that he and his company come first to the place of conference; he will probably sit down to rest himself after his walk; if at your approach he shall rise up, look upon him to be an humble man, a faithful servant of God; hear and obey him; but if he shall not rise, turn away and despise him."

The place appointed for their meeting was the same as before, near the Oak, in an open field, under the wide canopy of heaven. The English archbishop arrived first, as the Britons had contrived; he sat himself down and waited their arrival. Abbot Dinooth, with his most knowing brethren of Bangor, and seven bishops, as their annals say, some time after came in view. As they approached, but still at some distance, they descried Austin sitting on his seat. He rose not at the moment. This they deemed a sufficient pretext not to enter upon the conference, as the wise hermit advised. No sooner did they come within hearing, than they began in rude language to vent their spleen against the inoffensive prelate, and to charge him with pride and arrogance for not rising at the moment he saw them coming. In vain did Austin strive by smooth discourse to pacify and talk them into temper. He meekly repeated what he

had already told them, that he required nothing more than what the uniform practice of the Church and common charity required from every Christian. He spoke to no purpose; no conciliatory proposal was attended to; they answered by abuse, and abruptly turned away with sullen looks of anger and disgust.

This in substance is venerable Bede's account of the famous conference that passed between the Apostle of England and the British clergy. It is the only authentic account we have, and can have, of the questions that were proposed and submitted to their consideration. Of the independency of the British Church, and of the Pope's supremacy, no mention was made. Whether the British bishops at that time disclaimed all foreign supremacy, as is asserted in a Welch manuscript printed by Spelman, affects not the subject of the conference. That manuscript is evidently a piece of forgery, not so old as the Reformation, as is proved by Mr. Turberville,* and Doctor Hauardan.† Bede's unquestionable authority in this matter will guide the young reader in the judgment he has to form of those unsupported assertions, and virulent invectives, which he may meet with in the writings of an archbishop Parker, a bishop Godwin, a Holinshed, a John Fox, a John Gale, a Rapin, or the Lutheran penmen of Magdeburg. With greater candour, and with truth, Mr. Collier writes of St. Austin, that "he was engaged in a glorious undertaking, and was blessed with wonderful success; that he converted the kingdom of Kent by the strength of his own conduct and miracles; that he lived suitably to the business of a missionary, and practised great austerities. Let his memory therefore be mentioned with honour, and let us praise Almighty God for making him so powerful an instrument in the happiness of this island.

Bede has not mentioned the year in which St. Austin died, and on account of that omission authors are divided in their conjectures about the time of his death; some place it in 603, others in 615. From historical facts it appears that he must have died in 608. His remains were interred in the northern porch of Saints Peter and Paul's church in Canterbury. Matthew Parker and Francis Godwin have expressed much rancour against this Apostle of England, and even assert him to have been the author and instigator of that barbarous massacre, in which twelve hundred monks of Bangor were butchered by Ethelfrid, the Pagan king of Northumberland, with whom the saint never had any communication.

To establish a charge of so atrocious a nature against an apostolic prelate in so universal repute for holiness of life as St. Austin was, clear and incontestable proofs should be adduced: it should be proved that Austin was not only alive, but that he actually instigated and caused the bloody deed. This has not and cannot be done. The slaughter of the Monks of Bangor happened in the year 613, as the learned archbishop Usher writes from the best historical records to be met with, five years after St. Austin's death. Venerable Bede says in general terms, that the slaughter happened a considerable time after his translation to the heavenly kingdom. The authority of Bede carries with it too much weight not to be respected even by bishop

* Manual of Controversies.

† Preface to Church of Christ.

Godwin. What then does his lordship do to get rid of an authority which he dares not contradict? He boldly asserts, that Bede never wrote any such words. Without aiming at any proof, he ventures on his own authority to pronounce it "to be as clear as the light at noon-day, that the clause, we now read in Bede,* has been since his time inserted in the context." What pity is it that subsequent writers should insult the credulity of their readers by copying so barefaced a calumny into their publications.

SECTION II. *Conversion of England.*

St. Austin, not long before his death ordained Lawrence, one of his A. D. 625. first companions in the mission, to be his successor in the See of Canterbury, lest that infant church should for a moment be left without a pastor. The good king Ethelbert gave every encouragement to his subjects to become Christians, but constrained no one. On hearing the sublimity, the holiness, and rewards of a revealed religion clearly explained to them, numbers eagerly embraced it; no less than ten thousand were baptized in one day. The Saxon idols were then pulled down, their temples changed into Christian churches, and in the course of a few years a whole kingdom of fierce and licentious heathens became humble, meek, and devout Christians. From Kent the faith spread amongst the East Saxons, by the preaching of Mellitus, whom St. Austin had ordained bishop of London. After these the East Angles in part received the faith; for they were not entirely converted, till their pious king Sigebert introduced amongst them St. Felix, a Burgundian, who was consecrated their first bishop, and deputed by St. Honorius, the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, to preach the gospel to them. Anno. 636.

In the year 616 died the holy king Ethelbert, after a reign of fifty-six years, the last twenty of which he was a Christian. His name is commemorated in the Roman martyrology on the twenty-fourth of February. His son Edbald succeeded him in the throne. He left a virtuous daughter, Edelburga by name, whom Edwin, king of the Northumbers, demanded in marriage. The princess answered that she could not in conscience consent to marry a Pagan. Edwin assured her and her brother Edbald, that she should have every protection and indulgence with respect to religion, and if upon examination he should find it a good one, that he himself would embrace it. Upon these conditions the marriage was concluded in 625. Paulinus on that occasion was consecrated bishop of York by St. Justus, the metropolitan of Canterbury, and accompanied the princess to the north. St. Paulinus was one of the auxiliary missionaries sent from Rome to St. Austin, and till then had been employed in the kingdom of Kent. By this prelate's zeal, Edwin, with many of his subjects, was converted to the faith of Christ. Edwin's heroic virtues have enrolled his name among the saints. He was slain in battle in 633, and St. Paulinus retired upon that event to Rochester, which See he governed till his death in 644. In the mean time Oswald, the nephew of king Edwin, returned from Scot-

* Quamvis ipso jam multo antè tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato.

land, where he had spent his youth from the year 616, and asserted his right to the crown of the Northumbers. He defeated his enemies in the field, and ascended the throne in 635. The first concern of this pious king, who had been instructed in the Christian faith among the Scots, was to make his subjects partakers of the same grace. St. Paulinus was gone, nor would Edbald, king of Kent, permit him to return. Oswald then addressed himself to the abbot of the great monastery of St. Columba, in the isle of Hy, that he would procure him some apostolical man to preach the gospel to his Northumbrians. Aidanus, a pious monk of that monastery, was selected for that evangelical undertaking, and being consecrated bishop, fixed his episcopal see at Lindisfarne. In the compass of a few years this holy bishop and his fellow labourers converted the whole kingdom of the Northumbrians to Christ. But while he taught them the principles of divine faith, he implicated them in an error concerning the time of keeping Easter. This was no error in faith; it was wholly founded in misapprehension and ignorance; it broke not the tie of Catholic communion; for, as Bede remarks, it differed from that Asiatic error of the Jews and Quartodecimans, which is proscribed by the Council of Nice. St. Aidanus died in 651.

About the same time died also St. Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons. This zealous man was a priest of Rome, and being desirous of bringing the idolatrous English to the knowledge of the true God, solicited Pope Honorius for leave to announce the gospel to them. He obtained his request, received episcopal ordination, landed in England, and fixed his see at Dorchester, upon the Thames, in Oxfordshire. King Cynegils, who seems to have been already prepossessed in favour of Christianity, gave him a gracious reception, willingly listened to his instructions, and was convinced and baptized by him. The people in crowds followed his example.

In 653 commenced the conversion of the kingdom of Mercia on the following occasion. Penda the younger, who reigned in Mercia, wished to contract an alliance with king Oswi, the pious brother and successor of Oswald. With a splendid retinue he set off for the Northumbrian court, and demanded Alfreda, the king's daughter, in marriage. Oswi answered, that he must become a Christian to gain her. To this Penda readily consented, being already convinced of the absurdity of Paganism. He and his attendants entered upon a regular course of instructions under Finian, the bishop of Lindisfarne, whom the Scottish bishops had ordained to succeed St. Aidanus. The young prince having received baptism with all his attendants, took with him in his return four priests, who with successful zeal laboured in the conversion of the middle Saxons. The names of these priests were Cedda, and Adda, and Beth, and Diuma; the three first were English, the last was a Scotchman.

Thus in about fifty years after St. Austin's first landing in the isle of Thanet, six kingdoms of the heptarchy came to the knowledge of Christianity. It was not till near twenty years after, that the South Saxons received that grace, by the preaching of St. Wilfrid, the archbishop of York, an enlightened guide of the infant English Church.

SECTION III. *Exaltation of the Cross.*

WHILE religion was recovering itself in the west, it experienced many severe checks in the east, partly from heresy, and partly from the insults of infidelity. Justin the younger, whose incapacity and immoralities had disgraced the imperial purple for twelve years, was succeeded by Tiberius, a religious prince, who after a reign of four years, left the crown to Mauritius his son-in-law, anno 582. Mauritius, by pedigree a Roman, but a Cappadocian by birth, reigned twenty years, and might have passed for an accomplished prince, had not a sordid avarice tarnished the lustre of his many good qualities. These had acquired him a splendid reputation; his avarice lost him the affection of his subjects, and brought him to a tragical end. The exasperated army declared him unworthy of the crown, and in an act of mutiny proclaimed Phocas, a centurion in the troops, emperor in his stead. Phocas marched without loss of time to Constantinople, where a strong faction stood ready to receive him. Mauritius, being shamefully betrayed and abandoned by his ministers, fled with his five sons for safety to Chalcidon. Phocas sent assassins after him, with orders to massacre the children before their father's face, and after that to massacre the father himself. The barbarous order was strictly executed. The degraded emperor humbly submitted to the divine will, and bore the cruel stroke with a fortitude becoming a Christian prince. His prayer to God had ever been, that the punishment of his transgressions might be inflicted on him in this life, rather than in the next. In his bleeding heart he felt the deadly wound which each child received, and with a penitential sigh exclaimed in the words of David, "Thou art just, O Lord, and righteous are thy judgments."

Mauritius, and his guiltless offspring, being thus inhumanly cut off, Phocas, an obscure subaltern in the army, a mere sink of lust and intemperance, without so much as a single virtue to recommend him, mounted the throne of Constantinople, and was peaceably acknowledged for emperor both in the eastern and western provinces of the empire.

Chosroes, the political monarch of Persia, with seeming sentiments of anger at the murder of his former friend and ally, loudly exclaimed against the dignified assassin, and denounced revenge. Chosroes in his distress had solicited and obtained succours from Mauritius, which secured to him the crown of Persia. Under the specious pretext of gratitude towards an injured benefactor, but in fact with a determined resolution to follow the impulse of ambition, he declared war against the murderer Phocas. With a well-provided army he passed the Roman boundary, and meeting with no resistance, quickly overran Mesopotamia and Syria. Phocas, who had renounced the profession of a soldier without assuming the office or character of a prince, remained inactive, and with indifference beheld the ravages of his rich provinces. Chosroes was left to indulge his revenge or ambition without a check. The statesmen and senators of Constantinople, seeing nothing done for the preservation of the empire, secretly requested Heraclius, the governor of Africa, to come to their assistance, assuring him that the purple should be

the reward of his services. Age had extinguished the last spark of ambition in the breast of Heraclius. But to his youthful son the prospect of a crown appeared too flattering to be rejected. Without a moment's hesitation the young Heraclius boldly embarked in the hazardous undertaking, put a select body of troops on board the ships that were ready for sea, set sail, and cast anchor in the harbour of Constantinople, before Phocas had the least suspicion of a rival being near. From his palace window the trembling Phocas saw the man that was come to snatch the crown from his head. Sensible of his danger, and destitute of friends, he ran from one apartment to another, till he was seized by a private enemy and conveyed on board the galley of Heraclius. Heraclius first reproached him for his execrable crimes, then ordered his head to be struck off, and his body to be burned. Such was the vengeance that overtook Phocas, after a wicked and inglorious reign of eight years. Heraclius was immediately proclaimed emperor, and crowned by Sergius, the young patriarch of Constantinople, anno 610.

The death of Phocas made no alteration in the politics of Chosroes. His subsequent conduct showed, that no principle of justice, of gratitude, or honour, but restless ambition, and an implacable hatred against the Christian and Roman name, had urged him to the war. Unprepared and unable to cope with so powerful a rival in the field, Heraclius sued for peace even on the humiliating terms of purchasing it by an annual tribute. The haughty Persian rejected the proposal with scorn. In four successful campaigns he subdued Syria, Cappadocia, and Palestine. The plundered cities of Antioch, Cæsarea, Damascus, and Jerusalem, yielded an immense booty to the greedy conquerors. Jerusalem was taken by assault, and every outrage was committed on the citizens and buildings that the insolence of victory could dictate to the enemies of Christianity. Ninety thousand Christians were sold to the Jews, the holy sepulchre of our Lord, the stately churches of Constantine and Helen, were stripped of their costly ornaments and burned; all the rich moveables, sacred vessels, and precious relics, amongst which was a part of the holy cross, were rapaciously collected and transported into Persia, with the patriarch Zachary. This passed in the year 614. In pursuit of new victories the Persian army then marched into Egypt, took the wealthy city of Alexandria, subdued and ravaged the whole country as far as Lybia and the confines of Ethiopia, while another army penetrated through Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, to the straits of Constantinople.

Twelve years had now elapsed since Heraclius mounted the throne, during all which time he remained either an idle spectator of the war, or an abject suppliant for peace. All his best provinces were in the hands of his enemy; the strength of his empire was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, to a remnant of Greece, of Africa, and Italy, and some maritime towns on the Asiatic coast. In that desperate posture of affairs an insulting message from Chosroes at length roused the desponding monarch into action: "Go," said the haughty Persian to the Greek ambassadors, "go, tell your master that no offers he can make will be listened to, till he abjures a

crucified God, and embraces the worship of the sun." Heraclius, notwithstanding his losses by land was still master at sea; he had a fleet which enabled him to attack the enemy in his most vulnerable part: he took the wise and noble resolution of carrying the war into Persia. He embarked, with a small but choice number of troops, steered through the Archipelago, and landed without opposition upon the confines of Cilicia and Syria, in the bay of Scanderoon. He marched more like a hasty traveller than an encumbered warrior through the country, subdued the whole to his obedience in one campaign, and placed his troops in winter quarters within the reach of the Euxine sea, for the greater convenience of pushing on his expedition next spring. He took the opportunity of returning to Constantinople, where the approach of the enemy, and the despondency of the city, rendered his presence very necessary. He succeeded in repelling all present danger from the capital, which left him at liberty to pursue his Persian expedition. Taking with him some new recruits, he sailed through the Euxine sea, and landed at Trebizond. From thence he joined his army in winter quarters, marched out through the mountainous country of Armenia, and entered Persia.

Chosroes, who had lately denounced destruction to the Roman empire, was now forced to defend his own. Finding the Christian army to advance with rapid and victorious strides towards his capital, he was under the necessity of abandoning his foreign conquests, and of leading back his whole force to stop the progress of his enemy. The scale of fortune was now turned. In five prosperous campaigns the Christians, under the banner of the cross, often engaged the infidels, and as often conquered. Yet in the midst of conquest Heraclius earnestly wished for peace, and generously offered it on terms the most liberal. But the lofty pride of Chosroes had not yet sunk to the level of his disgrace. The sixth and last year of the war in Persia was closed by a decisive battle on the banks of the Tigris, where Ninive once stood. With little loss the Greeks obtained a complete victory. Chosroes had neither the resolution nor the means of retrieving this fatal overthrow. Tired of his tyrannic government, his nobles and disaffected generals conspired against him. They deposed and murdered him. Siroes, his eldest son, whom he had intended to supercede in the succession of the crown, ascended the Persian throne. A suspension of arms was immediately agreed on, terms of peace were proposed and settled between the two emperors. Siroes on his part released all the Christian prisoners, renounced his father's conquests, and restored the holy cross, which, with other sacred spoils, had been carried from Jerusalem into Persia fourteen years before.

Heraclius returned to Constantinople in splendid triumph, amidst the shouts of his rescued capital. He entered the city in a chariot drawn by four elephants. The following year, 629, Jerusalem saw the triumphal honours renewed in a more modest and more religious manner. With pious gratitude to God for the victories he had won, Heraclius went in pilgrimage to return thanks upon the very spot where the mystery of our redemption had been wrought, on the same sanctified wood, which he had recovered from Pagan hands.

Divested of his imperial ornaments, bare-foot, and in the garb of an humble penitent, Heraclius took the precious relic upon his shoulder, and advancing in slow procession, with the patriarch Zachary by his side, devoutly carried it to the place from whence the infidels had taken it. The silver case, in which it was locked and sealed with the bishop's seal, had been never opened nor even broken by the Persians. The patriarch opened the case, identified the precious relic, and exposed it to the longing eyes of the Faithful. This recovery, or, as it is called, this Exaltation of the Cross, is annually commemorated by the Church on the fourteenth of September.

SECTION IV. *Desolation of the Oriental Churches.*

NOT many years had the Christians of the east been delivered from the Persian yoke, when they fell under that of the A. D. 640. Mahometan Arabs. These Arabs, the enthusiastic warriors of the Desert, had ranged themselves under the standard of Mahomet, the founder of their empire and religion. Mahomet, a false prophet and notorious impostor, was born in the year 568, at Mecca, a considerable town of Stony Arabia, near the Red Sea. His mother was a Jewess; his father a Pagan of noble birth, but not rich, derived his pedigree from Ismael, the son of Abraham and Agar. Being left an orphan when only two years old, he was taken by an uncle, and trained up to traffic, the only lucrative employment in a country where barren sands afford little encouragement to the husbandman. No pains were taken for the improvement of his mind: he was not taught so much as to read or write; he drove his uncle's camels till the twenty-fifth year of his age; he then found it necessary to look out for service. For notwithstanding his high pedigree, the fortune he inherited from his father was too scanty to maintain him. He undertook to be factor for a rich widow of Mecca. Though unacquainted with letters, Mahomet had strong natural talents, and possessed some personal qualifications. His figure was comely, his language correct, his manner pleasing. These advantages quickly drew the notice and gained the good graces of his fond employer. She made him a tender of her hand and fortune. This matrimonial connexion gave him not only wealth but leisure to prepare a new system of religion, which an enthusiastic genius suggested to his wild imagination. He built his system on this compound basis of truth and falsehood, That there is one only God, and that Mahomet is the Apostle of God.

In the year 608, which was the fortieth of his age, Mahomet publicly assumed the title and character of a prophet. In the crowded streets, and before the temple of Mecca, he declared himself to be inspired and commissioned by the most high God to exterminate the Pagan, the Jewish, and the Christian form of worship, and by force of arms to propagate the knowledge and true religion of one only God over all the earth. His declaration was followed by serious endeavours to gain proselytes. The magistrates of Mecca began to be alarmed; apprehensive of tumults, they wisely resolved to prevent the mischief, by securing the fanatic. Mahomet had his

spies, who gave him timely notice of his danger; he fled off by night, and retired to Medina, a trading town upon the same coast, two hundred and twenty miles distant from Mecca. This flight of Mahomet, in the year 622, has fixed the memorable æra of the Hegira, from which the Mahometan nations date the beginning of their lunar years to this day.

At Medina the fugitive impostor was received with princely honours, and every encouragement given for the propagation of his religious system. There he erected a Mosque, or a Meeting-house, where he preached and prayed. His discourse were a rhapsody of doctrinal precepts, which at first were loosely penned down by his hearers, and afterwards collected into order in a book, called the Coran or Alcoran. He soon perceived that abstract notions of good and evil made no impression on an ignorant and carnal people, such as the Arabs were. To gain them over to his system he found it necessary to humour their passions, and to flatter them with the promise of a delicious paradise, where their appetites would be gratified with every sensual enjoyment. A plurality of wives made a principal ingredient in the base medley of his indulgent doctrines. The Arabs were likewise fond of plunder, in which they did not choose to be restrained. Mahomet was liberal in his principles when it suited his purpose. To the assumed character of an apostle, he added that of a public robber. He put himself at the head of an armed banditti, attacked the rich caravans of the merchants, and devoutly shared the spoil with his fanatic followers. This lucrative trade procured him many proselytes. Their numbers soon swelled into a formidable army. His insolence and presumption swelled in proportion. He assumed the triple title of king, of legislator, and apostle of the Faithful; he considered the rest of mankind as infidels, and declared war against them all. The promise of booty to his comrades, if they survived the battle, and the assurance of a place in his sensual paradise, if they fell, made heroes of men naturally indolent and timid. His first military enterprise was against Mecca, on the reduction of which all Arabia submitted to his arms and doctrine. He then meditated an expedition against Syria, when death after a short illness, summoned him out of life in the year 632, the sixty-fourth of his age. He died at Medina, and was there buried. He left no issue except one favourite daughter, called Fatima, who was married to Ali, the founder of the Mahometan sect in Persia.

Abubeker, a citizen of Mecca, had been Mahomet's first follower. The Musulmans chose him for their chief. He took the title of Caliph, which is to say Vicar, meaning to style himself the vicar of the prophet. He reigned but two years, and had for a successor Omar, who to the title of Caliph joined that of Emir, i. e. Commander of the Faithful. These titles descended to his successors in command. In the short period of a ten years reign this warlike chieftain not only snatched Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, from the Roman empire, but with a rapidity of success beyond example, subdued the vast empire of Persia, overturned the idolatrous temples of the sun, dictated new laws and a new religion to the sages of Media, and placed a new race of monarchs, with the trophies of the Alcoran, upon the throne Artaxerxes.

Heraclius, who had fought and conquered so gallantly in the plains of Persia, relapsed after his triumph into his former habit of inactive indolence. Unwilling to expose himself in battle against the enthusiastic Arabs, or Saracens, as they are likewise called, he suffered them to take one town after another, till they were masters of all Syria. Then seeing the loss of Palestine must soon follow, he gave orders for the holy cross to be conveyed to Constantinople, and abandoned every thing else to the chance of war. Jerusalem in its turn was besieged by Omar, and taken by capitulation in the year 637. The Saracens after that carried the war into Egypt, where they met with little resistance, except from the city of Alexandria, which stood a siege of fourteen months. It surrendered at last on the 22d of December, 640, and has groaned under the Mahometan yoke ever since. Its famous library was destroyed by an express order of the Caliph. The number of volumes was such, that they sufficed to light the fires of four thousand public baths for six months.

From this memorable epoch the state of Catholicity in the oriental provinces became most wretched. Heavy tribute and slavish disgrace was the portion of all who refused to receive the Alcoran. Many of the churches were without bishops and other ministers of the altar, or if any remained, few were sound in doctrine. For besides the Monothelites, who had lately sprung up, the heretics of older date, such as the Nestorians in Syria, the Jacobites or Eutychians in Egypt, being no longer awed by the civil power of a Christian sovereign, openly avowed their erroneous principles. By the intrusion of false pastors into the patriarchal Sees of Alexandria, of Antioch, and Jerusalem, the succession of Catholic bishops is broken in those oppressed churches, nor from that time downwards is it to be clearly ascertained. The episcopal succession of Rome alone stands in the midst of all civil revolutions unshaken and uninterrupted from the days of St. Peter.

SECTION V. *Celebration of Easter.*

FROM the melancholy prospect of the eastern regions we turn our eyes again on England. The error of the Britons in keeping Easter on a wrong day was communicated to the northern English by the bishop Aidanus, as we have noticed above. That error originated, as it seems, with the Scotch or Irish, from whom the Britons took it about thirty years before St. Austin came to England; for we cannot trace it higher. In the year 566 Columba, a religious priest and abbot, as Bede calls him, quitted Ireland, and fixed his residence in the isle of Hy or Iona, on the western coast of Scotland. There he built a monastery, the fertile seminary of many monks. Though eminently skilled in the nature and practice of Christian virtues, he grossly erred in a material point of ecclesiastical discipline. He celebrated the great festival of Easter on a day different from that which was appointed and observed by the universal Church. Whether Columba first began, or only followed the erroneous practice as he found it, history does not tell us. That the error sprung from misconception, and not from malice, we have

every reason to suppose ; that the neighbouring Britons fell into it, is a fact beyond dispute. But to say that the Britons originally received the practice together with their faith, from the East, is a wild assertion too destitute of proof, and even of probability, to be seriously adopted by any writer who respects his readers, or himself.

Our blessed Redeemer having been pleased to rise from the dead on the first day of the week, namely Sunday, the Church ordained, that the annual commemoration of that joyful mystery should be made upon a Sunday. But it not being possible that a Sunday should fall upon the same day of the month two years following, Easter-day necessarily became a moveable feast, and required some general rule to fix its uniform observance on the same day throughout Christendom. The Church, ever attentive to the divine service, has made that rule which fixes the observance of Easter-day upon the first Sunday subsequent to the first full moon after the vernal equinox. For the direction and information of the distant churches in this matter, annual letters of notification were regularly sent from the Roman See. These were termed Paschal letters, and as long as the intercourse between Rome and Britain remained open, were duly sent to the British bishops, and by them to the bishops of Ireland. But when the Saxon invasion had cut off all communication with Rome, then the Paschal error crept into the island. The error was precisely this, that it placed Easter-day on the first Sunday after the full moon nearest to the vernal equinox, either before or after it, beginning to count from the fourteenth day of the month, instead of the twenty-first, by which means Easter-day was frequently anticipated before the canonical term.

It has been mentioned in a foregoing paragraph, that the Northumbrians became acquainted with the Christian faith in consequence of their king Edwin's marriage with the princess Edelburga of Kent. After Edwin's death they relapsed into idolatry, and forced the bishop Paulinus to quit York with the queen dowager and her two sons. Prince Oswald likewise had been obliged to fly from the scene of civil war. He sought and found an asylum among the Scots. After a lapse of some years he returned and possessed himself of his hereditary crown of Northumberland. Finding Paulinus gone, and the country without a bishop, he procured St. Aidan, a monk of Columba's monastery, to be consecrated bishop, who settled at Lindisfarne. Finian and Coleman, Scottish monks from the same house, succeeded him in his episcopal dignity and jurisdiction, which comprised the whole kingdom of Northumberland. By these prelates the erroneous system of keeping Easter was introduced among the English Saxons. But the system was not universally embraced even among the Northumbrians. Some, better instructed, followed the canonical rule ; thus the Faithful were divided both in practice and opinion, while some kept Easter at one time, and some at another. To put an end to this division, king Oswi, who had succeeded his brother Oswald, summoned the two parties to meet him at the monastery of Streaneshalch, now Whitby, and there discuss the point in question. They met on the appointed day, in 655 ; bishop Coleman with his Scottish clergy appeared on one side, and on the other Agilbert, bishop of Dorchester, the abbot Wilfrid, afterwards

bishop of York, and some others. The king in a short speech having proposed the subject of debate, bishop Coleman rose, and in a modest manner stated the grounds of his opinion. Wilfrid, by bishop Agilbert's desire, then spoke in answer; and in his answer produced such convincing arguments for the Roman practice, as admitted no reply. Oswi, who came prepossessed in favour of the Scottish tradition, owned himself convinced of its being founded in error, and declared that he should in future faithfully follow the Roman discipline which had been established by St. Peter's authority, and was now observed by the whole Catholic Church in every known part of the globe. Coleman seeing his opinion set at nought, retired with his adherents to the monastery of Hy. He seems to have submitted soon after to the force of truth, but his Scotch brethren stubbornly retained their opinion till the sixteenth year of the following century, when they yielded to the strong remonstrances of Egbert, a virtuous English priest, and renounced their error, about a hundred and fifty years after it had been first set up.

SECTION VI. *State of the English Church.*

SOON after the conference of Streaneshalch, Agilbert retired in disgust from the See of Dorchester, and returned to A.D. 670. France, his native country. The cause of his disgust arose from the arbitrary division of his diocese, which Kenelwalch, king of Westsex, made in favour of Wina, an English Saxon bishop lately ordained in France. What induced the king to this act, was the strong desire he had of having a bishop he could converse with in his own language, which was the Saxon. Wina fixed his episcopal residence at Winchester, till he was expelled by the very king who had uncanonically introduced him.

Since the retreat of Paulinus no one had been appointed to succeed him in the See of York. Such an appointment was now become a more desirable object, as the retreat of Coleman from Lindisfarne, and the death of Tuda his successor, had left the northern kingdom without a bishop. This the young king Alefrid, the son of Oswi, and his associate in the throne, undertook to effect in the person of his chaplain, the learned and virtuous Wilfrid. For this purpose he sent him abroad to be ordained by Agilbert, his former friend, now bishop of Paris. Agilbert received him with singular marks of esteem, and solemnly performed the ceremony of his consecration at Compiègne, being assisted by eleven bishops. Wilfrid made a longer stay than was expected; king Oswi grew impatient; he resolved to provide his subjects with another pastor; he cast his eye upon Chad, the abbot of Lestringay, and brother to St. Cedda, the deceased bishop of London, and caused him to be consecrated by Wina of Winchester. Wilfrid returned soon after, and finding the See of York now occupied by Chad, silently retired to the abbey of Rippon, where he past three years in the pious exercises of a monastic life.

During these irregular transactions in the English church died Deusdedit, the holy archbishop of Canterbury. Egbert, the religious king of Kent, wished to have an Englishman for his successor, rightly judg-

ing that the advantage of being a native, and of speaking the Saxon language, would gain him favour in the nation, and enable him to do more good. But the English Church was still in her infancy, her schools had not been established long enough to furnish a supply of fit subjects for the sacred ministry; her clergy were not under due subordination, nor had she yet arrived to that maturity as to stand in need of no foreign help. Her discipline was not yet formed, her new converts frequently relapsed into Paganism; her bishops, in fine, were not canonically appointed; as appears from the irregular introduction of Wina into Westsex, of Aidanus into Lisdin-farne, and the ordination of Chad for the bishopric of York. The political jealousies and different interests that reigned in the Heph-tarchy, were moreover great hinderances to the formation of a regular system of ecclesiastical government for the whole nation. To give a strength and vigour to the rising church such a system was absolutely necessary, and the complexion of the times seemed to favour its establishment. Its success greatly depended on the prelate who should be appointed to the metropolitan See. Great abilities, great prudence, great steadiness, and great ecclesiastical knowledge were requisite to succeed in the attempt: those abilities king Egbert discovered in the person of Wighart, a priest of the church of Canterbury. The clergy and the people united with the king in voting for his promotion. Wighart set off for Rome with letters of recommendation to the Pope Vitalianus. His Holiness gave him a gracious reception, and confirmed his election; but unexpected death prevented his ordination.

How to replace him was then the difficulty. Egbert was very pressing to have an Englishman for primate, who should be able to preach to his subjects in a language they understood. But an Englishman, duly qualified for so important a station, on which so much at that time depended, was not easily found. There lived at Rome an Asiatic monk of unblemished morals and extensive learning, Theodore by name, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia. He was closely connected in a habit of religious friendship with Adrian, a learned African abbot, who strongly recommended him to the Pope, as possessing every qualification requisite for the instruction and direction of a newly converted nation. Upon examination the Pope found him such, and proposed him to king Egbert, who consented to receive him for Primate of England. The humble Theodore declined the honour and the charge, alleging his incapacity, his unworthiness, his advanced age, and ignorance of the English tongue. His objections were overruled; the Pope ordained him bishop for the metropolitan See of Canterbury in 669; he immediately set off to take possession, in the company of Benet Biscop, an English monk, and of Adrian his friend, the learned abbot of Africa. King Egbert deputed one of his nobles to meet him at Paris, and to conduct him with honour into England.

Theodore came vested with a power from Vitalianus, which gave him a spiritual jurisdiction over all the bishops of England; and venerable Bede observes, that he was the first to whom the other bishops paid that submission. Five years had elapsed since the demise of his predecessor, during which time many abuses had crept

in, which called for immediate redress. St. Wilfrid was unjustly kept out of the See of York, to which he had been canonically ordained; the simplicity of St. Chad had been abused for a wrong purpose. Theodore declared Chad's institution null, but in consideration of his profound humility and exemplary piety, made him bishop of Litchfield. He put St. Wilfrid into possession of his See; he ordained the holy bishops Erconwald, Cuthbert, and Lutherius, to fill up the vacant Sees of London, of Lindisfarne, and Westsex, and erected new bishoprics, as the good of religion seemed to require. For the classical education of youth he founded public schools in different parts of the island, and for the direction of the clergy established with his suffragans a regular system of ecclesiastical discipline, which marked out to each one his precise office and rule of conduct. Hence right order, peace, and harmony, universally flourished, to the great increase and ornament of religion. "These," says venerable Bede, "were the happiest times that Britain had seen since the Saxons landed on her shore." St. Theodore having presided over the English church with distinguished ability and success for one and twenty years, went to receive the reward of his labours in the year 690, of his age eighty-eight. "After death he still survived," says archbishop Parker, "in the many and excellent disciples whom he left behind him." He was succeeded by St. Britwald.

SECTION VII. *Sixth General Council.*

THE succession of sovereign Pontiffs, from the death of St. Gregory in 604, was carried on in the following order: A.D. 680. Sabianus, Boniface III., St. Boniface IV., St. Deusdedit, Boniface V., Honorius, Severinus, John IV., Theodore, St. Martin, St. Eugenius, St. Vitalianus, Adeodatus, Donus, St. Agatho.

About the year 633 a new heresy started up in the person of Theodore, bishop of Pharan in Arabia. It was called a new heresy, because it assumed a new name, but in fact it was no other than the old Eutychian heresy in a different shape. It asserted, as Eutyches had done, that in Jesus Christ there was but one natural will and one operation, from whence it was called Monothelism. It was readily adopted by Sergius the patriarch of Constantinople, and Cyrus the patriarch of Alexandria, whose credit and authority made it current in the east. Sergius, an artful Syrian, born of Eutychian parents, employed all the cunning and duplicity he was master of to disseminate his favourite errors in a new dress, and under a different name. By dissimulation or by flattery, as most suitable to his purpose, he engaged many to adopt his system. In plausible and ambitious language he composed an ample exposition of religious doctrines, which he persuaded the vain Heraclius to adopt and publish as his own, under the title of an imperial Ecthesis. To oppose the spreading evil, God provided his church with a faithful champion in St. Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem. This venerable and watchful prelate observed the progress which this fashionable error of the day was making among the Faithful, and exerted his zeal to stop it. For the instruction of his flock he published a

pastoral letter, in which he detected the deadly poison that lay concealed under a deceitful cover, and in the clearest manner explained the uniform and constant doctrine of the Catholic Church, in her belief of two distinct wills and operations, as well as of two distinct natures in Jesus Christ our Redeemer.

Sergius saw his system directly attacked and exposed in the letter of Sophronius. Apprehensive of the impression it might make upon the public mind, and suspecting that he himself might be brought into difficulties about it, he judged it prudent to take his precautions, and to secure the good opinion of Honorius, the Roman Pontiff. He wrote him a diffuse letter upon the subject, couched in the most flattering but ambiguous terms; to deceive and succeed the better he affected to be candid. The present disputes upon religion, said he, have raised a violent ferment in the east, have given scandal, and prevented many from returning to the bosom of the church. He represented to his Holiness, that the difference of opinion was merely about words, and not about the substance of faith; that certain new terms had imprudently been introduced, which gave offence; that for the sake of peace he wished to have those terms suppressed; but being desirous of acting in concert with his holiness, he humbly begged that neither party should be allowed to speak either of one or of two wills in Christ. St. Sophronius, on the other hand, deputed one of his suffragans to Rome, with instructions to unfold the secret machinations that were in agitation against the Catholic faith. The Monothelites upon this grew loud and boisterous, cried out with vehemence against the calumny, and declared themselves innocent of the charge. Honorius lent his ear to the sounding periods of Sergius, and by an error in judgment adopted the treacherous measure he proposed of imposing silence upon the two parties. This temporising conduct in Honorius gave no small uneasiness to the Catholic party: for although it did not approve, it yet seemed to favour error, by tying up the tongue of truth. Some have gone so far as to say, that Honorius was a real Monothelite: this is not true.

Sergius had now all he wanted. By the suppression of certain terms he freely dispersed his venomous doctrines among the people; and that neither the imperial nor the episcopal authority might be wanting to influence their belief, he brought forward an imperial ordinance, to which he gave his patriarchal sanction in a most solemn manner. This ordinance, or *Ecthesis*, as it was called, denounced heavy penalties against every one who should assert either one or two wills in Jesus Christ. Sergius did not long survive this finishing stroke of all his other crimes. He died in 639; Pyrrhus, a Monothelite monk, succeeded him. The *Ecthesis* was sent to Rome; Honorius was dead; his successor Severinus lived not long enough to receive it. John IV. received and condemned it; upon which Heraclius, as if pricked with remorse, publicly declared, that Sergius, and not he, was the author of that censured composition. He died soon after, leaving his son and grandson, Constantine and Constans, the successive inheritors of his crown and heresy. Constantine reigned but a few months. To heresy, his son Constans added tyranny and persecution. He published a second edict, which

he called the Type, in favour of the reigning error, and sent it into Italy to be signed by all the bishops there. Martin was then Pope, who on that occasion thought he could not remain silent or inactive without betraying the cause of God. He assembled a council of a hundred and five bishops, and in due form condemned the heresy of Monothelism, together with the Type which supported it. Constans vowed revenge; he dispatched Calliopas his Exarch, with a strict charge to seize Martin, and send him prisoner to Constantinople. It was done. The holy Pope had then to suffer every kind of insult and ill usage that vindictive malice could heap upon him. After many months of confinement with felons in the common jail of Constantinople, he was banished to Chersonesus. There at the end of two years he sunk under the weight of his accumulated sufferings in 655. The Church places him amongst her martyrs. Rapacity and oppression continued to mark the reign of Constans, till the hand of an assassin with one stroke freed the empire from a tyrant, and the Church from a persecutor in the year 668.

Constantine, surnamed Pogonatus, his orthodox and virtuous son, then mounted the throne. To relieve his suffering subjects, and to heal the wounds which his late predecessors had inflicted on the Church, was the first concern of this religious emperor. To settle the point of doctrine he judged a general council to be absolutely necessary; he consulted the holy See upon the subject; his proposal was approved of, though it did not take place till the year 680, when St. Agatho sat in St. Peter's chair. The Pope deputed three legates to preside in his name, viz. Theodore and George, priests, and John a deacon, who was afterwards Pope. Constantine received them with distinguished marks of respect; upwards of two hundred and sixty bishops from different parts of the east arrived at the imperial city about the same time. A large saloon of the palace, called Trullus, was prepared for the place of session. There the bishops assembled for the first time on the seventh day of November, 680. Each one sat in order according to the dignity of that See which he represented; the emperor, with thirteen of his principal officers of state, assisted; a book of the holy gospels was placed in the middle, according to custom. The Pope's legates opened the council in a short address, stating in a few words the precise question, for the decision of which they were then called together. The question was simply this, Whether in our Lord Jesus Christ there were two natural wills or only one, two operations or one only, as Sergius and his adherents had asserted. Macarius, the patriarch of Antioch, with his Monothelite party, was there present. The emperor called upon them to state the grounds of their new opinion. They denied the novelty of their opinion, and maintained it to be the ancient doctrine of the Church. The council having patiently heard all they had to say in support of their system, ordered all the original letters, that had been written by both parties upon the subject, to be publicly read, and a clear account to be laid before them, what the Gospel said, what the Fathers had written, what the councils had defined, and what apostolical tradition had handed down upon the point in question. This examination occupied them in eighteen sessions, after which they came to this unanimous decision, that the

Monothelites had not proved their assertion, that their doctrine was new and false, that it was contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles, contrary to the decrees of the Councils, and to the writings of the holy Fathers. Their decree is formed in these words, "We define, that in Jesus Christ there are two natural wills, and two natural operations, and we forbid the contrary to be taught." This decree was signed by the apostolical legates in the first place, by two hundred and sixty-five bishops, and lastly by Constantine the emperor. Thus ended the sixth general Council ten months after it first met; Monothelism in a short time quietly expired, and troubled the Christian world no more.

In the censures which this Council passed upon the authors and abettors of Monothelism, is found the name of Pope Honorius classed with Sergius, Pyrrhus, Cyrus, and Theodore. Hence some writers have hastily inferred, that Honorius erred in faith, taught false doctrine, and was condemned by the sixth council as a formal heretic. This is asserted by Nilus, by the Magdeburgers, and generally by all those who impugn the Pope's infallibility. On the other side of the question appear St. Maximus, Pope John IV., St. Agatho, Theophanes Isaurus, and almost all the Latin historians, as Bede, Anastasius the librarian, Naclerus, Sabellicus, Platina, and others, who style him a Catholic and holy Pontiff. In fact nothing ever appeared against Honorius but his two letters, one to Sergius the patriarch of Constantinople, and the other to Cyrus the patriarch of Alexandria. In these letters he expressly asserts two natural wills in Christ, and where he speaks of one will only, it is plain from the context what he means, that Christ had not two discordant wills, but that his human will was ever subject to the divine, and always willed one and the same thing. These letters then contained no error, they only forbid the naming of one or of two wills, with no other view, than that by such a suppression of terms the spirit of contention might gradually subside, and no open rupture ensue. If Sergius abused the conciliatory measure, which he maliciously solicited and obtained, for the propagation of his errors, that could not make Honorius a heretic, or an abettor or a teacher of heresy against his own declaration. How then has it happened, that in the acts of the Council we find him classed with the rank Monothelites? Anastasius, in his history, tells us, it was by forgery, which he proves from Theophanes Isaurus, a Greek historian. The heterodox Greeks are proved to have been expert in the art of falsifying and corrupting original acts. A flagrant instance of the kind was discovered in this very sixth council respecting the fifth, in which a supposed transaction between Menas and Vigilius, and between Vigilius and Justinian, was spuriously inserted.

That the anathemas and other aspersions on Honorius's character were never uttered by the sixth Council, there is this strong presumption, because in pronouncing them the Council must have been at variance with itself. For the Council had unanimously approved of the whole of St. Agatho's letter to Constantine, which positively asserts, that the Roman See had ever remained without the blemish of any error to that day; which could not be true, if Honorius had been a Monothelite. The falsification of the text, and the insertion

of Honorius's name, is generally imputed to Theodore the patriarch of Constantinople, who, being a condemned Monothelite himself, wished to involve Honorius in the same condemnation, that he might lessen the disgrace of his own See, by sharing it with the See of Rome. The falsification being once made, no one can wonder, that it should have been transcribed by others without the suspicion of fraud, till discovered by the penetrating eye of judicious criticism.

SECTION VIII. *Celibacy of the Clergy.*

ONE of the fairest features in the discipline of the Catholic Church is the celibacy of her Clergy. The institution is A. D. 692. conformable to the spirit of the Gospel, and during the first seven centuries was religiously enforced both in the east and west. "What the Apostles taught," says the second Council of Carthage, "and what antiquity observed, let us also keep." From the words of the context it is clearly evinced, that the Council here imposes no new obligation upon the African clergy; it exhorts them to keep and persevere in a practice that was ancient. For in the African church, as St. Austin* witnesses, the celibacy of priests, deacons, and subdeacons, flourished from the beginning. This chaste discipline was not confined to Africa; it flourished in every part of the Catholic world, in the oriental churches of Syria, of Palestine, of Egypt, and of all the west, as St. Jerome shows against Vigilantius. A profession of the purest chastity, both in body and mind, according to the apostolic rule, was a requisite qualification for receiving holy orders. Hence in the ordinary course none but single men and widowers were admitted to be subdeacons, deacons, priests and bishops: or if upon occasions any married man was chosen for the priesthood, it was upon his promise, with a strict obligation of living continent and separate from his wife in future. To guard the clergy against the temptation, and even the suspicion of violating their promise, the Council of Nice absolutely forbids them to have any woman with them under the same roof, except a mother, a sister, an aunt, or one who can create no suspicion of incontinency. Whenever we find in history mention made of the children of an exemplary priest or bishop, it is always to be understood of children born before the father entered into holy orders, as Mr. Gibbon has observed in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The penal canons, enacted in different councils during the first ages against such priests or bishops as transgressed, prove at once the existence and the force of that ecclesiastical point of discipline.

Whether any penalties more severe than those already in use, or whether any new injunctions were proposed in the general Council of Nice, and then abandoned on the remonstrances of Paphnutius, no certain conclusion can be drawn. Of any such fact nothing can be gathered from the genuine acts of that Council, nor from the testimony of any one writer of that century. Upon that account

* De adul. conj.

the whole story of Paphnutius is rejected by many, as a mere fiction, fabricated by Socrates and Zosimus, who are the first that mention it, or if there be any foundation for it, that the fact must have been very different from the account given of it by those authors. Zosimus and Socrates are two Greek historians, who lived and wrote at Constantinople in the following century, under Theodosius the younger; the first an anti-christian lawyer, and a violent declaimer against Constantine and the Christians; the second a partisan of the Novatian heresy, and a foul corrupter of truth; neither of them deemed worthy of much credit, except in such facts as are clear from other evidence. Their evidence in this matter is wholly overthrown by that of St. Epiphanius* and St. Jerome,† whom we select from hundreds of others, as of the most incontrovertible authority. St. Epiphanius was a native of Palestine, born before the council of Nice; St. Jerome was born soon after, and passed many years of his life in Palestine and Syria. In the testimony then, which these two fathers give of the celibacy of the clergy in the east, they speak from their own certain knowledge. Their testimony is clear and explicit; their veracity has never been impeached. To produce quotations would be to engage in useless labour, and to trespass on the brevity of this historical view. They, who desire to inform themselves more at large, and wish not to be deceived by the low retailers of falsehood, may consult the genuine history of Baronius, of Fleury, of Ceiller, &c. They will there find, that the celibacy of the clergy was from the beginning the established discipline of Christ's universal Church, both in the eastern and western hemisphere. To the celibacy of the clergy, as well as to the forty days fast of Lent, is strictly applicable to this general maxim, which says, that whatever we find universally established in the Church, without any ecclesiastical ordinance to give it a beginning, is undoubtedly of apostolical institution.

A systematical departure from this primitive practice was devised and adopted by the degenerate Greeks, in the year 692. At the instigation of Paul, the Monothelite, patriarch of Constantinople, Justinian II., the unworthy son and successor of Constantine Pogonatus, summoned an episcopal synod. Two hundred and eleven bishops obeyed the imperial call. Eleven years had now elapsed since the conclusion of the sixth general Council; they assembled in the same large saloon, called Trullus; from whence this new meeting of the oriental bishops is denominated by some the Council of Trullus, by others the Quinisixth synod, by venerable Bede the Stray synod. The real design of its convocation was to introduce a new system of ecclesiastical discipline in mitigation of an old one; but the pretended reason, held out to the public, was to frame canons, as a supplement to the two last general Councils. The conventical of Trullus enacted a hundred and two canons, forming a motley composition of old and new, of some good, and of some reprobate rules of discipline. It confirms the ancient law, which forbids bishops to cohabit with their wives, and the clergy to marry after their ordination; but it permits priests, deacons, and subdeacons,

* Heresi, 59.

† Apol. contre Jovi.

to continue with their wives they had taken before ordination. This was a novelty, unknown to antiquity, sanctioned for the first time by a party under the appearance of episcopal authority.

Justinian's great ambition after that was to make his conventicle pass for an œcumenical Council, and to impose his heterogeneous canons upon the whole Church. This he knew could not be effected without the approbation of the Roman See. But that approbation, though master of Rome, he could not command. The firm virtue of St. Sergius who then sat in St. Peter's chair, was not to be shaken by his threats or violence; nor could the vigilance of his successors, John and Constantine, be surprised into the snares which were successively laid by the court of Constantinople, to smuggle an apostolical approbation. The spurious canons of Trullus never received the sanction of the holy See, nor was the Catholic purity of the western discipline ever sullied by the carnal innovations of Constantinople.

The successors of St. Agatho, in the Roman pontificate, were St. Leo II. St. Benedict II. John V. Conon, St. Sergius, John VI. John VII. Sisinnius, Constantine, St. Gregory II. St. Gregory, III. St. Zacharias. The ecclesiastical writers of this age were St. Maximus, abbot and martyr of the Greek Church, St. Ildephonsus, St. Isidore, and Venerable Bede.

END OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Eighth Century.

SECTION I. *Extinction of the African Church.*

THE growing power of the Saracens, in the seventh century, had A. D. 711. left the Christians of Asia but little to enjoy. The empire mourned the loss of its fairest provinces of Palestine, of Syria, of Egypt, and a part of Greece, while religion wept to see her ancient monuments of piety erased, her churches converted into Mahometan mosques, and her people either perverted or enslaved by the sword of infidelity. Emboldened by a series of conquests, the infidels resolved to attempt the reduction of Constantinople itself: they collected an immense force, and began a long and vigorous attack both by sea and land. From the vigour and skill of Constantine Pogonatus, the emperor, they experienced a resistance which they did not expect. The contest lasted for seven successive years. The infidels wasted the summer in vain attempts against the impregnable walls of the imperial city, and then retreated for the winter into the isle of Cyzicus. With the return of spring they returned to the attack, till tired and disheartened by the fruitless repetition of attack and retreat year after year, the Caliph consented to a truce of thirty years, and relinquished his baffled enterprize. When the thirty years were elapsed, the Saracens came on again with a more formidable force. Leo, the Isaurian, who, from an obscure station had crept into the imperial throne, obliged them to retire with shame and dismay, after a siege of fourteen months.

The infidels succeeded better in their undertaking against Africa, where they had no steady troops to engage, no hostile auxiliaries to apprehend, no fortified places to retard their march. From Tripoli they penetrated through the heart of the country as far as Mauritania; then filing off towards the Mediterranean coast they unexpectedly appeared before Carthage. Without waiting for the tedious regularity of a siege, the fierce enthusiasts rushed forward to the assault, took the city by storm, slaughtered or enslaved the mass of inhabitants, burned and tore the buildings from their very foundations, anno 698. Thus Carthage, the metropolis of Africa, the second city of the west, once the rich and powerful rival of ancient Rome, sunk on a sudden into a heap of ruins, and in process of time its last remains were so completely effaced, that the place where it stood is scarcely to be ascertained. Every other town of Africa immediately received the savage conquerors, and not so much as the smallest remnant of Roman power was left in all that extensive country.

But although the Greeks were expelled, the country was not yet subdued. The Moors, an untamed and warlike race, were not so ready to submit. Under their queen Cahina they made an obstinate stand for some years, till vanquished in a decisive battle they yielded

to the arms and superstition of their Mahometan invaders. Then, as if tired or ashamed of their own native habits, they showed an eagerness of being formed into one nation with them. With the practice of the Alcoran they adopted the language, the name, and manners of Arabian Mussulmans. From the isthmus of Suez, to the shore of the Atlantic, the name of Greek, of Roman, of Goth, and Vandal, was now swept away, and no sign of the Christian religion was even left to mark its extirpation.

On the African coast, over against Gibraltar, stands Ceuta, a strong fortress, possessed then, at it is now, by the kings of Spain. Count Julian at that time commanded in it, and might have bid defiance to the united arms of Moors and Arabs. But unfortunately for his country and religion, Julian had received an injury, whether imaginary or real it matters not; he had received it from his sovereign, and wickedly resolved to revenge it in a most unchristian manner. He first surrendered the fortress to Mousa, the Saracen general, then offered him his service for the conquest of Spain. The offer was of so atrocious a nature, that the Mahometan hardly could believe the Christian to be serious. Cautious, however, not to show distrust on one hand, nor to expose himself on the other to the danger of being betrayed in an undertaking of such risk and magnitude, he sent over a small body of troops to reconnoitre the country, and to sound the disposition of the inhabitants. The report he received favoured his ambition. Upon this he ordered Tarik, his lieutenant-general, to embark with an army, which he judged sufficient to command success. Tarik sailed across the Straits, landed his troops without opposition, and boldly marched into the very heart of Spain in the year 712.

King Roderic, who had tyrannically usurped the crown, saw with surprise a powerful enemy at his gates, before he had been well apprised of his approach. He summoned the strength of the nation to attend him in the field. The summons was not obeyed with that promptitude which the exigency of the state required. The two hostile armies met near Cadiz, a bloody battle decided the fate of Spain; the Christians fled; Roderic in the flight found an ignoble grave in the waters of the Boetis, or Guadalquivir. In him perished the last of the Gothic kings, who for near three hundred years had swayed the Spanish sceptre. In the following year Mousa put himself at the head of the Mahometan army, and pursued the advantage he had gained, with the most violent and most terrific acts of extirpation, well knowing that terror is the most quick and certain means of effecting a great revolution. In his baleful progress through the country, the towns and villages were set on fire, the inhabitants butchered in cold blood, the churches pillaged and profaned; every place, in fine, as far as Saragossa, exhibited such scenes of enthusiastic cruelty, that the remaining towns were terrified into a speedy acceptance of such terms as were offered by the infidels, to preserve their existence. None indeed were absolutely compelled to abjure the Christian faith; the payment of an annual tribute entitled them to liberty of conscience, and to follow their ancient form of religious worship. But such alluring baits of seduction were held out to them, that thousands of carnal proselytes

exchanged their belief in Christ for the sensual dreams of Mahomet. Mousa removed the seat of government from Toledo to Cordova. There, vested with a power more than regal, an infidel vicegerent under the caliph of Damascus fixed his residence, and Spain in a few generations imbibed the name and manners of Moors and Arabs.

SECTION II. *Heresy of the Iconoclasts.*

WHILE Mahometism thus waged an exterminating war against the A. D. 730. Christian religion in the west, a new heresy, supported by imperial authority, began a furious attack upon the orthodoxy of her doctrine and pious practices in the east. The assassination of the tyrant Justinian II. and of his young son Tiberius, had extinguished the race of Heraclius. Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise of the Isaurian family, a short interval of six years is divided into three reigns. Philippicus, who with a murderous hand snatched the crown from the brow of Justinian, was soon after compelled to resign it to his secretary Anastasius. Anastasius in his turn, after a short reign, gave place to his successful competitor Theodosius III. an obscure officer of the revenue. This weak emperor held rather than directed the reins of government for fourteen months, then quietly relinquished them to the superior abilities of Leo, general of the oriental troops : after his resignation he entered amongst the clergy.

Leo III. surnamed the Isaurian, sprung from a plebeian family in Isauria, and was originally called Conon. In his youth he listed in the guards of Justinian, rose by his active talents to the chief command, and by military favour to the throne of Constantinople. Being vested with the purple, he proudly thought himself qualified for a reformer of religion. Illiterate and ignorant, as nature formed him, he had imbibed early prejudices against the religious respect which he saw paid to holy images, and that respect he called idolatry. It had been the misfortune of the eastern Church never to enjoy any long repose. One heresy was no sooner checked and proscribed, than a new one started up. Error had often found protection in the imperial palace, but now the emperor himself became the founder of a new sect, called the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers. Leo, as if he felt that the imperial diadem had given him understanding, sent forth a public edict, which ordered the images of Jesus Christ, of the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to be removed out of the churches, under the severest penalties. This extraordinary declaration from the throne, against the ancient and universal practice of the Catholic Church, gave great scandal, and excited loud murmurs at Constantinople. St. German, the patriarch, exerted his zeal against the error, without trembling at the anger of his sovereign. By mild persuasion he tried to disabuse the emperor of his mistake : he gently represented to him, that the respect paid to holy images was but a relative and inferior honour intentionally referred to the persons they represent, like the honour exhibited to an emperor or a king in his portrait : that from the time of the Apostles this relative honour had been paid to the images of Christ and his blessed Mother, and that it could not be excused from the

imputation of rashness and impiety to condemn so holy and so ancient an institution. Leo was too ignorant, even of the first rudiments of religion, to comprehend the patriarch's manner of reasoning upon the subject. He obstinately insisted upon his opinion being right, and, strange as it may seem, he was too grossly stupid to distinguish between an absolute and a relative honour, nor could he be prevailed upon to recall his edict. The patriarch acquainted St. Gregory II., the Roman pontiff, with what had passed between the emperor and him. The Pope commended his zeal, and exhorted him to be steady in the cause of truth.

Leo commenced his sacrilegious war against the Saints of God with all the fierce fury of a fanatic. He commanded all their images and pictures to be collected, to be carried to the market-place, and there burned; all paintings on the church walls to be effaced, and the walls to be whitewashed, so that no sacred representation might appear. It was usual with the Greeks to paint their church pictures upon the wall, instead of painting them upon wood or canvass. Over the entrance of the palace stood a large crucifix, which is said to have been placed there by the order of Constantine the Great. By the order of Leo, the Iconoclast, an executioner mounted a ladder, and with an axe struck the figure of our crucified Redeemer in the face. A crowd of women gathered round, and by pulling the foot of the ladder endeavoured to put a stop to the impious deed. The man fell; but the sacred image was hewn to pieces; the women were massacred by an imperial order without mercy; the venerable patriarch St. German, at the age of fourscore, was driven into banishment; and Anastasius, a temporising priest, was thrust by an armed force into his place. Anno 729.

In the midst of these troubles died the holy Pope Gregory II. and was replaced by another saint of the same name. This zealous Pontiff soon after his consecration wrote a long epistle to the emperor, strongly exhorting him to recall his edict, and to desist from his irreligious purpose. Amongst other things he tells him, "Our churches in their rude state are but the work of the builders, a rough fabric of stone, of wood, of brick, of lime, and mortar. But within they are adorned with rich paintings; with historical representations of Jesus Christ and his Saints. On these the converted gentiles, the neophytes, and children of the Faithful, gaze with no less profit than delight. In these they behold the mysteries of our religion displayed before their eyes; by these they are animated to the practice of virtue, and silently taught to raise their affections and hearts to God. But of these external helps to virtue and religious information you have deprived the Faithful; you have profanely stripped the churches of their sacred ornaments, which so much contributed to edify, to instruct, and animate. In doing this you have usurped a power which God has not given to the sceptre. The empire and the priesthood have their respective powers, differing from each other in their use and object. As it belongs not to the bishop to govern within the palace, and to distribute civil dignities, so it does not belong to the emperor to command within the church, or to assume a spiritual jurisdiction, which Christ has left solely to the ministers of his altar. Let each one of us move, and remain

within the sphere to which he is called, as the Apostle admonishes."

On a man equally ignorant and perverse, like Leo, these just remonstrances had no effect. Near the palace was a public library, founded by the emperors in better days, containing more than thirty thousand volumes. The librarian was a scholar of distinguished merit, and had under him twelve others, who gratuitously gave public lessons upon religion and the different branches of polite literature. Leo spared neither promises nor treats to draw these learned men over to his party. But when he found they were not to be gained by either, he gave orders to have them locked up in their apartment within the library, a quantity of faggots and dry wood to be piled around, and then set on fire. The librarians, books, and building, were all consumed together. The tyrant stretched his sacrilegious fury from Constantinople to Rome, where his power was rather nominal than real. His orders were, that all the sacred images and paintings should there likewise be removed out of the churches, and publicly burnt. The Romans refused obedience, and openly revolted. The Iconoclast grew not wiser by misfortunes; he persisted in his error and his violences, till death carried him off in the year 741, after a turbulent and impious reign of twenty-four years. His son Constantine Copronymous succeeded him.

SECTION III. *Germany receives the faith.*

GRIEVOUS were the losses which religion had sustained from the A. D. 740. succession of various heresies of the east, as well as from the rapid progress of Mahometanism both in the east and west. But through the sweet disposition of an all-ruling Providence it was so ordained, that if she lost ground in one part of the globe, she gained in another. Great Britain had emerged a second time from the dark shades of infidelity, into which the Saxon conquest had again cast her; and by the purity of her faith, by the vigour of her discipline, by the regularity of her clergy, by the celebrity, in fine, of her monasteries and public schools, began to shine amidst the Catholic nations of the west.

For these precious acquisitions England was chiefly indebted to the zeal and learning of the incomparable Archbishop, St. Theodore. Under the direction of that enlightened prelate, the English Church attained that state of maturity which enabled her to furnish the sacred ministry with clergymen of her own native growth. The bishops were generally taken from the great abbeys, the useful nurseries of piety and learning. The extensive diocese of Westsex was canonically divided into two, of which the episcopal seats were Winchester and Shirborn. The virtuous and learned Aldelmus was the first bishop of the latter, in the year 705. The ecclesiastical and civil powers went hand in hand for the mutual support of their respective rights, and both concurred to render the people good and happy. To make these blessings permanent, a numerous assembly of the state was held at a place called Becanceld, in 694. There by Withred, King of Kent, with his nobles on one hand, and by St. Britwald the primate, with the bishop of Rochester and

their clergy on the other, it was solemnly enacted and declared, that as the supreme power in civil matters was vested solely in the crown, so the sacred right of ruling and directing in spiritual matters belonged exclusively to the mitre; and that what was once given and consecrated to God, no temporal power had a right to take away.

The devout votaries of religion with gratitude acknowledge the divine goodness, which had so mercifully brought them to the true faith; and zealously wished to repay the gift, by contributing in their turn to bring others to a participation of the same happiness. With pious grief they beheld their mother country still grovelling in the dark, and wholly ignorant of the way that leads to everlasting life. A holy desire of carrying the name and faith of Jesus Christ to the Pagans of Germany, inspired many to start from their silent cells of contemplation, and to engage in the apostolical labours of a foreign mission. Among the English missionaries, who went to preach the gospel to their idolatrous kindred on the Continent, St. Willibrord and St. Boniface are the most distinguished.

St. Willibrord was born in Northumberland, about the year 658, and embraced a monastic life in the abbey of Rippon, founded by St. Wilfrid. Being ordained priest, he expressed to his abbot the strong inclination he had to go and introduce Christianity into the country which had given birth to their forefathers. Being indulged in his request, he set sail for Friseland, anno 690, in company with eleven other missionaries, who joined him from different monasteries to share in the labours and the merit of his apostolical expedition. They landed near the mouth of the Rhine, from whence they repaired to Utrecht. There Pepin of Herstal, surnamed the Big, courteously received them with the promise of protection. But Willibrord reflecting with the apostle,* that they could never preach with any prospect of success unless lawfully sent, judged it necessary that his mission should be sanctioned by the apostolic See. With this view he went to Rome; and addressed himself to Pope Sergius for liberty to preach the gospel to the Pagan tribes about the lower Rhine. Sergius applauded his zeal, and dismissed him with full powers. Wonderful was the success with which God crowned the labours of these religious men. Idolatry fell to the ground, Christian Churches rose, and the gift of miracles confirmed the sacred truths they taught. In 696, Willibrord went a second time to Rome; Sergius was still living. His holiness received the saintly missionary with singular marks of esteem, ordained him archbishop of the Frisons, and gave him the pallium, with a grant to fix his See in whatever part of the country he might judge most fit. He fixed it at Utrecht. There, and in the adjacent provinces, he never ceased to labour for the glory of God and salvation of souls, till worn out with age he died about the year 740. By the indefatigable zeal of this saint and his pious colleagues, the Roman Catholic faith was planted in Friseland, Holland, Zealand, and other parts of the Netherlands.

St. Boniface, called the Apostle of Germany, was born at Crediton, in Devonshire, anno 680. He received the first rudiments

* Romans x. 15.

of his literary and religious education at Exeter. For there he passed his youth, and there he took the religious habit under the holy abbot Wolphard. From Exeter his superiors removed him to the monastery of Nutcell, in the diocese of Winchester, which then flourished under the direction and encouragement of the learned abbot Winbert. The talents he there displayed, and the extraordinary progress he made in the study of poetry, rhetoric, history, and the holy scriptures, soon acquired him a splendid reputation. At the age of thirty he was ordained priest; the report of St. Willibrord's success in propagating the faith among the northern inhabitants of Germany, kindled in his breast a holy ambition of joining him in the same evangelical enterprise. He obtained leave from his abbot to pass over into Friseland; he found the country too deeply engaged in war to listen to the word of God: he made but a short stay at Utrecht, and returned to his monastery. The abbot dying soon after, he was chosen to replace him. The humble Boniface declined the honour, alleging that he was called to labour for the conversion of infidels. He procured another to be chosen abbot in his place, through the interposition of Daniel, the pious and learned bishop of Winchester, from whom he received commendatory letters to Pope Gregory II. and set off for Rome in 719. His holiness showed him singular marks of kindness and esteem, commended his zeal, and gave him ample powers to preach the gospel to all the infidel nations of Germany.

The apostolic man lost no time, put himself immediately upon his journey, crossed the lower Alps, and penetrated through Bavaria into Thuringia. In Bavaria he found many Christians, but so depraved in principle and morals, that they seemed little better than the very heathens with whom they conversed. He brought back many of these degenerate Christians to a sense of their duty, and converted numbers of the heathens. Peace being restored in Friseland, he repaired thither, and jointly laboured for three years with St. Willibrord in that fruitful mission. From thence he went into Hesse and Saxony, where he reaped a plentiful harvest of souls. The idols at his preaching sunk into contempt, and true religion displayed her triumphant banner through the country. The Pope, being apprised of the wonders wrought by the holy missionary, called him to Rome, and ordained him bishop. Boniface, now dignified with a new character, returned with fresh zeal into Hessa, and continued his spiritual conquests. Seeing a vast field opening more and more upon his hands, he solicited and received a new supply of labourers from England, whom he stationed, where their services were most wanted, in Hessa and Thuringia. Upon the accession of Gregory III. to the pontificate in 731, Boniface sent to consult him on certain difficulties; Gregory took that opportunity of sending him a pall, to be used when he celebrated the divine mysteries, or consecrated bishops. He at the same time constituted him Primate of all Germany, with a power to erect new bishoprics, and to fix his own Metropolitan See in any city he should judge most expedient. He fixed on Mentz. He established four new bishoprics in Bavaria, at Saltzburg, at Freisinghein, at Ratisbon, and Ackstat; one likewise at Erford for Thuringia; another at Ba-

raburg for Hesse, since translated to Paderborn; and a third at Wurtzburg for Franconia. All these establishments were confirmed by St. Gregory III. in 739, and by his successor Zachary in 742. At his request St. Zachary granted him the privilege of appointing himself a successor in the See of Mentz. This privilege he made use of in favour of St. Lullus, an English monk of Malmesbury, in 754. His chief motive for making this appointment, and of resigning his See, was, that he might be at liberty to extend his excursions for the conversion of souls. For his zeal allowed him no rest, and he never thought that enough was yet done, as long as there were heathens to be converted. The rude idolaters of North Friseland, on whom the light of Christianity had not yet risen, excited his compassion. Though bending under the weight of age, Boniface went amongst them; his venerable aspect and engaging manner won their attention; he gained thousands to Christ. The infernal enemy of mankind saw his kingdom falling, and in a way of being totally subverted, should his successful adversary be permitted to live. A band of Pagan ruffians conspired against his life; they unexpectedly rushed upon him in the very act of administering the sacrament of confirmation to his new converts, and so became the bloody instruments of crowning the saint's illustrious virtues with the glory of martyrdom, in the year 754.

SECTION IV. *Pepin, King of France.*

Two years before the martyrdom of St. Boniface a memorable revolution happened in France, which gave a new race of A. D. 752. kings to that monarchy. When the numerous hordes of barbarians from the north invaded the southern parts of Europe, they were led on by a king, raised to that dignity by the elective voice of his followers. Among the Franks the form of election was soon laid aside, and the crown made hereditary. The change began at the death of Meroveus, in 456, from whom his royal successors are denominated the Merovingian race. Upon the extinction of that race the Carlovinian line began, so called from Charles Martel, the founder of it. From the reign of Clovis II. to Childeric III. which includes a century, the Kings of France had sunk into the inglorious habit of an inactive life, and were no more than mere titular sovereigns without command, splendid cyphers of royalty without power. Too dignified or too indolent to be at any trouble, they let go the helm of government, and committed it to a despotic magistrate, styled at first the mayor of the palace, and afterwards with additional honour, the duke and prince of France. The title and office became hereditary. It was held by Pepin the Big, who left it in 714 to his natural son Charles, surnamed Martel, from his martial prowess. Charles in that capacity governed France for six and twenty years.

During his administration France was miserably harassed by repeated incursions of the Moors and Arabs, the conquerors of Spain. Abderame their chief crossed the Pyrenees with a formidable army in quest of new victories and plunder, he quickly overran the provinces of Aquitain and Languedoc; his standards triumphed on the

walls of Tours and Sens, and his detachments carried desolation through the kingdom of Burgundy, as far as the cities of Lyons and Besançon. The monasteries and churches were the devoted prey of their rapacity and fanatic fury. Eudes, the valiant duke of Aquitaine, made several bold attempts to drive back the foe, which, like a torrent, still came rolling on with fresh force. Twice he engaged him in the field, and twice was overthrown with such a loss of men, that according to the mournful confession of the survivors, God alone could count the slain. Charles Martel then forgetting the private quarrel he had with Eudes, joined him with all his forces against the infidels, who threatened ruin to the whole country. The Saracens had advanced into the very centre of France. Charles came up with them between Tours and Poitiers. A general battle was fought; it was obstinate and bloody; Abderame fell, the victory of the Franks was complete and final. The broken remnants of the Mahometan army made good their retreat into Spain, nor did any of their enthusiastic adventurers ever presume to trespass again upon the French territory.

Charles Martel died in 741, leaving two sons behind him, Carloman and Pepin, surnamed the Short. The dignity of mayor devolved on Carloman, as an hereditary right, which he held for ix years. Then being moved with the desire of serving God more perfectly, he divested himself of his worldly honours, and put on the monastic habit at Rome, which he received from the hands of Pope Zachary. His brother Pepin succeeded him in the government of France. Pepin possessed many princely qualities; but a tinge of ambition cast a dark shade upon them. Having the power, he coveted the title of King. The states were at his devotion; he called them together in the year 752, to settle the arrangement of his high pretensions. He had already given an ambiguous hint of it to Pope Zachary; the answer of that wary pontiff was, without entering upon the question of right, that for the preservation of good order the royal power and title should seemingly go together. This answer being reported, the states unanimously chose Pepin for their King. Childeric the Stupid had enjoyed the empty title for nine years. By a vote of his perjured subjects he was in a moment hurled from his throne, and then consigned to the abbey of St. Bertin, where he ended his days. His son Theodoric underwent the like confinement in the monastery of Fontenelle. Upon this civil but forced demise of Childeric, the last of the first line of kings in France, rose the royal house of Pepin, whose descendants swayed the sceptre for two hundred and thirty-five years, when in 987 Prince Charles of Lorraine, the lawful heir, was set aside by a similar vote of the nobility, to make room for Hugh Capet, the powerful earl of Paris, founder of a third race of kings. Pepin caused himself to be crowned at Soissons by St. Boniface; all the states of the kingdom, and many bishops, assisted at the pompous ceremony.

The Christian faith continued to make further progress through the northern tracts of Germany, by the preaching of St. Willehad, a native of Northumberland. The conversions wrought by the Saints Willibrord and Boniface, excited in this holy man a strong desire of engaging in the same meritorious enterprise. He landed in Frise-

land about the year 772, and from thence began to preach the word of God till he came to the banks of the Elbe. He crossed over that river, and was the first who announced the name of Christ to those tribes that inhabited the country as far as the Oder. God blessed his labours with wonderful success. At the request of Charlemagne, and by the authority of Pope Adrian, he was ordained bishop of the Saxons, and fixed his episcopal See at Bremen. He died in 789. His body lies interred in the cathedral of that city; his name is there held in great veneration; his eminent virtues have enrolled him among the saints.

SECTION V. *Liberality of King Pepin to the Holy See.*

THE violence of Leo the Iconoclast having driven the Roman people to throw off their allegiance to the emperors of A. D. 755. Constantinople, the style of the Roman senate and people was revived, but the spirit was fled. Rome, closely surrounded by jealous enemies, had neither energies nor resources within itself to support the independence of a republic. The love of war and rapine was congenial to the temper of the Lombards. Luitprand their king took advantage of the weakness of the new republic. Having nothing to fear from the Greeks, he invaded the province of Romagna with a numerous army, advanced to the gates of Rome, and summoned the senate to receive him as their lawful sovereign. Pope Gregory presented himself before him. The king listened to his just remonstrances and withdrew his troops. He entered into a treaty of peace with the senate, in consequence of which the conquered towns were restored to the duchy of Rome, and the holy See recovered that part of St. Peter's patrimony which had fallen into the hands of the Lombards. Luitprand died in the year 744. His nephew Hildebrand succeeded him, but at the end of seven months was deposed to make room for Rachis, the duke of Frioul. This prince, after a pacific reign of five years, exchanged his royal robes for the habit of a monk in the abbey of mount Cassino, and his brother Astolphus stepped into the throne.

Astolphus, an ambitious and perfidious prince, broke the peace with Rome, and threatened to put every Roman to the sword if they did not receive him for their sovereign. He reduced the exarchate of Ravenna to his obedience; Rome was his next object. The savage manner in which Astolphus carried on the war, rather resembled that of a fierce barbarian, than of a Christian prince. In his march he spread terror and desolation through the country; the corn was every where destroyed, the vines cut up by the root, the husbandmen wantonly murdered, the monks torn with whips, religious women violated, churches burnt and plundered, the altars stripped and profaned. Sucking infants were even snatched from their mother's arms and butchered before their eyes. Pope Stephen III. who had succeeded Stephen II. the successor of Zachary, neglected no peaceful means that zeal and compassion could suggest, to stop these horrid outrages. But finding the tyrant deaf to his remonstrances, he sent to implore military succours from the emperor Constantine Copronymous, in whose name, as the successor

of Constantine the Great, the government of Rome and Italy was still exercised. The imperial Iconoclast was, at that time, too deeply engaged in warring against the Saints to think of sending troops against the Lombards, or of recovering his own authority in Italy. Whatever may have been his resentment against the Popes for opposing his innovations in religion, or against the Roman people for not submitting to his tyranny, sound policy should have directed him to embrace the opportunity offered by Stephen of re-establishing his power in that part of the empire. From his father's despotic conduct he might have learned, that the system of persecution, and the orders given to procure the seizure or assassination of the common Father of the Faithful, had only contributed to exasperate and confirm the Romans in their revolt.

But zeal for religion, and the love of his country, would not suffer Stephen to remain idle in the general distress. He resolved to seek from France the protection which he could not obtain from Constantinople. Having implored the assistance of heaven by public prayer and fasting, he left Rome, passed through the hostile country of the Lombards, crossed the Alps, and went an humble supplicant to Pepin, king of France, in 754. Pepin received him with all the marks of honour and respect due to the successor of St. Peter, and generously assented to all he asked. The Lombardy war was resolved on. But before he put his troops in motion, he sent deputies to Astolphus, at the Pope's request, for the sake of sparing the effusion of Christian blood, and strongly exhorted him to do justice to religion and the empire. The fierce Lombard answered him with threats and insults. Pepin then, in company with the Pope, marched his army into Italy. Astolphus, conscious of his own weakness, shut himself up in Pavia, where, after a short siege, he consented to accept the terms of peace which the French monarch held out to him. Upon the most solemn promises, in which his nobles joined him, he agreed to restore the towns he had taken, and to put every thing in the state it was before the war. Pepin took his word, contrary to Stephen's advice, and returned to France. Scarce was he gone, when the perfidious Lombard, instead of making restitution according to promise, re-commenced hostilities and laid siege to Rome. All the former ravages were now renewed. Stephen had recourse to his royal protector a second time. Pepin without loss of time, put himself at the head of his army, and hastened into Lombardy. His march was equally rapid and successful. Astolphus durst not face him. One town after another submitted to Pepin, as soon as he appeared before it. In one short campaign, of the year 755, the valiant monarch of France wrested from the Lombards the exarchate of Ravenna, with the greatest part of its dependencies, Bologna, Ferrara, and the Pentapolis, which stretches along the Adriatic coast, from Rimini to Ancona, and in its midland direction as far as the Appennine. All this extent of territory, with two and twenty towns now by right of conquest belonging to king Pepin, either to be retained or to be disposed of by him, as in his wisdom he should judge fit. By a solemn grant he bestowed the whole upon Pope Stephen III. and his successors in St. Peter's chair for ever.

The Greek ambassadors, who accompanied the king from France in his expedition, and foresaw how it was likely to end, had at first endeavoured to prevent it, and were now very importune in their demands to have the conquered towns and country restored to the eastern empire. To expect or to demand that the most Christian king of France should at his own expense fight and conquer for an oriental despot, who at that very time was employing the most cruel violence of persecution to overturn the ancient belief and practice of the Church, was folly and presumption. "No ambitious view," said Pepin to the Greeks, "no thirst of worldly glory urged me to the war: it was not to encourage the abuse of power, or to court the favour of any one man upon earth, but to scourge the tyrants of Italy, to succour the oppressed, and to expiate my sins, that I twice passed the Alps, and exposed my life so often in the field; God granted me victory; in return I have consecrated my conquests to his honour and service of his Church, and no human consideration shall ever tempt me to take back the gift which I have once bestowed." By this liberal donation of king Pepin, Pope Stephen became the temporal sovereign of an extensive country, with the independent power of distributing temporal honours, of imposing taxes, of coining money, and enacting laws for the civil government of his new territorial subjects.

During the first seven centuries the See of Rome, like other episcopal Sees, had no other temporal possessions than such as were bequeathed to it from time to time by the pious liberality of the Faithful. These donations were considered as the patrimony of St. Peter, consecrated to the divine service, and for the assistance of the poor. The Pope, though supreme in spirituals, as the successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ over the whole church upon earth, had hitherto been in temporal matters subject to the emperor, and bound like other ecclesiastical subjects by the laws of the empire. To the ancient patrimony of farms and houses was now added the princely dominion of cities and provinces. This earthly dominion, which the sovereign Pontiff derives from the liberality of men, neither increases nor diminishes the spiritual prerogatives which he derives from Christ. By a new revolution of human events the temporal power may be torn away, the spiritual power will remain unimpaired to the end of time.

SECTION VI. *Violence of the Iconoclasts.*

CONSTANTINE Copronymus succeeded his father Leo in the throne of Constantinople in the year 741. Fostered in the lap of ignorance and infidelity, he even outstripped his father in acts of violence, and became a monster of impiety, of cruelty, and lust. With redoubled fury he carried on the persecution which his father had begun. In the year 754 he assembled a convocation of bishops, to the number of 338, which he dignified with the appellation of a general council, although not a single patriarch assisted at it, and no representative even appeared for the great Sees of Rome, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and Jerusalem. The See of Constantinople was vacant. The bishops met in the

imperial palace, not to decide any controverted point of doctrine, but to sanction, by a servile prevarication, whatever the emperor should dictate to them. In compliance with his mandate, all honour paid to holy images was declared to be idolatrous, the use of them was condemned, and rigorously forbidden. To give weight to these sacrilegious decrees, Constantine, the complaisant bishop of Sylee, was installed by the emperor's own hand in the patriarchal chair of Constantinople. The Iconoclasts triumphed; those Catholics, who had the courage to step forward in defence of truth, were singled out and dragged to prison. In all the cruel scenes exhibited by persecuting Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites, Constantinople had seen nothing more cruel than what was done by the Iconoclasts. The theatre, the streets, and forum, daily flowed with Christian blood. Some were scourged with whips, some had their eyes plucked out; others had their noses slit, or their ears cut off; others had their beards daubed with pitch and set on fire; others, in derision, had the images of saints, that were painted on thick boards, broken, by giving them hard blows upon their heads. These barbarous exhibitions were the tyrant's diversion, the rehearsal of them was his usual entertainment at table; sometimes he would be present at them, and feast his eyes with the sight of mangled saints and agonizing martyrs.

From the capital the flame of persecution spread through the provinces. An exterminating warfare was declared and carried on not only against the images and pictures, but also against the relics of saints. Their shrines were borne away by sacrilegious hands, and thrown into the rivers or common sewers; their bones in some places were burnt with the bones of animals, that their ashes might not be distinguished and collected by the Faithful. To such as expressed their disapprobation of these impious doings, no mercy was shown. The governors of the provinces, eager to gain or secure the emperor's favour, seemed to vie with each other in their proceedings against the Catholics. How fatal to religion those proceedings were, we learn from the temporising conduct of those bishops who composed the Iconoclastical convention of Constantinople. In others the grace of fortitude triumphed in a conspicuous manner. In a monastery near Nicomedia lived a saintly abbot, called Stephen, in universal repute for his piety and austerity of life. Copronymus wished to gain him over to his sect: he issued an order for him to repair to Constantinople, not doubting but he should be able to convince him by force of argument. For notwithstanding his extreme ignorance in religious matters, Copronymus had the vanity to think himself an expert reasoner, and an acute logician. Upon the abbot's appearing before him he thus proposed his mighty argument. "Stupid as thou art, canst thou not conceive that one may trample on the image of Christ without injury to Christ himself?" Stephen approached, and taking from his bosom a piece of money, stamped with the image of the emperor, said, "I then may treat this image in the same manner without failing in respect towards my sovereign." Upon this he threw the emperor's coin upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet. The court officers, who were standing round, put themselves in readiness, and waited but for the order to

rush on and seize the abbot as a traitor. The venerable abbot, who observed and read their indignation in their looks, with a sigh exclaimed, "What! shall it be deemed a capital offence to cast down the image of an earthly prince, and no offence to cast into the fire the image of Jesus Christ, the sovereign king of heaven and earth?" Reason had no reply to make. Arbitrary power took the place of justice, the saint was sentenced to a painful death. With impious and sanguinary deeds like these, Copronymus filled up the measure of his cruel and inglorious reign of thirty-four years, when he left his son Leo IV. to inherit his crown and his errors. Leo, a feeble prince, followed his father's steps in harassing the Church during the whole five years that he reigned. Feeling himself near his end he appointed his wife, the empress Irene, whom he thought an Iconoclast, to be guardian of the empire, and of their son Constantine VI., a minor not ten years old. Irene, since so well known in history for her ambition and vicissitudes in life, was an Athenian by birth; the death of her parents left her an orphan at a tender age; her beauty and personal accomplishments opened her a way to the throne of Constantinople.

SECTION VII. *Second General Council of Nice.*

By the death of Leo, Irene was at liberty to profess the Catholic belief respecting images, which she had hitherto kept secret to herself. To fill the patriarchal chair of Constantinople, Paul, a learned native of Cyprus, had been chosen against his will a little before Leo's death. At his election he was called upon to subscribe the imperial decree against the respect due to holy images. He weakly yielded; remorse succeeded; he privately withdrew into a monastery, vacated his See, and professed himself a monk, that by penance he might expiate the sin into which his pusillanimity had betrayed him. He died soon after. The empress assembled her council, to which she called men well versed in ecclesiastical affairs, and with them deliberated on the choice of an able and orthodox successor to the late patriarch Paul. There was but one opinion; the public voice concurred in favour of Tarasius, the secretary of state. Tarasius was of patrician race, had hitherto been employed about the court, was still a layman, but of strict honour and approved virtue. When Irene communicated to him her design of promoting him to the patriarchal chair, he strongly objected, and could by no persuasion be prevailed upon to accept the charge, but on the condition that a general council should be called to redress the evils which Iconoclasm had brought upon the Church. Irene pledged her word that it should be done. Tarasius then consented to his election, and was consecrated on Christmas-day in 784. According to ancient custom he sent his profession of faith and synodical letters to the Pope; Irene at the same time wrote in her own and son's name to desire that a general council might speedily be called. Adrian was then Pope, who succeeded Stephen IV. the successor of St. Paul. Paul was the brother and successor of Stephen III.

Adrian gave a long and gracious answer to the imperial letters,

approved the project of a council, and appointed two legates to preside in his name, Peter, archpriest of the Roman Church, and Peter, abbot of St. Sabas's monastery at Rome. It was at first intended that the bishops should assemble at Constantinople; but upon reflection, that the Inconoclasts were there very numerous, and inclined to be turbulent, that the pretorian guards were moreover in a state of mutiny, and good order in danger of being broken; it was judged more prudent for them to meet at Nice, where they would have nothing to fear from the violence of a mob, and be wholly free to discuss and decide the point in question.

Three hundred and seventy-seven bishops from Greece, from Thrace, from Natolia, from the islands of the Achipelago, from Sicily, and Italy, assembled at Nice, in the church of St. Sophia, on the 24th of September, 787. The extreme jealousy of the Saracen government would not allow the three Catholic patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, to leave their home. John and Thomas, priests and monks of virtue and learning, came legally deputed by them, the first by Theodoret and Elias of Antioch, and Jerusalem, the latter by Politian of Alexandria. Two commissaries assisted on the part of the emperor, and sat below the choir of the Church. Tarasius opened the council. Among the bishops there were many who, under the tyranny of Copronymus, had betrayed the truth. These were now called upon to abjure their error, and to make a public profession of their faith; which they readily did, with every mark of sincerity and of true repentance. This employed the council for the three first sessions, at the conclusion of which Tarasius thus expressed the joyful feelings of his heart: "All animosity is now at an end, the wall of separation is removed; the east, the west, the south, the north, are all of one accord; all are united under the same yoke of Christ."

The fourth session was taken up in producing the testimonies of ancient fathers, who assert the honour due to holy images and pictures. In the fifth session is set forth the conduct of the Iconoclast, which is shown to resemble that of Pagans, Jews, Saracens, and ancient Heretics, in their violences against the professors of Catholic belief; in the sixth are refuted the frivolous objections which had been started in the conventicle held by Copronymus at Constantinople, in 754. In the seventh session the bishops formed their decision upon the matter to the following effect: "After mature deliberation and discussion, we solemnly declare, that holy pictures and images, especially of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, of his immaculate Mother our Lady, of the Angels and other Saints, are to be set up in churches as well as in other places, that at the sight of them the Faithful may remember what they represent; that they are to be venerated and honoured, not indeed with that supreme honour and worship, which is called *Latria*, and belongs to God alone, but with a relative and inferior honour, such as is paid to the cross, to the gospel, and other holy things, by the use of incense or of burning lights. For the honour paid to images passes to the archetypes or things represented; and he who reveres the image, reveres the person it represents. Such has been the practice of our pious forefathers, such is the tradition of the Catholic

Church transmitted to us; this ecclesiastical tradition we closely hold conformably to the injunction given by St. Paul to the Thessalonians.* This decree was signed by the Roman legates in the first place, then by the patriarch of Constantinople, after him by the two representatives of the oriental patriarchs, and finally by all the bishops present, to the number of 305. The empress Irene sent them an invitation to come to Constantinople, where in the eighth and last session, held on the twenty-third of October, all that had been done by the council at Nice was confirmed and signed by Irene and Constantine her son. The decisions were solemnly published, and received with loud acclamations of the applauding multitude.

SECTION VIII. *Coronation of Charlemagne.*

KING Pepin of France, after an active and prosperous reign of sixteen years, made a Christian end in the monastery of A. D. 800. St. Denis, near Paris, in 768, and was there buried; from that time St. Denis became the burial-place of the kings of France. By will he divided his wide dominions between his two sons, Charles and Carloman. The latter dying in the year 771, the voice of the people proclaimed Charles sole monarch of all France. The title of Pepin to the throne was first founded, as we have seen, in the choice of the states, and by a similar choice that title was now confirmed to the Carlovingian race, with a dire anathema against any future attempt that might possibly be made to transfer it to some other family. Charles, on account of his illustrious actions has obtained the appellation of Magne, that is, Great, like many other princes; but by a peculiar usage of language the title has been blended with his Christian name.

Charlemagne distinguished himself by his military achievements in Spain, in Germany, and Italy. In Spain he recovered many important places from the Moors, and made himself master of the whole country between the Pyrennean mountains and the river Ebro. In Germany he compelled the Saxons, who had invaded the French frontier, to acknowledge him for their sovereign. This conquest had been once made by his father Pepin; but the indignant Pagans had rebelled and re-assumed their independence. The better to secure their obedience after a second conquest, Charlemagne procured zealous preachers of the gospel to be sent amongst them. The fierce tribes had already heard the tidings of Christianity announced amongst them by St. Willehad, though with no great success; they now listened with greater attention, laid aside their savage manners with the errors of idolatry, and by becoming Christians, became civilized men and obedient subjects. In Italy the insolence of the Lombards had been checked by King Pepin, but not subdued. After the death of Astolphus in 756, Desiderius, the Duke of Tuscany, was suffered to succeed him in the throne, upon the condition of his restoring to the Roman state the towns belonging to it, which he promised faithfully to do, but never performed. Having once grasped the sceptre, and no power being near to control his pre-

* 2 Thess. ii. 14.

tensions, he continued, like his predecessors, to harass the Romans with repeated claims and incursions upon their territory. Pope Adrian at length had recourse to Charlemagne, who lent a gracious ear to his just complaints, and immediately marched a powerful army into Italy. Against an attack so formidable and so sudden, Desiderius had nothing but the ramparts of Pavia, his capital, to oppose. On the defence of that single town hung the fate of all Lombardy. The French closely invested it on every side, with a determination to starve it into a surrendry. At the end of two years, the besieged monarch being reduced to the last extremity, without hope, or the expectation of succour, surrendered his capital and his crown to Charlemagne in 774. The whole kingdom of the Lombards thus fell under the power of France, after it had lasted without much renown 206 years. Desiderius, the last of their kings, was sent prisoner into France, where he devoutly passed and ended his days in the monastery of Corbie, while his former subjects, by being left in possession of their own laws, became the brethren rather than the subjects of their conquerors.

From Pavia, Charlemagne visited Rome, where he was received with all the honours due to his exalted rank. Pope Adrian took the opportunity of requesting him to confirm his royal father's grant to the holy See. The religious monarch not only ratified, but moreover amplified King Pepin's donation, by annexing to it a part of the domain which he had conquered from the Lombards. After this Charlemagne employed his authority in order to silence a dispute which began to cause no small disturbance in the Church. Elipand, the archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, bishop of Urgel, in Spain, had publicly asserted that Jesus Christ was the son of God by adoption only, like us, and not by nature. The doctrine was new; the character of its teachers gave it a name; many were seduced by it. Charlemagne caused the assertion to be examined in a national council of bishops. They met at Frankfort upon the Mein, to the number of about three hundred, in the year 794; the Pope deputed two bishops, Theophylact and Stephen, to assist as his legates. The doctrine of Elipand and Felix was diligently examined, discussed, and condemned, as heretical.

In this assembly the decisions of the second Council of Nice, respecting holy images, became a subject of discussion. Of that Council several incorrect and unfaithful translations from the Greek into Latin, had been made and handed about in the west. One of these spurious copies was produced in the Council of Frankfort. In this copy, Constantine, a bishop of Cyprus, was wrongfully made to say, "that holy images were to be honoured like the blessed Trinity." The fathers of Frankfort were shocked at the assertion, and unanimously rejected it, as impious and idolatrous. So far they were right; but they proceeded farther upon false ground, and became wrong. They falsely supposed, that the Latin copy was a true one, that the translation faithfully expressed the sense of the original, and that the proposition, as it stood in the Latin, had been sanctioned by the Fathers of Nice. On that false supposition they hastily pronounced anathema against them. In passing this precipitate censure the French bishops seem to have been biassed by a

work, published about four years before in the king's name, and are therefore called the Caroline books, a harsh and peevish performance, fraught with prejudice and acrimony against the Greeks. Pope Adrian foreseeing the serious consequences that were likely to arise from this error of fact in the western prelates, prudently silenced the dispute, by supplying them with the original text of the Council, which says, "Images indeed are to be honoured, but not with that honour which is paid to the blessed Trinity." In the translated copy, the short but expressive negative *not* was either negligently overlooked or maliciously suppressed. Truth being disclosed, the Caroline books sunk into oblivion; the anathema of Frankfort lost its sting.

Charlemagne was now in the zenith of his glory. By the vigour and success of his military exploits he was master of a greater extent of country than any one prince had possessed in Europe since the fall of the western empire. All the territory that composes modern France, from the ocean to the Rhine, the greatest part of Italy, Spain, from the Pyrenees to the Ebro, Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, and Switzerland, were subject to that mighty monarch. Nothing but the imperial diadem was wanting to crown the summit of his earthly grandeur; and this he obtained in a fourth visit that he made to St. Peter's shrine. On Christmas-day, in the last year of the eighth century, while he stood in a bending posture at his prayers, before the high altar in St. Peter's church, Pope Leo III. the successor of Adrian, set an imperial crown upon his head; loud acclamations were that instant echoed through the sacred dome, "Long life to Charles, the most pious Augustus, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans." Leo, according to the ancient manner under the Cæsars, prostrated before the new emperor, and acknowledged his civil sovereignty over the western empire; then rising up, he gave him the royal unction, and mass was celebrated. This memorable transaction passed at Rome without the participation of Irene, the reigning empress of Constantinople; but Nicephorus, her successor, formally assented to it, and acknowledged Charlemagne for the imperial sovereign of the west. From that time a boundary was fixed, and a line of separation drawn between the Greek and Roman territory; from this restoration of the western empire, Europe dates a new æra.

In this revolution of sovereign power, the seeds of which were sown by the savage hand of Leo, the Isaurian, the Greeks accuse the two Gregories, the second and the third, as the instigators of rebellion, and disposers of temporal dominion. The short but candid account we have given of what passed during the pontificate of those two holy Popes, shows the charge to be unfounded. Mr. Gibbon* has betrayed a strong inclination to make his readers believe that the accusation is just. But so little consistent with itself is the narrative he gives, that he thereby destroys his own design. He tells us, and he tells us truth, that the pontiff, in his letters to the emperor Leo, marks the limits of the ecclesiastical and civil

* Vol. V. chap. 49.

powers, confining the first to spiritual matters only, the latter to civil concerns, and that while he reminded the Italians of their religious duties, he exhorted them not to separate from the body of the Roman monarchy. "These moderate counsels," says that florid writer, "delayed and prevented the election of a new emperor; and, till the coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine." The historical fact then is simply this: the tyrannical conduct of Leo, the Isaurian, drove the Roman people to revolt, and the Roman people voted the imperial crown to Charlemagne in return for the protection he had afforded them against their oppressors.

The eighth century furnishes no number of ecclesiastical writers; not more than two of any note appear, St. John Damascen, and Venerable Bede; the first born at Damascus in Syria, the latter in Northumberland in England. St. John for some time held a considerable office under the Caliph, then made himself a monk in the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, where he composed an excellent treatise upon the orthodox faith, besides several other works, amongst which is an elaborate defence of holy images. Venerable Bede was born before the middle of the foregoing century, was educated in the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul in York, where he took the religious habit, and stretched out life till the year 734, of the eighth century, when he died at the age of ninety. His writings on various subjects fill eight volumes in folio, comprising his valuable History of the English Church, as far as the year 731.

END OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Ninth Century.

SECTION I. *Death of Charlemagne.*

CHARLEMAGNE employed the fourteen last years of his life in promoting literary knowledge, morality, and religion, A. D. 814. among his subjects. Learning and the study of the arts had fallen into general neglect in France. That they might recover their former lustre, the enlightened monarch erected public schools, enacted wholesome laws for the support of ecclesiastical discipline, gave flattering encouragements to industry and talents, and from foreign countries invited to his court men of learning, among whom was the celebrated Alcuin, from England, a clergyman of deep science and exemplary piety. Charlemagne, from the time of his coronation at Rome, was possessed both of the imperial crown and of the royal crown of France; the first was elective, the second hereditary. At the age of seventy-one, when life became every day more and more precarious, he judged it prudent to take such measures, before he died, as should secure them both to his only surviving son Lewis, surnamed Le Debonnaire, or the Meek. His two eldest sons, Charles and Pepin, the first of whom had been crowned king of Germany, and the other king of Italy, were dead without lawful issue. He therefore sent to let Lewis know, that he must come to him at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to settle a matter of the utmost importance to them both. He summoned a numerous assembly of bishops, abbots, dukes, and noble Franks to meet him at the same time. It was in the month of November, 813. He called them all before him, exhorted them to bear true allegiance to his son Lewis, mentioned the thought he had of conferring on him the title of emperor, and of making him his associate in the empire, and concluded by asking, if it had their approbation. They unanimously exclaimed, that the thought came from God. On the following Sunday he went in state, accompanied by his prelates and nobles, to the great church, clothed in his imperial robes, with the crown upon his head; he advanced with his son by his side to the altar, upon which he had ordered a crown to be placed. After praying for some time, he first addressed the spectators, then bade his son take the crown from the altar, and put it on his head, meaning thereby to show him that he held the empire from God alone. The sacred vaults instantly resounded with, "Long life to the emperor Lewis." Mass was then said, after which the two emperors returned to the palace. They joyfully passed a few days together, then taking an affectionate, and, as they foresaw, the last farewell of each other, Lewis returned into Aquitain, of which he was king.

The old emperor remained at Aix-le-Chapelle, where he died in the following January, 814. He was seized with a fever as he came out of the bath. It continued to increase, and in the space of a

fortnight brought his life into danger. Being admonished of his situation, he devoutly prepared for death, by prayer, and all the spiritual helps which the Catholic Church affords to her dying children. Having received extreme unction and the holy eucharist, he patiently waited his final dissolution with a perfect resignation to the divine will. In his last moments he made the sign of the cross upon his forehead and his breast, and piously pronouncing the words, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," he placidly expired in the fourteenth year of his reign as emperor, the forty-fifth as king of France, and the seventy-second of his age.

The French writers seem to vie with each other in their profuse encomiums of Charlemagne, whom for piety and military glory they equal to Theodosius and Constantine. On these three Christian emperors the appellation of Great is equally bestowed; and certainly if success in the field and the acquisition of empire, if the boldness of enterprize and vigour of execution, if dignity of action and respect from foreign nations challenge any distinctive title to pre-eminence in the class of kings, Charlemagne may justly claim the honourable distinction. His liberal alms to the distressed Christians in Syria, in Egypt, and Africa, his magnificent donations to the holy See, his zeal for religion, and the encouragement he gave to learning throughout his dominions, form the brilliant outlines of his Christian character. The glow of these public virtues has dazzled the eye of some of his admirers, has made them blind, and even partial to his defects. Charlemagne, with all the splendid show of Christian devotion, had his criminal attachments; he had his darling weaknesses and private vices, which his most devoted encomiasts cannot dissemble.* The lubricious irregularities of his daughters, which, from a false fondness he either favoured or connived at, his own conjugal infidelities, his whimsical divorces, simultaneous plurality of wives, his multiplicity of concubines, and spurious offspring, have left a blot in his moral character, which no high-coloured varnish of panegyric ever can obliterate. In the boundless mercy of God we trust that his many good qualities drew down upon him in the end the grace of true repentance. Paschal, an antipope, in the year 1161, inserted his name in the Roman calendar, and Aix-le-Chapelle honours him as a saint; but the holy See has not yet discovered, either in his piety or his penitence, those genuine marks of an exalted virtue, which it requires to set him up as a public model for the edification and imitation of the Faithful. At Metz he is considered as a sinner standing in need of purgation, and an annual mass is said for the repose of his soul. Could pecuniary considerations or interest purchase at the Vatican a rank or title among the saints, as some are heard to say, Constantine, Pepin, and Charlemagne, would have long since held a conspicuous place. But of that honour the price is sanctity alone, and virtue publicly displayed in a super-eminent degree.

* See Eginard.

SECTION II. *Egbert sole Monarch of England.*

WHILE Charlemagne, by military achievements, extended his dominions to the enormous magnitude we have seen upon A. D. 828. the Continent, Egbert, by his policy more than by force of arms, united the whole strength of England into one monarchy. The Saxon heptarchy in Great Britain had been gradually formed by a succession of conquests over the ancient inhabitants of the island. When the first warmth of national attachment was cooled by the erection of separate interests among the conquerors, the flames of discord frequently broke out between two rival states, and consumed by slow degrees the sickly frame of those puny kingdoms. An hereditary right to the crown had either not been acknowledged or not strictly observed in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy. Hence the reigning prince had oftentimes as many rivals of his throne to guard against, as there were princes of the blood. Many of the Saxon kings, though married, left no issue, and many resigned their crowns to embrace a monastic life. Hence a competitorship for regal power arose not only among the distant branches of royalty, but among the families of Saxon nobility. In these ambitious struggles, which the pacific principles of the gospel could not hinder, the aid of a neighbouring state was often sought and obtained. The chance of war turned the balance of power sometimes to one kingdom and sometimes to another. Kent, Northumberland, Mercia, and Westsex, had their day. In these four kingdoms the other three were absorbed, when Egbert mounted the throne of Westsex in the year 800.

Egbert was descended in a direct line from Cerdic, the founder of that kingdom. Hereditary right, as far as it went, gave him a just claim to the crown. But Brithric, a more remote descendant of the royal stock, had obtained possession. The jealousy of this prince rendered it unsafe for Egbert to remain within the realm: he secretly withdrew into France, where he was well received by Charlemagne. By living in the court, and serving in the armies of that monarch, he acquired that knowledge and experience which fitted him for the conquest of his own country. Upon the death of Brithric, the unanimous voice of the West-Saxon nobility called him home to assume the government of his hereditary dominions. The activity and vigour of his genius prompted him to extend his boundary; he extended it to the land's end, by the reduction of Cornwall. The rash ambition of Bernulf, king of Mercia, furnished him with a more plausible pretext of attempting other conquests. Bernulf, by the advantages he had gained over the neighbouring princes, seemed to be in a fair way of giving laws to the whole island; he invaded Westsex, where he found in king Egbert his equal in ambition, and his superior in military abilities. Egbert encountered and slew him in the field of battle. Then marching his victorious troops into the very heart of Mercia, and meeting with no resistance from a disheartened and divided people, he received the whole midland kingdom into his obedience. Kent soon after willingly consented to resign its independence rather than risk the chance of war. Egbert now saw the whole heptarchy at his feet, except the north, which he

knew was ready to submit at the first appearance of an army coming against it. The Northumbrians in fact were weakened by intestine divisions, they had no government on which they could rely; they no sooner heard of the conqueror's approach but they sent deputies to receive him as their sovereign, without a struggle. Thus, within the space of four years, Egbert, the successful monarch of the west, made himself master of the whole Saxon heptarchy, which by public edict he incorporated into one great state, and ordered to be called England. This event takes its date from the year 828.

SECTION III. *State of Religion under the Heptarchy.*

THE time from king Ethelbert's conversion to the final dissolution A.D. 828. of the heptarchy, includes a period of about two hundred and thirty years. During that period religion shone with primitive splendour in the practice of all Christian virtues. In the history of those times, as well as in that of the apostolic age, although we meet with scandals and heinous sins of some individuals, the natural effects of human frailty, yet the spirit which pervaded all ranks of men, and animated the body of the people, was truly Christian. What zeal in the divine service, what emulation in promoting God's honour, and what hearty devotion, as Mr. Echard relates,* possessed the English nation in those days, we may gather from the numerous churches magnificently endowed, and the religious houses then founded. These houses were the nurseries of virtue, the seminaries of learning, and the schools of industry. There, day and night the sacred arches rung with the praises of their great Creator; there, sequestered from the cares of worldly pursuits, religious men and women solely devoted themselves to the attainment of that end for which they were solely made; there, the most perfect virtues were taught and learned by word and example. Prayer, study, and manual exercise, employed the time of the religious monk. The learned and correct author of the preface to the *Monasticon* testifies, that within two hundred years no less than thirty English Saxon kings and queens resigned their crowns and renounced the world, to secure their salvation by the pious practices of a monastic life.

To men unacquainted with the evangelical counsels of perfection, such a choice may appear no better than folly. In that light the whole gospel appeared to the uninstructed Gentiles. Men who consider themselves as placed in this world only to enjoy it, or who so act and live as if they thought themselves made for no better enjoyments hereafter, seem ever ready to lavish their abuse on whatever contradicts their carnal notions of spiritual things. "But the sensual man," as St. Paul assures us,† "perceiveth not these things that are of the spirit of God: it is foolishness to him, and he cannot understand." Mr. Hume, whose knowledge of religion was certainly not very extensive nor correct, has given an account ‡ of the English Saxon Church under the heptarchy, solely calculated to beguile instead of informing his readers. Guided more by the deistical fan-

* Hist. Eng. Lib. 1. chap. 3. † 1 Cor. ii. 14. ‡ Vol. 1. chap. 1.

cies of his own imagination, than by the records of historical truth, he confidently asserts, "that the priests in the heptarchy, after the first missionaries, were wholly Saxon, and almost as ignorant and barbarous as the laity; that they received their doctrine through the corrupt channels of Rome, with a mixture of credulity and superstition equally destructive to the understanding and to morals; that their reverence for saints seems to have supplanted the adoration of the supreme Being; that monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues: that bounty to the church atoned for all violence against society; that remorse for the more robust vices was appeased not by amendment of life, but by penances, by servility to the monks, and abject devotion; that a superstitious attachment to Rome, and a gradual subjection of the kingdom to a foreign jurisdiction, disgraced the religion of the Saxons; that the Britons had never acknowledged any subordination to the Roman Pontiff, but that Wilfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, the haughtiest and most luxurious prelate of his age, gave a finishing stroke to this subjection, by his appeal to Rome against the decisions of an English synod." The positiveness that accompanies these bold assertions is aptly employed to give them the air of truth to such of his readers as are not sufficiently informed to know they are false. The better to impose, the respectable name of Bede is quoted in the Scottish margin, as if Bede could be a voucher for those impudent assertions which his faithful history of those times flatly contradicts. Let the sincere friend of truth consult that venerable and learned author, who lived full ninety years under the heptarchy, and with his own eyes he will see how shamefully the English Saxon Church is traduced by the unfaithful pen of Mr. Hume. The opprobrious terms of corrupt doctrines of Rome, of ignorance, of superstition, and abject devotion, are but the echo of Knox's and John Calvin's cant, incessantly repeated to vilify the gospel counsels of Christian perfection, and to discredit the religious practices of Christ's universal Church.

The English Saxon Church during its infancy stood in need of foreign aid for the sacred ministry, till schools and seminaries for learning could be formed at home. That foreign aid was necessarily required and received for some years after St. Austin's time; witness St. Theodore, the sixth archbishop of Canterbury, with his learned friend Adrian; witness Agilbert, Felix, Birinus, and others, who were not Saxons, nor amongst the first missionaries. Many of the English youth went abroad to study in foreign schools, from whence they returned, completely qualified with virtue and learning, to instruct their countrymen. Among these were St. Wilfrid and St. Benet Biscop. But when schools were opened in the island, (and they were opened at an early period under foreign masters,) learning made a rapid progress among the English Saxons. It is recorded, that in St. Theodore's school at Canterbury, the students spoke the Greek and Latin languages as fluently as their own. The great monasteries had their public schools, in which the youth of the nobility and young ecclesiastics were trained up. Each monastery had its library, and the usual occupation of many of the monks during the hours allotted to manual labour was in transcribing books,

or in compiling registers of the kings and public transactions of the nation. From these monastic registers and Saxon annals, Florence of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury, composed their histories. Venerable Bede himself is a shining example of the application and attention paid to study in those schools. In a letter to Egbricht, bishop of York, he advises that prelate to be careful in placing through his extensive diocese virtuous and learned priests for the instruction of his flock. Nugatory was the advice, if no such priests existed in the land. His history teems with names of English Saxons, whom he highly extols; some for their learning and eminent knowledge of the holy scriptures, some for their sublime sanctity and gift of miracles. The accomplished Alcuin, deacon of York, is an ornament to his own country as well as to France, in tracing and directing the plans of Charlemagne for the revival of letters among the Franks. To the abilities, to the zeal, and apostolical labours of a Willibrord, of a Boniface, of a Lullus, of a Willehad, and other holy missionaries from the English Saxon schools, Friseland, the Netherlands, Saxony, Bavaria, and almost all the north of Germany, were principally indebted for their conversion to the Christian faith. Amongst all these bright characters can Mr. Hume discover none but barbarous and ignorant priests? He certainly disgraces himself, and insults his readers, when he tells them so.

He has singled out St. Wilfrid, the learned and virtuous bishop, not of Lindisfarne, but of York, for the object of his peevish spleen and slanderous abuse. The bishop's appeal to Rome against an unjust sentence, was alone sufficient to make him criminal in that historian's eye: but, could it make him *the haughtiest and most luxurious prelate of his age* in that historian's eye? Venerable Bede and Stephani Eddi, both cotemporaries and eye-witnesses of his conduct, speak very differently of him: the character they give him, is that of a pious, moderate, and persecuted man. His humble and silent retreat for three years in the monastery of Rippon, while his episcopal See of York was unjustly held from him, his active zeal in the discharge of his pastoral duties, the expenditure of his income in charitable and pious uses, his irreproachable conduct of life, acknowledged even by his adversaries, his apostolical labours, in fine, among the Mercians, the South Saxons, and in Friseland, show no marks either of the haughty or luxurious prelate. To form a right judgment of his appeal to Rome, we must state the circumstances. Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, thought himself injured by the prelate's advice to St. Audry, and vowed revenge. With this view he divided the diocese of York into two, between two new bishops of his own appointment, and turned St. Wilfrid entirely out. Then, as a cover to his injustice, he importuned the primate Theodore to sanction what he had done. The infirm Theodore, at the age of eighty, being imposed upon by plausible appearances, after much persuasion ratified the partition of the York diocese, by a formal sentence of the archi-episcopal court. From that sentence Wilfrid modestly appealed to Rome, where the cause was impartially discussed, and decided in his favour. The venerable Theodore then saw he had been deceived, humbly confessed his fault, and made every reparation in his power to the injured bishop of York. On

the renewal of a similar injustice afterwards, St. Wilfrid appealed a second time, and a second time obtained redress. The pen of malevolence, as we observe, wrongfully attributes the appellant's success at Rome not to the justice of his cause, but to the flattered pride of an ambitious Pontiff. An appeal to Rome from the oppressive sentence of an inferior court, in a matter purely ecclesiastical, was neither inordinate nor new. It was sanctioned by antiquity and the canons of the church. The illustrious St. Athanasius of Alexandria, and St. John Chrysostom of Constantinople, appealed in similar circumstances, the first to Julius, the second to Innocent, bishops of Rome; and yet those patriarchal churches were as tenacious, and as jealous of their privileges, as the English Saxon or the British churches could ever be. The spiritual supremacy of St. Peter's chair has been established* by the divine founder of our religion; it is and always was, an indispensable article of Catholic communion. To say the Britons never acknowledge any subordination to the Roman Pontiff, is to declare them schismatics at once; it is to assert what cannot be proved; for the assertion is not true. The names of a St. Dubritius, a St. David, and of numerous old British saints, inserted in the Roman martyrology, evince its falsity. In the register of her saints Rome enters none who acknowledged not the supremacy of her spiritual jurisdiction.

SECTION IV. *View of the English Saxon Church.*

JUSTICE to the memory of our religious ancestors, so rudely insulted and traduced by Mr. Hume and other writers of A. D. 828. the same stamp, induces me to dwell a little longer on the flourishing state of the English Saxon Church during the heptarchy. So fraught with examples of the purest virtue are the old Saxon records, that they powerfully incline us to believe the heptarchy to have been the most auspicious reign for religion that England ever saw. The religious foundations scattered through the land, are public monuments of that active piety which animated the wealthy part of the Faithful to promote the service of God, and the salvation of souls. The numerous list of saints who compose the English Saxon calendar, authentically vouches for the eminent virtues which then flourished within those consecrated seats of evangelical perfection. There, for the benefit of the rising generation, the principles of probity and true religion were instilled into the minds of youth, and the elements of sacred and profane literature were imbibed and perfected. The mode of education there adopted, we readily allow, gave not that polish to the manners, nor that elegance to the art of speaking and writing well, nor that relish, in fine, for the speculative sciences, which we see in the present age, but it formed such men as determined Charlemagne to adopt the same institutions in France. It left the students neither ignorant nor barbarous, as Mr. Hume pretends. The English Saxon nation was not slow to profit by the lessons she received from her first foreign masters; she quickly began to cultivate and display her own natural talents. The study of

* John xxi. 16, 17.

the Greek and Latin tongue, the study of grammar, of poetry, and of the arts, exercised the genius of her youth; to the practice of religion she added the knowledge of the holy scriptures, of ecclesiastical history, of the fathers and canons of the Church. Hence a bright succession of qualified men, whom Alcuin, in a letter to Charlemagne, calls the flowers of England, constantly supplied the schools with good masters, and the Church with proper ministers. Amidst these flowers of Alcuin, we distinguish Alcuin himself, an Adelmus, an Egbert, a Tatwin, a Bede, not to mention many others whom the Saxon chronicle commends for their superior piety and learning. With great feeling Alcuin commemorates the abilities, the learning, and valuable library, of his former master, Egbert, the disciple of Bede.

Egbert, here mentioned, was brother to the king of the Northumbrians; he was a scholar well versed in the liberal arts, and for his talents had been promoted to the episcopal See of York. York, from the time of Paulinus to the year 735, had lost its archiepiscopal title. The first regulation made in favour of that See by St. Gregory I. had been either recalled, or never fully executed. St. Gregory III. renewed the ancient title at the solicitation of Egbert, to whom he sent the pall, with a grant of archi-episcopal jurisdiction. Lest the grant of this privilege to the See of York might give umbrage to Tatwin, the metropolitan of Canterbury, the same Pope confirmed all the ancient prerogatives of this first See to him and his successors for ever, as Primate of all England. But among the men of science who lived under the heptarchy, venerable Bede holds the first place. Camden calls him "The singular and shining light;" Leland, "The chiefest and brightest ornament of the English nation, most worthy, if any one ever was, of immortal fame." Melancton* acknowledges him to have been singularly skilled in Greek and Latin, in mathematics, philosophy, and sacred literature. Bishop Tanner calls him, "a prodigy of learning in an unlearned age:" he then adds, when we take a view of all his writings together, we shall confess, that he alone is a library and a treasure of all the arts." Mr. Cave thinks it a disgrace to our nation, that no accurate or complete edition of Bede's works has been set forth. After such encomiums, impartially given by protestant writers, how has it happened that the discerning Mr. Hume should so far overlook his shining light, this brightest ornament of the English nation, this prodigy of learning, this treasure of the arts, as to leave him with the clerical crowd under the degrading imputation of ignorance and barbarism, which he peremptorily stamps upon the whole body of English Saxon clergy, without exception, without mercy, and without justice?

The doctrine taught by Bede, the venerable doctor of the English Saxon Church, the doctrines of the mass, of the real presence, of praying for the dead, of the invocation of saints, of respect for their relics and holy images, doctrines confirmed by miracles even within the reach of his own knowledge, too apparently clash with the ideas of a false philosophy to escape the abuse of Mr. Hume. This writer

* De corr. studiis.

expresses his supercilious contempt of them; he pronounces them to be the corrupt doctrines of Rome. Of Rome indeed they are, the undoubted doctrines, pure and incorrupt as the spring from whence they flow. If the historian, whose principal object should be truth, had taken pains to consult the genuine sources of information, before he pronounced, an Ignatius, the disciple of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, an Irenæus, a Tertullian, an Origen, a Cyprian, an Athanasius, an Ambrose, an Austin, and the whole list of Fathers, as Luther honestly confesses, would have informed him that those doctrines were the pure, primitive doctrines and practice of Christ's universal Church in Asia, in Africa, and Europe. Conscious of the obligations which they owed to Rome for their conversion to the true faith, our Saxon ancestors entertained more generous and more grateful sentiments. Numbers of devout pilgrims in those days repaired to Rome with no other view than to pay their homage of gratitude to God upon the threshold of St. Peter. Among these we distinguish Inas, the good king of Westsex, who after a prosperous reign of thirty-two years abdicated his crown for the love of God, travelled to Rome, and there became a monk in the year 727. Before his abdication he imposed an annual tribute of a penny upon every dwelling-house in his kingdom, to be paid to Rome as a public acknowledgment of his devotion and respect for the apostolic See, from which he and his people had received the faith of Christ. This eleemosynary tribute, commonly called Rome-scot or Peterpence, was employed by the Pope in founding a school at Rome for the reception and maintenance of English students and pilgrims. Its institution, first set on foot by Inas for Westsex only, in 726, was next adopted by Offa, for the kingdom of Mercia, in 794; and lastly, by king Edgar, for all England, in 964. The mode of collecting and of paying this eleemosynary tribute was finally settled by a law of the realm, and regularly executed from that time to the schism of Henry VIII.

SECTION V. *Progress of Religion in the North.*

THE enterprising and victorious Charlemagne completely finished what his father Pepin had begun, by adding to his empire A. D. 830. all the territory that lies between the Rhine and the Elbe. St. Willehad preached the gospel to the Saxons before their subjugation to the French monarchy, but had not met with all the success which his zeal deserved. Those uncivilized idolaters were too impatient of restraint to be governed by principle; they often abandoned the faith, which they had embraced with seeming sincerity, and returned to their old disorderly habits. Till their native prince professed himself a Christian, religion obtained no solid footing amongst them. But when their prince had once set the example, the people appeared eager to follow it, the worship of idols ceased, and in the compass of a few years all Saxony submitted to the sweet yoke of Christ. To quicken the propagation of the gospel, and to secure its preservation in those northern provinces of Germany, the religious Charlemagne founded the bishoprics of Verden and Minden, of Bremen, of Osnaburg, Paterborn, and Munster. From Saxony

the light of religion spread along the shore of the Baltic, and diffused its rays upon the inhospitable coasts of Denmark and Sweden.

Harold, king of Denmark, being driven from his throne and country by his rebel subjects, in the year 814, took refuge in the imperial court of Lewis Le Debonnaire. There he received not only royal hospitality, but salutary instruction, and became a Christian. He made several attempts to regain his crown, but as they all proved abortive, the emperor bestowed upon him for his present residence the county of Riustri, in Friseland, where, from the vicinity of the two countries, he might more easily watch and seize the first favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. Harold took with him a zealous and holy monk, by name Anscarius. Anscarius was a Frenchman, had received a virtuous and learned education in the old abbey of Corbie, upon the Somme, in Picardy, where he took the monastic habit, and, at the recommendation of the emperor, was sent by his superiors to accompany king Harold, and to preach the gospel to the rude inhabitants of Denmark. Aubert, a monk of the same community, went along with him. These two missionaries had the merit of carrying the first tidings of Christianity to the Danes; their labours were not crowned with any distinguished success; for though many were converted and baptized, Denmark was still to be considered as an infidel nation.

In the interim a solemn deputation from the nobles of Sweden arrived in France, requesting missionaries to instruct them in the Christian faith. St. Anscarius, who still remained with king Harold, was recalled by his abbot, and proposed for the mission of Sweden. The apostolic man readily consented, embarked with Vitmar, a monk of Corbie, crossed the Baltic, and landed at Biore, the capital city of the country at that time, near the spot where Stockholm now stands. The king gave him a gracious reception, and ample leave to announce the word of salvation to his subjects. Herigarius, the governor of the city, was among the first of many who demanded and received baptism. The stay of Anscarius was too short for religion to make any considerable progress in the country. A door, however, was opened for others to enter into that mission; the seeds of Christianity were sown, but the time for their producing a plentiful harvest was not yet come. At the end of six months Anscarius, with Vitmar his associate, left the country, and returned to France. The good emperor expressed much satisfaction at the account Anscarius gave him of what he had done, and immediately concerted measures which were thought best to strengthen and support those infant churches of the north. The erection of an archiepiscopal See at Hamburgh was proposed and adopted. Anscarius set off with letters of recommendation from the emperor, to obtain the confirmation of it from the Pope, who was Gregory IV. Having obtained from his Holiness all he asked, he was consecrated the first archbishop of Hamburgh, with the title of legate of the holy See for all the north. In the cultivation of that ungrateful vineyard, the holy prelate laboured with indefatigable zeal for five and thirty years, during all which time he had great hardships to undergo, and little fruit to reap. Venerable for sanctity, and endowed with the gift of miracles, he died at Bremen in 865.

SECTION VI. *State of Religion in the Western Empire.*

THE emperor Lewis, who, on account of his forgiving temper acquired the surname of Le Debonnaire, by a solemn deed A. D. 840. confirmed the donations of his father and grandfather to the holy See, and in addition to them, granted likewise the whole duchy of Rome, and some other territories. But in the grant he made this remarkable reserve, that the supreme jurisdiction of deciding in civil matters for the city and duchy of Rome, should remain vested in him and his successors. The deed was signed by himself and his three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Lewis, in a national assembly held at Aix-la-Chapelle. By another act, made at the same time, he gave the title of emperor to his eldest son Lothaire; created Pepin, his second son, king of Aquitaine; and Lewis, king of Bavaria. After that, he turned his thoughts upon the means of promoting religion and true piety among his subjects. The concurrence of his bishops was here necessary; nor were they slow in seconding his intentions. They frequently assembled to review the state of religion in France, enforced the old, and enacted new regulations for the correction of abuses, and better observance of ecclesiastical discipline. The irregularities which had crept into the Benedictine order engaged their particular attention.

The disciples of St. Benet, in France, had by degrees fallen from the spirit and primitive practice of their rule. Some understood it in one sense, and some in another; from that difference of understanding and interpreting the text, according to fancy, different modes of following it were introduced into the different houses of the same order. Hence arose a confusion of discipline, disunion, and discord, among the monks, who in their customs appeared strangers to each other, though professed followers of the same common rule. The emperor summoned the principal abbots of the order within his dominions to attend him at Aix-la-Chapelle, his usual place of residence. All being assembled, the original rule of St. Benet was publicly read, its true meaning thoroughly discussed and ascertained, the religious legislator's intention explained at full length, every future misconception of his plan carefully guarded against, and an uniformity of domestic discipline through the whole order rigorously commanded. Lewis after that extended his care to the reparation of all injustices committed in his own and the foregoing reign. By long abuse the civil power in many instances had usurped a control over the election of bishops, which, according to the ancient canons, ought to be left to the free suffrages of the clergy and people. In a parliament held at Attigni in 822, Lewis restored the ancient freedom of episcopal elections: for the episcopacy, as Florus, a learned deacon of Lyons, justly observes, is not a gratuity of men, but a gift of the Holy Ghost. The powers of episcopal ordination issue not from any royal grant, but from divine institution, and are exercised with the free consent and authority of the church. If by a change of discipline canonically established, the prince is authorised to nominate to the vacant bishoprics within his dominions, it is a regulation of mere prudence, adopted to prevent dissensions, and

to preserve harmony and a right understanding between the two powers: it is not done nor admitted as a requisite condition for a valid and canonical ordination.

Lewis, after the decease of his first wife, married Judith of Bavaria, the source of much civil and domestic strife. She bore him a son, known by the name of Charles the Bald, to whom, at her solicitation, he gave the title of king of Germany. The three princes of his former marriage were highly irritated, and flew into open rebellion to revenge what they deemed an insult upon their own dignity: a civil war commenced in the very centre of the empire. Lothaire, the most active of the three brothers, had the address to make the world believe that his cause was just: his arms were also crowned with success. Superior in number and valour of his troops, he compelled his father to quit the field, and to retire for safety with his queen into a monastery, while he took upon himself the exclusive title and authority of emperor. A diet of the empire met soon after at Nimeguen, and reinstated Lewis in 831. An apparent reconciliation passed between the father and his sons; he sincerely forgave them, but they who had done the wrong could not so easily forgive or forget. Two years scarce elapsed when they again revolted; both parties resorted to arms. The imperial troops were bribed by Lothaire; they abandoned their sovereign in the field, and basely suffered him to be carried off a prisoner by his unnatural sons. He was conducted to Soissons, led before the altar in the great church, with a paper in his hand containing various crimes laid to his charge, and compelled to express his sorrow for them. He was then solemnly deposed under the pretence of being put into a state of canonical penance, and sentenced to be shut up in the monastery of St. Medard. During his confinement the brothers quarrelled among themselves; Pepin and Lewis insisted upon his being released from prison, and restored to his throne, which was done at the end of two years. Ebbon, the archbishop of Rheims, acted a principal part in these infamous transactions, for which he was afterwards degraded by an episcopal sentence. The meek emperor reigned five years after his restoration, and at his death left his eldest son Lothaire sole emperor and king of Italy, and his youngest son Charles king of France.

Lothaire had never been in friendship with his brothers from the time of his father's restoration. His spleen now burst forth into open acts of hostility against Lewis and Charles. Loss and disgrace attended his arms. Being worsted in two bloody battles, he was forced to make peace, when he no longer had the power of continuing the war. Touched at last with remorse, or disgusted with royalty, he put on a monk's habit in the monastery of Prum, and died six days after, in 855. His eldest son Lewis inherited the kingdom of Italy with the title of emperor. This young prince had to fight against the African Moors, who made a descent upon the Italian shore in great force, and spread desolation through the country. Dying without issue in 875, he left his titles and estates to be inherited by his uncle Charles the Bald, king of France. Charles repaired immediately to Rome, and was crowned emperor in St. Peter's church, by Pope John VIII.

From the death of Leo III. in 816, there was a quick succession of Popes in the following order: Stephen IV., St. Paschal, Eugenius II., Valentinus, Gregory IV., Sergius II., St. Leo IV., Benedict III., St. Nicholas, Adrian II., John VIII.

SECTION VII. *Extinction of Iconoclasm.*

By the decisions of the seventh general council held at Nice, as we have seen, Iconoclasm received a deadly wound, but A.D. 842. did not immediately expire. Among the fickle Greeks it was no unusual thing to see an heterodox system rise and sink, and then emerge again, as an emperor might chance to choose. At Constantinople the imperial crown was as much become the prize of faction as it was in ancient Rome. The young emperor Constantine, now grown to man's estate, and weary of maternal control, took the reins of government into his own hands, stripped Irene of all her authority, and ran headlong into vice. He was married to a princess called Mary, but being deeply enamoured with Theodota, one of her maids of honour, he applied to Tarasius the patriarch for a divorce. Tarasius replied, that it was not in his power to dissolve a lawful marriage, and that he would sooner die than countenance so unjustifiable an act. Constantine then despairing of being able to carry his point with the sanction of the church, set aside all respect for common decency and religion, forced his lawful wife into a convent, and publicly espoused Theodota, in 795. This shameful defiance of the divine law lost him the respect and affection of his subjects. Irene, who had still her eye upon the throne, encouraged their discontents, and having gained the officers of the crown, contrived to have the emperor seized and imprisoned. Then, as if ambition had banished from her heart every female delicacy and maternal feeling for a son, she gave an order for his eyes to be plucked out, which was done with such violence that he died of it in 797. Irene mounted the throne, which she enjoyed for near five years, when an ungrateful hand retaliated upon her with similar injustice, though less bloody. The great treasurer Nicephorus suddenly snatched the crown from the head of his benefactress to place it upon his own, arrested her person, and sent her into the Isle of Lesbos, where by hard necessity she was obliged to spin for her bread. She died the year after, 803.

Nicephorus, whose character was an odious composition of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice, finished an ignoble reign of nine years by being slain in battle against the Bulgarians. His son and successor Stauracius reigned not three months, when Michael, who had married his sister, was called by the public voice to take the command of the empire.

Michael was a meek and religious prince. His first concern was to compose the disagreement that divided the Catholics on the subject of Constantine's marriage with Theodota. Men of respectable characters appeared on both sides of the question. The venerable abbots St. Plato and St. Theodore, with their monks, on one side; on the opposite, the patriarch Tarasius and his successor St. Nicephorus, with their clergy. All agreed that the marriage was un-

lawful, but they disagreed about the manner of treating the imperial sinner. The abbots pronounced sentence of excommunication against him for bigamy, and quarrelled with the patriarchs for not inflicting the same censure. The patriarchs prudently adopted the advice of St. Austin, who contends that extreme severity is not to be exerted against men in power, unless there is a prospect of good arising from it. Tarasius saw he had to deal with an unprincipled emperor, who had the power of doing much mischief to religion, and who actually threatened to call forth the Iconoclasts, of whom there were great numbers in Constantinople; under those circumstances he had every reason to judge that extreme rigour would serve to exasperate rather than to correct, to occasion much harm and no good; so wisely concluded to remain silent. St. Nicephorus followed his example. Michael had the satisfaction of reconciling the two parties, who meant equally well to the service of religion. He reigned not two years, when he spontaneously abdicated the crown, and entered into a monastery with his two sons, Theophilact and Nicetas, in 813.

Upon the abdication of Michael, the army raised Leo, the Armenian, from the government of Natolia, to the throne. In that troubled state of the empire, Leo judged it not safe to trust his fortune to the army alone. To gain the patriarch's approbation, he professed himself a Catholic, and was solemnly crowned. For the better security of his crown, he removed the late emperor and his two sons into different monasteries in the islands, changing their names, and making the two sons eunuchs. Nicetas, the youngest of them, received the name of Ignatius, and was afterwards patriarch of Constantinople. Leo having nothing to apprehend from any rival of his power, threw off the mask in the second year of his reign, and declared himself an Iconoclast. The impetuosity of his temper impelled him to renew all the outrages of his predecessors, the Isaurian and his son Copronymus, against the images of Christ and his Saints. He deposed and banished Nicephorus the patriarch, and in his room substituted one Theodore, his armour-bearer, a creature totally void of learning and virtue. After a tyrannical reign of seven years, he met with an untimely end. His cruelties armed a band of conspirators against his life, at the head of whom was Michael the Phrygian, surnamed the Stammerer, his former friend and benefactor. Leo suspected him, caused him to be apprehended on Christmas eve, and condemned him to be burnt alive in his presence the next day. The empress interposed, and obtained a reprieve for four and twenty hours. The other conspirators, fearing they were now betrayed, laid hold of the opportunity, rushed into the church, where the unsuspecting emperor was assisting at the solemn service of the day, and slew him in the very sanctuary. By this wonderful turn of fortune, Michael the Phrygian was snatched from a fiery furnace, already kindled to consume him, and without waiting even for his fetters to be knocked off, was immediately carried and placed upon the throne.

In principle and morals Michael was not better than his predecessor. Although an Iconoclast like him by profession, he began his reign with an act of moderation, and recalled the exiled bishops,

the patriarch Nicephorus excepted, whom he left still in banishment. After the death of Theodore, the false patriarch, in 821, he appointed Antony, a notorius Iconoclast, to succeed him, and commenced a bitter persecution against the Catholics. He died in 829, and was succeeded by his son Theophilus.

Theophilus set off with a pompous show of zeal for justice, and even for religion. But the phantom soon vanished, and open war was denounced against the Saints in their images. It was made a crime to honour or to keep them. Scripture paintings and holy images were then torn from the churches to make room for painted birds and wild beasts; they were carried out by loads into the streets, and with insult committed to the flames. Severe punishments were denounced and inflicted upon those who should dare to retain them in their houses: the prisons were consequently filled with Catholic confessors, painters, monks, and bishops. The pious empress Theodora had incessant difficulties to encounter, and perilous risks to run, not to abandon the practice of her orthodox belief. During the twelve years of that oppressive reign the spirit of persecution ever guided the councils and motions of Theophilus, which has rendered his memory odious to the Greeks. An inflammation in his bowels, occasioned by his drinking snow water, reduced him to the grave in 842. He left a son, Michael III. only five years old, to inherit the crown, under the care and direction of Theodora. This change of government enabled the pious empress to effect what she had long desired, the restoration of holy images. The first step taken towards it was the degradation of John, the wicked patriarch, and prime instigator of all the mischief that had desolated the Church for the last six years. Methodius, who had distinguished himself by his talents, piety, and sufferings, in the late persecutions, was canonically chosen and placed in the patriarchal chair. By his counsels, and the steady conduct of Theodora, a final stop was put to Iconoclasm. On the second Sunday of Lent a grand procession of the clergy and laity went to the church of St. Sophia. A solemn mass was sung, and the holy images were restored in due form. In memory of so joyful an event, the Greeks style that day the festival of orthodoxy, and celebrate it with a particular office to the present time.

SECTION VIII. *Conversion of the Bulgarians.*

A CONTEST for empire had for some years been carried on with various success between the Bulgarians and the emperors A. D. 845. of Constantinople. By means of the prisoners made on both sides, many of the former imbibed the doctrines of Christianity. Bulgaria is an extensive province of Turkey in Europe, intersected by the Danube, and bounded on the east by the Euxine sea. It was then governed by a n independent king of its own, who, from the natural strength and internal resources of the country, was in sufficient force to maintain a formidable war against the whole power of the eastern empire. The inhabitants were a fierce race of idolaters, hardy and intrepid in the field. Being vanquished in a bloody battle by Theophilus, the late Greek emperor, they had the confusion to see their sovereign's sister carried away, with many

others, prisoner to Constantinople. During her long detention in the imperial city she was instructed in the Christian religion, and embraced it. After the death of Theophilus, she returned to her own country. There she took every opportunity of discoursing with the king, her brother, upon the subject of religion, and she spoke so highly of it that he resolved to profess it, if upon further information he should find it such as his sister represented. Divine Providence seems to have blessed his intention in a most singular manner. A fatal pestilence raged through the kingdom. Every day swept off numbers of his subjects to the grave. Full of concern, and despairing of relief from man, the king felt himself strongly moved to invoke the Supreme Being whom his sister adored. He did so; God heard his prayer, the mortality ceased. By this miraculous interposition of the divine power, the king's resolution for becoming a Christian was finally fixed; but before he would profess himself one, he desired to be more fully instructed. He communicated his intentions to the pious empress Theodora, who, at his request, sent him a bishop to instruct and baptize him. He took the name of Michael in compliment to the young Greek emperor; he was called Bogoris before. The worship of idols then fell into contempt among the Bulgarians; the whole nation in a few years became Christian.

In the year 866, about twenty years after his conversion, the Bulgarian monarch sent his son, with a splendid train of nobles, on a solemn embassy to Rome. The motive of his sending was to acknowledge the supreme Pastor of Christ's Church, to ask a supply of evangelical missionaries, and to consult the holy Father upon certain points of religious discipline. This embassy from a new converted nation, coming at the time when the church of Constantinople seemed to be on the brink of schism, gave singular comfort to the zealous Pope Nicholas I. His Holiness named two virtuous bishops, Paul of Populonia, in Tuscany, and Formosus of Porto, afterwards Pope, to go and preach the gospel in Bulgaria. Several priests, carrying with them the holy scriptures and other books of instruction, accompanied the two prelates. They likewise carried the Pope's answer to the consultation of the Bulgarian nation, containing a hundred and six articles. From these articles it appears, that the first Greek missionaries in Bulgaria had endeavored to force upon their new converts all the usages of the Greek rite as matters of obligation. Pope Nicholas explained the matter in so satisfactory a manner to the king, that for the time to come his majesty would not suffer any other missionaries than those from Rome to preach the gospel within his dominions. Unfortunately for the nation this resolution was not adhered to. Four years after the Bulgarians consented to adopt the Greek rite under the patriarch of Constantinople, and consequently fell into schism.

The Slavonians and Russians seem to have received the faith about the same time as the Bulgarians. Slavonia is a long and narrow tract of land, lying between the Danube and the Drave. The inhabitants, though governed by a king, were no better than wild savages, uncivilized and unprincipled, without any fixed notion or practice of religion. There were Musselmén and Jews, who traf-

flicked with them ; these pressed them to receive the law of Moses, those with equal earnestness urged the law of Mahomet. The Slavonians rejected both ; from some slender intercourse with the Greeks they rather inclined to Christianity. They dispatched deputies to Constantinople, with a request that some Christian teacher might be sent amongst them. St. Ignatius the patriarch proposed the matter to Constantine, a learned priest, and native of Thessalonica. Constantine readily accepted the mission, and set off. But before he entered the country, he stopped at Chersonesus, upon the frontier, with a view of making himself master of their language, before he began his instructions. The language spoken by the Slavonians seemed in many respects to resemble the Greek, and might be considered as a dialect of that tongue. Constantine reduced it to an alphabet, for it had none before, and thereby formed a regular language, into which he translated the gospel and some other parts of the holy scripture. Pope John VIII. afterwards permitted mass and the divine office to be said in the Slavonian tongue, for reasons given him by St. Methodius, a fellow-labourer with Constantine in that mission. God gave a blessing to the zeal of these two apostolical men. In the course of a few years the whole Slavonian nation entered into the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church.

Not long after this, Russia likewise began to be enlightened with the dawn of faith. The Russian monarch having concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the emperor of Constantinople, consented to receive a bishop from the patriarch Ignatius, for the instruction of his people in the principles of Christianity. But before he allowed the bishop to begin his mission, it is recorded that he assembled the ancient chiefs of his nation to deliberate with him, whether it would be right to quit the worship of their forefathers. The bishop was permitted to attend. He held a book of the holy scriptures in his hand. Being asked what the doctrines were which he came to teach, he showed them the sacred volume, and said the doctrines he had to teach were contained therein. He briefly recounted the fundamental articles of Christian belief, and then read to them both from the old and new scripture some of the striking miracles which God had wrought in confirmation of the truths that he announced. The preservation of the three young Israelites, amidst the flames of the Babylonian furnace, struck them most ; they all exclaimed, " Show us something like to this, and we shall be then convinced that your doctrine is true." " It is not fitting to tempt God," replied the bishop ; " nevertheless, if you promise to believe and to confess his divine omnipotence, say what you wish to see done, and be assured that in consideration of your faith he will do it." " We desire," said they, " that the book you hold in your hand may be thrown into the fire, which we will kindle, and if it comes out unburnt, we solemnly promise to become Christians." A large fire was immediately kindled ; then the bishop lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, confidently said, " Jesus, Son of God, glorify thy holy name in the presence of this people : " the book at that instant was thrown into the fire, and there left as long as they chose, which was for some hours. The fire was extinguished ; all stood around in the most earnest expectation ; the book was produced to public view, and found to be in the state it was as when cast

into the fire, neither hurt nor sullied by the smoke or flames. The astonished Russians acknowledged the visible hand of God in the miracle, and believed. Many proselytes came forward to be instructed and baptized.

SECTION IX. *Intrusion of Photius.*

THE progress of religion towards the northern regions of Europe A. D. 858. afforded some compensation for the losses it was about to suffer in the south. While the good Theodora sat at the helm and governed the empire for her son, Michael III. during his minority, public happiness and right order flourished both in church and state. On the death of St. Methodius the patriarch, another Saint was canonically called from his religious cell to preside over the church of Constantinople. This was Ignatius, originally called Nicetas, the illustrious son of Michael the first, surnamed Rangebe, whom Leo the Armenian, for his own greater security in the throne, disposed of in the manner we have related above. The young Ignatius, from the moment he entered the monastery, adopted the spirit and performed the duties of a religious life, with the same alacrity and zeal as though it had been his own free choice. The divine Spirit, that breathes where it will, infused into his soul such lofty sentiments of virtue, as duly qualified him for the high dignity to which the hand of Providence now raised him. From the time of his promotion, in 845, to the year 854, he experienced no public contradiction. But a violent storm was now gathering round him. In the imperial court the seeds of evil had for some time begun to show themselves, which the pious empress observed with grief, but with all her care could not prevent. Her son had given early symptoms of a natural propensity to impiety and vice. Bardas, the brother of Theodora, and chief manager of all state affairs, with the title of Cæsar, had his own interested views in encouraging the vicious inclinations of his nephew. Bardas was a superior genius, endowed with vast abilities, both natural and acquired. In eloquence he surpassed all his cotemporaries, was an eminent scholar, and a liberal promoter of learning. But with all those commendable qualities, so destitute was he of every religious and moral principle, that he discarded his lawful wife, and lived in open incest with his daughter-in-law. The scandal was too flagrant for the patriarch to see it and be silent. He remonstrated, he exhorted, he rebuked with all patience, and finally refused him communion. Cæsar remained impenitent: wedded to sin, he resolved to ruin the man who charitably sought his greatest good.

Theodora still held the reins of government, the avowed protectress of Ignatius; she was therefore to be removed before he could be hurt. The young emperor, Michael, surnamed the Drunkard, had now attained the seventeenth year of his age, dissolute in manners, and impious by habit. One of his favourite diversions was to dress up a troop of comedians, the companions of his idle hours, to personate with them the most respectable bishops of the empire, and to ridicule the most solemn ceremonies of our holy religion. Bardas, by flattering his passions, had gained an entire ascendant over him, and could easily persuade him into every measure he desired.

He represented to him, that he was now of an age to reign alone ; that to remain longer under a woman's control, was a disgrace to his imperial rank, and that it was more fitting for his mother to retire to a monastery than to command in the palace. The ungracious Michael gladly listened to a proposal which at once gratified his vanity, and set him free to indulge his vicious inclinations as he pleased, without check. He sent for the patriarch, and gave him positive orders to cut off the hair of his mother and three sisters ; this was a mark of their engaging in a monastic life. The patriarch refused to concur in so unjust an act. A more pliant hand was found ; Theodora, with her three daughters, was shorn a nun, turned out of the palace, and shut up in a monastery, where she passed the remainder of her life. She died in 867 ; the Greeks honour her as a Saint.

Bardas was now absolute master both of the emperor and the empire. Nothing hindered him from taking his full revenge upon the patriarch, for the zeal he had exerted to bring him back to a due sense of his Christian duty. To banish and to depose Ignatius, and to set up the eunuch Photius in his stead, was the plan of this wicked minister. An order for the Saint's banishment into the island of Terebinthus he immediately executed : but his deposition he thought would be attended with less odium to himself, could it be effected with Ignatius's voluntary consent to resign the pastoral staff. On this errand deputies after deputies were dispatched to the illustrious exile : promises, persuasions, threats, and ill usage, were promiscuously employed to extort his resignation. To resign the pastoral staff in those circumstances, was to deliver up the flock into the jaws of the wolf, and that the holy patriarch could not do with a safe conscience. Bardas, at last, perceiving all trials useless to gain his consent, resolved to do without it ; he even passed over the formality of a mock election, and on his own authority declared his frier Photius patriarch of Constantinople.

Photius by birth was related to the imperial family, and held at that time the office of chief secretary to the emperor. Nature had endowed this extraordinary man with uncommon talents ; curiosity and study had made him an adept in almost every branch of profane learning, and after his schismatical undertakings, he provided himself with no inconsiderable stock of ecclesiastical knowledge. But with all these shining qualifications, Photius had a depraved heart, a soul full of pride, ambition, hypocrisy, and deceit. Before he could begin to exercise the patriarchal office, it was necessary he should be ordained ; for he was yet a layman. But his irregular nomination, made solely by Bardas notoriously against the canons, deterred every Catholic bishop from imposing hands upon him. Gregory, the schismatical bishop of Syracuse, whom St. Ignatius had deposed for certain crimes exhibited and proved against him, was then at Constantinople. Photius had strenuously supported Gregory in his disgrace, and now requested that he would show his gratitude in return, by giving him holy orders. Gregory gladly embraced the opportunity, as well to serve his friend, as to spite Ignatius. The ceremony was rapidly hurried on through the different degrees in six days. On the first day Photius, the emperor's

secretary and master of the horse, was made a monk, on the second reader, on the third subdeacon, on the fourth deacon, on the fifth priest, and on the sixth, which was Christmas-day, 858, bishop and patriarch. Most of the oriental bishops seem to have beheld this infamous transaction with indifference, or in timid silence. Some few, indeed, had the courage to assemble in one of the churches of Constantinople, and to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the intruder.

SECTION X. *Proceedings of Photius.*

PHOTIUS having got possession of the patriarchal chair, proceeded A. D. 866. to take every precaution that he thought necessary to secure it. For although he had all the influence of Bardas Cæsar at his command, yet he was not without fear, as long as Ignatius was alive and did not resign. To counteract the censure of those prelates who condemned his intrusion, he assembled a council of his own creatures, and pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication against Ignatius for crimes invented by himself. He then attempted to take away his life, under the cloak of justice, by causing him to be accused of treasonable practices against the state. Encouragements, threats, and tortures, were employed to procure false witnesses; but nothing could be proved. Having failed in this attempt, he had recourse to violence. In hopes that the Saint's infirm constitution would soon sink under hard treatment, he took care to have him loaded with heavy irons, to be dragged from one island to another, to be beaten, to be shut up in a dungeon and close prisons, with a small pittance of food for his support. The grace of God wonderfully preserved and comforted the Saint under all these cruelties. The usurper in the interim was no less anxious than active to get his own promotion ratified by the Pope. He dispatched messengers to Rome with a letter, in which he tells the Pope St. Nicholas, that Ignatius, by reason of his advanced age and infirmities, had spontaneously vacated the patriarchal chair, and retired to his monastery; that the metropolitans had pitched on him for his successor; and that, notwithstanding his reluctance, the emperor had compelled him to take that weighty burden upon his weak shoulders. He accompanied this account with an orthodox profession of his faith; and concluded by entreating his Holiness to send two legates to Constantinople, who, in a council of bishops, which he intended to call, should confirm his election, and decide on certain questions concerning the Iconoclasts. The emperor likewise sent a solemn embassy for the same purpose, with rich presents to the church of St. Peter. The whole had a fair appearance, splendidly calculated to flatter and deceive. But the wary pontiff was not thus to be imposed upon. He received no letter, and saw no messenger from Ignatius; he suspected fraud, and was therefore guarded in his answers to Photius and the emperor. In compliance with their request, he appointed two legates, Rodoald bishop of Porto, and Zachary bishop of Anagnia, to repair to Constantinople; the caution which he observed in his instructions to them, appears no less pointed than in his letters. His instructions were, that in de-

eiding the questions concerning holy images, they should strictly adhere to the decrees of the seventh general Council, and that in the affair of Ignatius and Photius they should decide nothing, but take informations only for him to decide on.

With these limited powers the Roman legates came to Constantinople in the beginning of the year 861. The partizans of Photius immediately took possession of them, guarded them like state prisoners, and suffered none but such as he chose to come near them. They were told that all information was unnecessary, that the emperor's will must be complied with, that Ignatius must be condemned. Bribes and threats were employed by turns to extort their consent. They showed great resolution at first, they stood firm for eight months; but wearied out at last, they weakly yielded, and agreed to act as the emperor should direct. Photius saw that he might now safely call the bishops together. They met to the number of three hundred and eighteen, including the legates, in the church of the apostles; the emperor assisted with his nobles and magistrates of the city. Ignatius was cited to appear before them. Stripped of his pontifical dress by the emperor's express order, and clad in a monk's habit, the venerable patriarch was brought in, like a criminal already condemned, and only presented there to hear the sentence read. They first pressed him to give in his episcopal resignation; he refused: they called witnesses, no fewer than seventy-two, to attest the irregularity of his ordination; he proved them perjured, and their attestations false; he persisted in declaring his own innocence, and the injustice of his persecutors; he cited the letter of St. Innocent to St. John Chrysostom, he cited the Council of Sardica, and clearly showed, that for the reasons alleged by him they had no power either to depose or replace him by another, before sentence was pronounced by the bishop of Rome, to whom he solemnly appealed. His appeal, the canon of Sardica, argument and the plea of justice, made no impression upon men pre-determined to condemn. The emperor dictated the sentence, the prevaricating legates assented, the oppressed patriarch for his greater ignominy was first clothed with his episcopal robes, then insolently stripped of them, deposed and sent off to be shut up a prisoner in the sepulchre of Constantine Copronymus.

Photius sent three ruffians after him, with orders to force from him a formal renunciation of his patriarchal dignity. These wretches cruelly beat and tormented him, kept him for a fortnight always standing, and a whole week without food or sleep, to make him sign his resignation. Being at last convinced that it was labour lost to tamper with him any longer, they thrust a pen between his fingers, and drawing his hand by force, formed a cross upon a blank sheet of paper, which they held before him. This paper they carried to Photius, who directed an act of renunciation in Ignatius's name to be written on it, and then given to the emperor. Upon this, the emperor permitted Ignatius to quit the prison, and to retire to a country-house which formerly belonged to his mother. Here the holy patriarch enjoyed a little respite, and had an opportunity of conveying to the Pope a full account of what had passed. But the usurper's fears either were not yet removed, or his venge-

ance was not satiated. He obtained an order from the weak emperor, that Ignatius should be brought back into the church of the Apostles, that he should there read his own condemnation from the pulpit, then have his eyes pulled out, and his right-hand cut off. Ignatius being apprised of the design, had just time to make his escape in disguise through the guards who had suddenly surrounded his house. In a slave's dress he wandered about from place to place, concealing himself in caves, in woods, and mountains, and living upon what scanty alms he could collect. He was often met, though never known, by the soldiers who were sent out to seek and kill wherever they should find him. It happened at the time, that a dreadful earthquake, which with some intervals lasted for forty days, shook the city of Constantinople in a frightful manner. The terrified citizens cried aloud, that it was an undoubted mark of the divine wrath, to punish the injustice done to their holy patriarch. Bardas even, and the emperor, were alarmed; they had it publicly proclaimed that Ignatius might return to his monastery, and no further harm should befall him. He returned; the earthquake ceased.

The Pope by this time had received authentic information of all that had been done at Constantinople. Sorely grieved at the prevarication of his legates, and eager to wipe away the disgrace which their infamous conduct had brought upon the holy See, he lost no time in sending off his letters, one to the emperor, one to Photius, and a third to the bishops of the east. In those letters his Holiness formally disavows and annuls the acts of his legates, and declares that they had exceeded their powers, that he acknowledges Ignatius to be the true patriarch, and Photius an usurper. Photius suppressed his letter, and soon after published another, as coming from the same Pope, with a later date, containing his own justification and the pretended condemnation of Ignatius. The imposture was too thinly covered not to be seen through; it exposed and disgraced him. Wherefore, finding his credit to be upon the decline, that the public could no longer be kept in ignorance, nor the Pope's favour be obtained either by forgery or by flattery, he threw off the mask at once, and rushed headlong into schism. With the emperor's concurrence, in the year 866, he called a synod, which he dignified with the appellation of an œcumenical council, although it consisted of no more than twenty-one bishops, all bribed and bought to do evil. He caused a list of accusations to be there produced against Nicholas I. bishop of ancient Rome. A sort of trial was then entered upon merely for show; Photius himself undertook to plead for the accused; he urged, as he pretends, the best arguments that could possibly be devised for his defence, till reduced to silence by the force of truth, and compelled by the authority of the council, he was under the necessity of pronouncing sentence of deposition and excommunication against Nicholas the Roman Pontiff. But with all his contrivance he could find no more than twenty-one bishops wicked enough to sign this outrageous act, though by the addition of fictitious names he swelled the number to near a thousand. He dispersed this sentence through the east in a circular letter, in which he trumps up a general charge against the Latin church. This was the commencement of the Greek schism, which Michael Cerularius afterwards completed in the year 1053.

SECTION XI. *Downfall of Photius.*

PHOTIUS had now reached the summit of his usurped power; he had vented the last effort of his malice against the oppressors of his boundless ambition. A sudden change of men and measures in the court of Constantinople hurled him down as rapidly as he had risen. Bardas Cæsar had made him a false patriarch to be revenged upon Ignatius; Bardas had supported him with the whole weight of imperial authority; Bardas was now dead. This haughty minister by his conduct had incurred the suspicion of aspiring to the throne. Michael both feared and hated him. With his approbation, and even in his presence, the sword of Basil, the high chancellor, put a violent and unexpected end to his life and projects. Michael equally destitute of common prudence as of humanity, prodigally rewarded the murder of his uncle, and thereby prepared his own. Inattentive to business, and incapable of governing alone, he adopted Basil within the month for his colleague in the empire, and had him crowned in the church of St. Sophia. A. D. 869.

Basil, surnamed the Macedonian, from the country which gave him birth, was the son of a poor farmer, received the education of a slave, and in his youth came to Constantinople with the hope of pushing himself forward in the world. Notwithstanding the meanness of his birth and education, Basil nourished sentiments within his breast worthy of the dignity to which a whimsical emperor had raised him. He refused to join the licentious Michael in his midnight revels and profane mockery of religion. This caused a breach between them, which was infallibly to end soon in the death of one or of the other. Michael made the first attempt, but miscarried. Basil saw he had no time to lose; he suborned the guards to make away with the man who, by his intemperance, unnatural lusts, impiety, and cruelties, had rendered himself odious and contemptible to all his subjects. Michael, the last of his family, was inhumanly murdered by his guards, as he lay intoxicated and asleep, in the year 867.

By this bloody deed, which the public seemed not to disapprove, Basil became sole master of the empire, and Photius lost the last prop of his tottering usurpation. On the very next day Basil banished him into the isle of Scepè, and recalled Ignatius. The venerable exile was received with loud demonstrations of joy in the imperial city, conducted with religious pomp to his cathedral, and honourably reinstated in the patriarchal chair according to form, after a banishment of nine years. Under the sharpest adversity, Ignatius had never been dejected, nor at the return of prosperity did he now appear elated; he resumed his pastoral functions with that even tranquillity of soul, which characterizes the most disinterested and most exalted virtue. The audacious proceedings of Photius he judged to be of such a nature, that an authority much higher than his own seemed to him absolutely necessary in the present juncture to repair the wrongs done by that impostor to religion. He solicited the emperor and the Pope, Adrian II. who had lately succeeded St. Nicholas, to assemble a general council. His solicitations had their due effect; the object of the council was to restore peace and union, which Photius had attempted to break between the Latin and Greek Church.

Basil named Constantinople for the council to meet in. Adrian deputed three legates to preside in his name, viz. Donatus, bishop of Ostia; Stephen, bishop of Nepi; and Marinus, one of the seven deacons of Rome, who was afterwards Pope. They entered the imperial city in great state, the emperor received them with every distinctive mark of honour and respect due to their character. The council met for the first time on the fifth day of October, 869, in the great church of St. Sophia, where through ten sessions they coolly treated the subject of religion, and finished their debates on the twenty-eighth of February, 870. The Pope's legates presided, Ignatius the patriarch of Constantinople sat next to them, as second in rank, and after him the deputies of the three oriental patriarchs. Eleven officers of the crown assisted for the preservation of order.

The first session was opened by an official discourse read aloud in the name of the emperor, recommending to the bishops peace and unanimity in their decisions. The legates then moved, that the formulary of re-union, which they had brought with them, should be read. It was read accordingly and approved. The Council with one voice acknowledged the Primacy of the Roman See, in which St. Peter sat, the Head of the Apostles, the rock of Christ's Church. Many bishops, who through fear or compulsion had taken part with Photius, appeared with marks of sorrow and regret for the little courage they had shown in defence of justice; on making an humble and submissive confession of their fault they were charitably received into favour, and permitted to take their seats in council. All publicly pronounced a solemn condemnation of heresies which at any time had started up in the church, and all renewed their profession of the Roman Catholic faith, as it had been always taught and explicitly confirmed by the seven general preceding councils. Photius was cited to receive punishment, or upon his repentance, forgiveness for the crimes of which he stood notoriously guilty. He appeared with all the affectation of spotless innocence, observed a sullen silence; or if he answered any question, it was in the words of our blessed Saviour to Pontius Pilate. Neither in excuse nor extenuation of the charges brought against him, had he any thing to say, nor was he the man to express repentance. Being fully convicted of cruelty, of forgery, of usurpation, and of schism, he was solemnly condemned and excommunicated. Some few adherents he still had, who were involved with him in the same anathema. His schismatical conventicles, his writings, and his acts against St. Nicholas and the Latins were proscribed and condemned; the decrees of Nicholas in favour of Ignatius were received and ratified. In the last session the emperor assisted in person; the decisions of the council were read, approved, and subscribed by the bishops present, to the number of 383, as some say, others count no more than 102. The reason of this difference may be, that the Greek original is lost. The Roman legates had it in their possession, but being taken by pirates in their return by sea, they were stripped of every thing they had. A Latin translation of its acts, faithfully made upon the spot by Anastasius, the Roman librarian, is extant to this day in the archives of the Vatican. The bishops, before they separated, directed two synodal letters to be drawn up, one

to the Faithful in general, the other to Pope Adrian, requesting him to confirm the council by his apostolical authority, and to enjoin its acceptance in the west. This is accounted the eight general council of the church.

SECTION XII. *End of Photius.*

PHOTIUS being juridically condemned by the council, received an order from the emperor to quit the city, and retire into banishment. He went off with a seeming confidence that he should one day return again in defiance of his opponents. Disgrace had not lowered his pride, nor did the censure of excommunication touch his impenitent heart. He had deep resources within himself; his fertile genius filled him with hope that he should triumph in the end. To move compassion and to rouse the indignation of the public in his favour, he scattered his seditious writings through the country, sometimes bemoaning his hard fate in the most plaintive strains of pathetic eloquence, and sometimes inveighing with foul torrents of abuse against his persecutors and the council, as a convention of thieves that had slandered, oppressed, and robbed him of every comfort in life. He continued for some years thus to brave and insult the hand of justice, till experience discovered to him that the way he had taken to gain public favour had not advanced him a single step nearer to the great object he proposed to himself, the recovery of the patriarchal dignity. To succeed in that, it was necessary for him to obtain the emperor's good graces. The emperor's vanity opened to him a fair prospect of success. Basil he knew was fond of pedigree. This furnished an ample field for a sprightly genius like that of Photius, to sport and ramble in. Basil, the son of a Spartan farmer, raised by the caprice of his predecessor from that humble state, first to an honourable post at court, and then to a throne, wished to have it thought he was descended from a race of ancient kings. Photius caught the idea, and with much ingenuity composed a genealogical tree of former monarchs; on one of the branches he perched the royal Basil, as a descendant from Tiridates, the king of Armenia. The conceit worked its way; Basil was flattered; Photius was permitted to return from exile, and to reside in his family palace of Magnaurus, at Constantinople, in the year 877.

Not long after his return Ignatius died, and made room for him in the patriarchal palace. The bold and active Photius lost not the opportunity; he took forcible possession of the cathedral church, without any opposition from the throne. His next step was to gain the bishops; and in that the influence and the credit which he now possessed at court, gave him a powerful advantage. Partly by punishments, and partly by rewards, he soon formed a strong body; some he deposed, and promoted others. But he was still opposed by many. The sentence of deposition and excommunication had been pronounced against him by a general council, and confirmed by the Pope's authority; this authority had not yet been consulted, nor was the sentence of excommunication revoked. On that ground his restoration was strongly opposed by the sound party. To re-

move this opposition, and to draw the Pope into an approbation of their designs, both the emperor and Photius sent deputies to Rome. The papal chair was then filled by John VIII., who, although possessed of virtues, had not the discernment nor the fortitude of his two predecessors, Adrian and Nicholas. Photius in the statement of his case, had recourse to his usual tricks of falsehood and deceit; he roundly asserted, that in taking possession of the patriarchal chair he had acted by compulsion, and with the consent of his suffragans. Basil earnestly solicited his Holiness to sanction the re-instatement of Photius for the sake of peace. The hope of receiving succour from the Greek emperor, against the Saracens of Africa, who had invaded Italy, and threatened Rome, furnished a powerful motive to John for granting the request. John deputed three legates to Constantinople, with full powers to conclude this important business: their powers for the re-instatement of Photius were limited to the condition of his making a public retraction of his past errors, and of asking pardon before a synod of bishops. So humiliating a condition suited not the lofty spirit of Photius. He had already formed his plan, and was determined to carry every thing his own way. He had called together three hundred and eighty bishops, all devoted to his interest by a fatal versatility of genius peculiar to the Greek character. They assembled in the great church of St. Sophia, without waiting for the Roman legates; Photius took upon himself to preside, which he continued to do even after the appearance of the legates in the council, though he permitted them to sit upon a level with himself upon the same bench. The Greeks, with their president, were holding the first session, when the legates were announced and introduced. After the usual civilities had passed between them, Photius wished to know the object of their mission; they produced the Pope's letters, and said, that he would there find the matter fully explained. The reading and examination of these letters was put off to the second session. They were given to Photius, that a translation of them might be made out of the Latin original into Greek. This imprudent confidence of the Romans afforded to the Greek a favourable opportunity of omitting or inserting whatever suited his design. He took the advantage of it. A falsified translation of the pontifical letters was read in the second session with general marks of approbation. The legates sat silent, and their silence leaves no room to doubt of the guilt they shared in the falsification.

In the third session was proposed the re-instatement of Photius in the See of Constantinople; the conditions specified by the Pope, on which that was to be done, were likewise falsified, and the proposition passed unanimously. Thus Photius carried his point in the manner he proposed, without stooping to make any submission or apology whatever for the glaring irregularities he had been convicted of. The following sessions were employed in pronouncing fulsome panegyrics upon Photius's superior talents and vaunted virtues of humility, meekness, moderation, piety, and benevolence; in confirming his restoration to the patriarchal chair, in declaring all that had been done against him by the Popes Nicholas and Adrian, by Ignatius and their councils, to be null and void; in

denouncing the censure of excommunication against all such as should schismatically refuse to communicate with him ; and lastly, in proclaiming the union of the Greek and Latin churches to be finally concluded. The emperor assisted at the seventh and last session of this illegitimate council, and with the bishops subscribed its acts. By Photius it is called the eighth œcumenical council, and held for such by the Greek schismatics to the present day, though, in fact, it was nothing less than an execrable cabal.

The Pope received the acts of this convention, but under certain limitations, as far at least as concerned the condemnation of the eighth general council, which he never would consent to ; he ratified the union of the two churches, and the restoration of Photius, and although he disavowed the acts, and condemned the prevarication of his legates, yet he continued to hold Photius for his brother and co-adjutor in the episcopacy to his latest breath. His successors, Marinus II., Adrian III., and Stephen VI., refused to communicate with the impostor, and condemned him, as Nicholas and Adrian II. had done. Their censures remained without effect as long as Basil his protector lived. But after the death of that emperor, in 886, when his son Leo, surnamed the Wise, succeeded to the throne, Photius was a second time compelled to relinquish his usurped dignity, and to retire into a monastery of Armenia, where he finished his schismatical career, in 893.

The conduct of John VIII. in his transactions with Photius and the Greeks, is stamped with such marks of weakness, that the public voice has proclaimed it to be more like the conduct of a woman than of a man ; it has given occasion to the fabulous story of a female pontiff, as Baronius remarks, under the noted appellation of Pope Joan. Protestant writers dwell with delight upon the idea of a female Pope, and embellish the tale with a variety of ludicrous and indecent circumstances, for the entertainment of their readers, though with no great credit to themselves. Fiction has placed the existence of this remarkable heroine about twenty-two years earlier than Pope John VIII. ; it places the imaginary phenomenon between Leo IV. and Benedict III. giving it a duration of two years, and thereby destroys the credibility of its own production. Contemporary writers, living at Rome, link the death of Leo and the election of Benedict together, with the interval of five days only, in the same year 855. In the genuine writings of Anastasius, who lived and wrote at the time, no mention is made of this story ; a passage relating to it has been foisted into some manuscripts of that learned librarian, and it even appears in some editions of his works ; but as Mr. Gibbon observes,* in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the passage is a palpable forgery. The hundred and fifty authorities, which the advocates for Pope Joan's existence exultingly produce, are as so many echoes to one another, repeating in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, the same empty sound, without the substance of any real proof. The wonderful event, had it ever existed, would certainly have flashed with double force upon the writers of the ninth and tenth centuries. Would Photius in his

* Vol. 5, chap. 49.

invectives against the Roman See have spared such a reproach? Could the discerning Luitprand have overlooked such a scandal? The laughable phantom has long since been exploded by the more enlightened critics of the Protestant communion. Spanheim indeed, and Lenfant have made a pitiful attempt against Blondel and Bayle, to save their favourite engine of controversy from oblivion: Morshem even seems unwilling to give it up.

SECTION XIII. *Triumph of the Church over error.*

WITHIN the space of five hundred and fifty years the Catholic A.D. 887. Church held eight general councils to proscribe various heresies and errors, which at different times sprung up and disturbed her peace. These councils were all held in the east, where error had its birth. The inspired apostle told the Corinthians,* that there must be heresies. Heresies spring from the pride and perversity of man's heart, from the narrowness and blindness of his understanding, which cannot comprehend the sublime mysteries of divine faith, nor fathom the depth of revealed truths. By the abuse of reason, self-conceited man affects to call every thing into doubt which restrains his sensual appetites, and to believe nothing which his senses cannot reach. Christians, thus liable to err in matters that concern their eternal happiness, stand in need of some guide to direct their judgment in the right faith. This guide they have by Christ's own appointment in the establishment of his holy Catholic Church, which he has promised to teach all truth for ever by his divine Spirit,† against which the gates of hell shall never prevail,‡ and which he commands all to hear, under pain of being no better looked upon than the heathen or the publican.§ Vested with this authority, and directed by this unerring Spirit of truth, secured to her through every age to the world's end by the express promise || of her divine Founder, the church has always triumphed over the most obstinate efforts which the prince of darkness has at any time made, either to weaken her authority or to corrupt her doctrine. The trophies which she erected over the bloody persecutions of paganism, over the subtle sophisms of proud philosophy, and the more plausible opposition of Judaism, are visible marks of the omnipotent hand which created and supports her.

Scarce had the Christian Church begun to breathe under the fostering reign of Constantine, when Arius impiously attacked the Divinity of her Founder, and sounded the trumpet of rebellion against the purity of her doctrine. The church called her pastors together: and when they are thus gathered in the name of Christ, Christ is in the midst of them.** The question was fairly discussed and decided. Error was confounded; truth triumphed. Constantius, drunk with the cup of seduction, and after him the more violent Valens exerted their whole authority, with hundreds of temporising bishops in their train, to force upon the world the impious reveries of an Alexandrine presbyter, for the divine doctrines of the Son of

* 1 Cor. xi. 19.
§ Matt. xviii. 17.

† John xv.
|| Matt. xxviii. 20.

‡ Matt. xvi. 18:
** Matt. xviii. 20.

God. Arianism, for a time, committed woful ravages as long as she had the civil power for her support, but she quickly fell into variance with herself, she split into jarring sects and died away, leaving the church in triumphant possession of her primitive belief. After Arianism arose other monsters of the same infernal origin, though in different shapes, under the name of Macedonianism, Nestorianism, Eutychism, Monothelism, and Iconoclasm ; these for a while made furious war upon the church, and in the end furnished her with new subjects of triumph. In the adorable mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, in the divine and human nature of our blessed Redeemer, there is scarce an article which the speculative genius of the orientals has not misrepresented and wrested to a wrong sense. The church has constantly rallied round the centre of unity, and under the promised guidance of God's holy Spirit has victoriously repelled the insults of all her adversaries. By her, each contested article has been solemnly decided ; she has uniformly maintained the doctrines which she was in possession of from the beginning, and they who sought to disturb her peace by the introduction of new tenets, have never been able to prevail. A Constantius, and a Valens, could no more alter the church's faith, than a Dioclesian or a Nero could hinder its establishment.

But as we advance in our view of the Catholic Church through the subsequent ages, we shall discover new schisms and new heresies emerging from the dark abyss, all animated with the same bold assuming spirit, and bearing the same mark of the Beast in their forehead. In whatever age the sectary springs into public notice, he is pointed at as a stranger unknown to the christian world ; he is shunned as an ill-designing vagabond of spurious production, till by smooth and specious appearances he forms a party. Whatever boast he may make of the antiquity of his religious pedigree, he never can make his title good. The moment he begins to dogmatize against the ancient doctrines of the Catholic Church, he breaks the bond of alliance with Jesus Christ, her divine Spouse, and becomes the father of an illegitimate offspring. After a certain lapse of years, this new race of new believers may glory in their worldly power, and lord it over the genuine sons of light ; but this will not realize their pretensions to primitive belief. The highest degree to which they can possibly ascend for the antiquity of their Creed, will be to some innovating teacher, who from his infancy had been nursed and fed in the bosom of his mother church, till he unnaturally raised his voice to disobey and insult her. His name, his country, his connexions, his errors, his revolt, and separation from the body of the Faithful, are universally known, and authentic records will transmit them with disgrace to the latest posterity. The patronymic name of each new-born sect indicates the author of its first existence. The Arian dates his birth from Arius, the Nestorian from Nestorius, the Eutychian from Eutyches, the Pelagian from Pelagius, and all posterior upstarts in like manner cite their respective founders of belief. But none of these come near to the Apostolic age, the age of the Catholic Church's first institution. Every system or mode of faith, set on foot since that period, has not Christ for its author.

The real Church of Christ bears a name and character which the Apostles gave it in their Creed from the beginning, and which no sect has been ever able to arrogate to itself. The name of Catholic or universal has through every age characterized that church of which our blessed Lord constituted St. Peter the visible head after his ascension into heaven. St. Peter fixed his episcopal chair at Rome, and from that epoch the Church of Rome has been denominated the holy Catholic Church of Christ. Within her fold, all nations of the earth have been received upon their first conversion from Paganism to Christianity, so that in the words of Christ,* they make but one sheepfold, and one Shepherd. Notwithstanding the efforts which succeeding innovators have made to rob the Church of Rome of her holy Catholic title, either by misrepresentation of facts, or by the imputation of doctrines, which never entered into the symbol of her belief, she has triumphantly maintained her primitive characteristic unsullied and unbroken. Many nations have proved unfaithful to the grace of their vocation; they have not kept their first faith, they have gone out of the Catholic communion, and by an authority purely political have established a national Church of modern invention. Even in that appears the antiquity and the triumph of the holy Roman Catholic Church. For in spite of penal statutes, of proscriptions, of exclusions, and persecution, respectable remnants of Catholicity still exist amongst them, who bear a living and hereditary testimony to the faith of their forefathers, who incessantly relate to their children and their children's children by whom the change of religion was made, when and how the ancient form of worship was banished, and new creeds introduced. They trace their own religious pedigree to the very source of Christianity, and by an uninterrupted succession of pastors in the Roman See, ascend in one continued line to St. Peter, whom Christ appointed to govern and to feed his flock.

SECTION XIV. *England ravaged by the Danes.*

FROM the Eastern Empire we look back on the Western hemisphere, where we left Egbert sole monarch of England. A.D. 871. This renowned king had not long enjoyed the fruit of his conquests, which cemented the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom, when his peace was broken by the invasion of Danish pirates, who came over like swarms of locusts, and ravaged every thing that lay in their way. Christianity had but faintly shed its rays upon the coast of Denmark; the Danes were still a nation of ferocious heathens. Egbert opposed them with all that vigour which characterized his active genius, but unfortunately died before he had time to secure the country against their future insults. He left the throne to his son Ethelwolf, in 838, but Ethelwolf had neither the vigour nor the talents of Egbert. In his youth he had indulged an illicit passion, and by a concubine had a son called Athelstan. Touched with remorse, he vowed perpetual chastity, and entered among the monks in the abbey of Winchester, where he is said to have received the

order of subdeacon. He had an elder brother then living; this prince dying some time after, and leaving no issue to inherit the crown, Ethelwolf became heir apparent. Not to expose the nation to the danger of a civil contest about the succession, Egbert judged it prudent to ask a dispensation from the Pope for his son Ethelwolf to marry. His Holiness, Gregory IV. thought the petition well grounded, and freed Ethelwolf from his vow of celibacy in virtue of the power which Christ * gave him in the grant made to St. Peter. Ethelwolf took to wife Osburga, a noble and virtuous lady, by whom he had four sons, all in succession sovereigns of England, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred. During this king's inactive and pious reign, the Danes renewed their annual depredations almost with impunity, as no effectual measures were taken by government either to repel or to prevent their invasions. The unprotected husbandman was left to defend himself and property as he could. In the year 853, the devout king made a pilgrimage to Rome with his favourite son Alfred, then only six years old. He passed about a year at Rome in acts of the most fervent piety, and in his return through France married the princess Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald; for he was a widower. In 855 he called a national council of all England, to meet at Winchester. There, by the advice and consent of the bishops and nobles of the realm, he published a royal mandate for the payment of tithes to the church. One reason alleged for the new order was, that the clergy might hereby be disengaged from all temporal concerns, and be free to dedicate their whole time to prayer and other duties of the sacred ministry. Ethelwolf survived this religious act but two years; by will he divided the kingdom between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert.

Ethelbald was a profligate prince: in lust he emulated the incestuous Corinthian by taking to his bed Judith, his father's widow. The scandalous connexion caused so loud an outcry through the nation, that at the end of a few months he was obliged to yield to the strong remonstrances of St. Swithun, the bishop of Winchester, and to send the lady out of the kingdom. She afterwards married Baldwin, the first earl of Flanders. Ethelbald, by an humble submission to the penitential canons of the church, endeavoured to repair the public scandal he had given. His reign was short; his death, in 860, put his brother Ethelbert in possession of the whole monarchy, which he held for six years with great reputation. After his demise, Ethelred mounted the throne. The Danish invaders gave this valiant and active prince continual employment in the field during the whole eleven years that he reigned. He died of a wound which he received in battle, and left the inheritance of his crown, and all its thorny appendages, to his fourth brother, the illustrious Alfred.

During the four successive reigns after Egbert, the Danes never ceased to infest the English coast. In their flat-bottomed boats they ran up the rivers, and poured over the country innumerable shoals of savage plunderers, who stripped the inhabitants of their wealth, and wantonly destroyed what they could not carry off. Hinguar and Hubba, two brothers and commanders, particularly distinguished

themselves by the devastation which they spread through the eastern parts of the kingdom. They landed in great force on the north-eastern shore, pervaded Northumberland, penetrated into Mercia, and directing their march through Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Cambridgeshire, entered with fire and sword into the provinces of the Eastangles. Edmund, a virtuous prince of royal Saxon blood, there governed with the title of king, but with a subordinate power under the sovereign of England. Too weak to resist, he fell into the hands of the savages that came against him. They offered him life and liberty on certain terms. The terms were incompatible with religion; he nobly rejected them. Hinguar ordered him to be tortured, to be tied to a tree and scourged. the mob set him up as a butt to shoot at, till his body was covered with arrows, like the quills of a porcupine. Hinguar himself was moved with pity at the sight, and to end his pain at once, ordered his head to be struck off. King Edmund suffered in the year 870, and is honoured as a martyr. His body was buried in the principal town of Suffolk, which from that circumstance is called St. Edmund's-bury.

Plunder being the chief object of this desultory war, the barbarians seldom chose to risk the issue of a battle. If by chance they were sometimes surprised by the English, and drawn into an engagement, the check they received only served to provoke the desire of revenge. Being idolaters, they directed their rage in a more decisive manner against the churches and monasteries, which they first pillaged and then burned in hatred of the Christian name. Whole communities of religious men and women were inhumanly slaughtered by them, and their convents destroyed. The great monasteries of Winchester, of Bardney, of Croyland, of Peterborough, Ely and Huntingdon, fell one after another victims to their barbaric fury. Traces of their exterminating cruelty extended along the coast, from the banks of the Exe, in Devonshire, to the north of Tweed, in Caledonia.

SECTION XV. *Alfred the Great.*

KING ETHELBERT, the second brother of Alfred, left a son, who according to descent should have inherited the crown. That prince was then a minor; his grandfather, Ethelwolf, had overlooked him in his will, and bequeathed the kingdom to Alfred. Against the attacks of obstinate invaders, the nation then called for greater abilities than are usually found in a minor. A powerful enemy was in possession of no small part of its territory; the Danish rovers lay lodged within its bosom, and carried their depredations far and wide. The English were dispirited by misfortunes, they were divided into parties, and unwilling to unite for the common good. Under these disadvantages, Alfred, at the age of twenty-four, took up the reins of government. He began his reign like a christian hero, by putting himself and people under the protection of the Most High. His amiable and shining talents gained him the respect and confidence of all his subjects. He took care to represent to them the necessity of rousing from their drooping inactivity, and of exerting their collected courage in defence of

their country : he summoned the English youth to meet him in the field ; he infused the spirit of military order and discipline into them, and commenced a vigorous war against the enemy. In four successful campaigns he broke the insolence of the infidels, and reduced them to terms of peace. But perfidious men never think themselves any longer bound to the observance of terms than they have not the power to break them.

The barren sands of Denmark raised not sufficient crops to feed the increasing numbers of its inhabitants. The hungry and hardy savages swarmed from home into other countries, more for food than for conquest. They had long since discovered England, which held out to them not only the necessities, but the luxuries of life. A temporary plunder at first supplied their wants, and satisfied their ambition ; by degrees they aspired to conquest and a permanent settlement in the country. They called over fresh troops, and made vigorous efforts to repair the losses which they had sustained from the victories of Alfred. Vast hordes of fierce adventurers continued to land in the west of England ; they poured along like a torrent, swept every thing away before them, took the royal palace of Chippenham, in Wiltshire, and laid the country waste as far as Exeter. Alfred had not a force to stop their progress. His desponding subjects thought themselves abandoned by heaven, and for their sins delivered over to the scourge of faithless Pagans, whom no arms could resist, and no treaties bind. In vain did the intrepid Alfred strive to rally and to rouse them into action. The preservation of their property, of their liberty, of their country, and religion, had no influence on men who for a time seem to have forgot every loyal and patriotic principle. They ignobly slunk from the royal standard, and left their sovereign almost alone to manage as he could. A few faithful followers still remained steady in their duty, but their number was too small to make an open stand, or even to defend their royal master against any serious attack. Hard necessity obliged the deserted monarch to lay aside every mark of royalty, and to skulk about in disguise, watching some favourable opportunity of retrieving his affairs. He secured to himself and attendants a retreat in a boggy part of Somersetshire, between the Thone and Parret ; the spot now bears the name of Athelney. There he lay concealed for twelve months ; the Danes thought him dead, and no rival left to contest their power in the field. Secure as they thought of peaceable possession in their new settlements, they exercised a tyrannous sway over all the country. Oddune, the spirited earl of Devonshire, was at last roused to resist their insolence ; he armed his vassals, put himself at their head, and falling suddenly upon a detached party of their army, commanded by Hubba, completely routed them. Hubba fell in battle ; their enchanted banner, the noted Reafen, which they had been taught to revere as a certain pledge of victory, was taken by the conquerors.

The vigour displayed by the English on this occasion, determined Alfred to sally from his retreat, and to renew the war. He formed his plan for an attack upon the main body of the enemy's forces, which, in indolent security, lay encamped at Eddington, under the command of Guthrum, generalissimo of the Danish troops. He

dispatched emissaries to the most martial of his nobles, with a summons to prepare for offensive war, and to be ready with their warlike followers to meet him on the day and at the place he should assign. In the interim he took care to inform himself of the position and precise strength of the enemy. The stratagem he used on that occasion was new and hazardous. In the disguise of an itinerant harper he went to the Danish camp; the sentinel let him pass; he pushed forward to the tent of Guthrum. Guthrum was no less charmed with the tuneful variations of the melodious harp, than with the graceful skill of the musician. He kept him for some days. This gave Alfred all the time he wished to visit every quarter of the camp, to inspect their works, to observe their discipline, and to mark the advantageous points of attack. By a second notice he then ordered his trusty nobles to rendezvous at Brixton, upon the borders of Selwood forest. There he joined them, and seeing their eagerness for action led them straight to Eddington, where, from the observations he had made, he expected to meet with little or no resistance. The Danes in fact were wholly off their guard; they saw their intrenchments stormed before they knew an enemy was nigh; not prepared to fight, they fled in every direction, and left the English nothing more to do than to kill and take prisoners. They were completely routed.

Alfred vigorously pursued his good fortune; he allowed them no time to breathe or rally from their defeat; he dispatched troops on every side, and scoured the whole country. The infidels had now no resource but in the victor's clemency. They laid down their arms, cried aloud for mercy, and promised to subscribe whatever terms of peace the English monarch should please to dictate.

Alfred, no less generous in principle than brave in action, made them liberal concessions. He gave them the choice, either to become Christians and remain in England, or to be carried back into their own country without ransom. Policy, as well as religion, directed him to make them this offer. The length and fierceness of the war had reduced a great part of Northumberland and Eastanglia to a desert. The inhabitants were either slain or driven from their homes. To such Danes as chose to remain in England, Alfred allotted certain shares of those desolated lands for their own particular use, which was no small advantage to the kingdom at large. Among the many, who chose to remain and live under the protection of the English laws, Gothrum was the chief: Alfred invested him with a subordinate authority for the maintenance of peace and good order among his boorish countrymen.

SECTION XVI. *Achievements of King Alfred.*

THIS last overflow of the Danes, in 880, gave peace and security A. D. 900. to the nation for some years. Alfred, equally renowned for political as for military knowledge, immediately began to repair the damages occasioned by the war, and to guard against a renewal of them. He instituted a national militia, which was regularly trained, and always ready to march at the first alarm on an enemy being near. He considerably increased his navy, by which

he asserted his superiority at sea, and with advantage encountered the enemy upon his own element. Many of the towns up and down the kingdom had been burned and ruined by the Danes; those he repaired and rebuilt, besides numerous castles and fortresses, which he erected and fortified at proper places, so that the whole kingdom was like one united garrison of defence. But the most lamentable effect of this predatory war, was the mischief done to religion and morality. By destroying the monasteries, the Danes destroyed the nurseries of piety and learning; the monks were either murdered or dispersed, their libraries were burned, and their schools shut up: all study was at an end. Ignorance and licentiousness necessarily ensued. An illiterate and corrupt clergy entered the sanctuary, which they disgraced by their irregular and immoral lives. After a lapse of fifty years, that the horrors of war had lasted, the general ignorance was such, that few clergymen were to be found who understood the Latin service of the Church. Many of the deserted monasteries, during the public confusion, were seized upon by these unworthy members of the secular clergy, who, in defiance of their bishops and of all ecclesiastical law, there kept their concubines, and revelled in the indulgence of every sensual delight. Yet those are the men whom Archbishop Parker, in his *British Antiquities*, extols as shining lights of the sacred ministry, and patterns of the purest virtues. He styles them devout priests, religiously engaged in the state of lawful wedlock, gloriously emerging from the gloom of monkish superstition, and displaying to the Christian world the bright archetype of true piety.

Very different was the idea entertained by Alfred of those disorderly churchmen. That religious prince was ashamed of their profligacy and their ignorance. To correct the first, he enacted wholesome statutes, by and with the advice of his bishops; and to remove the second, he re-established schools in every part of England; he founded or repaired the university of Oxford, invited proper professors from abroad, and gave every encouragement in his power to the revival of letters and piety among his subjects. By his own literary performances, he at once supplied the dearth of living writers, and roused the application of drowsy students. For the benefit of the illiterate clergy he translated the ecclesiastical history of Bede, the Roman history of Orosius, the dialogues of St. Gregory, and the work of Boetius upon the consolation of philosophy. For the direction of his civil magistrates, whom he appointed to watch over the public polity of the land, he partly collected from his predecessors, and partly framed from his own superior knowledge, a code of excellent laws, which he took care to have well observed. No king was ever more beloved, or better served by his subjects, than the incomparable Alfred. With a lenity of temper which was natural to him, he enforced the strictest justice. In a judge or civil magistrate, whom he considered as the guardians of his people's rights, he never overlooked the least wilful act of injustice.

For the better administration of justice, and preservation of right order, he divided the kingdom into counties, the counties he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. A tything

consisted of ten neighbouring householders, who were formed into one corporation. Every man was obliged to register his name in some tything, under the penalty of being treated as an outlaw. By this wise institution no vagrant could stroll through the country with impunity, and no open misdemeanour could happen without being publicly noticed. All actions, whether criminal or civil, were tried in his courts of justice by a jury of twelve men of equal condition, upon oath. This trial by jury is the valuable privilege of Englishmen to the present day; the institution was Alfred's. Admirable indeed are all the institutions and achievements of this enlightened king, not only because they were attended with general utility to the nation, but because they were founded in principle, dictated by wisdom, and perfected by reflection. To promote the divine service, to restore piety and religion, and to make his subjects happy in the secure possession of every civil enjoyment, was the glorious object to which Alfred directed all his plans and all his undertakings. His hand and mind were never idle; by him no time was wasted in expensive or unprofitable amusements, the frequent abuse of wealth and independence. The twenty-four hours were divided into three equal parts, one of which, when not hindered by his wars, he allotted to study and prayer, the second to public business, the third to corporal refection and rest. The yearly revenues of his patrimony were divided with the same regularity into two equal shares; the first of which, in four equal portions, he assigned for the poor, for his schools, for the monasteries he founded, and his other occasional charities. The second moiety of his income was employed in three divisions, one to pay the officers and servants of his court, another to pay his workmen, the third to defray the expenses of hospitality and of his household. These superior qualities, which constitute the character of a great prince, were more than sufficient to have wiped away any blot that might have fallen upon it. But no writer in any age or country has ever charged the immaculate Alfred with a single vice. The discerning world has justly distinguished him among the monarchs of England by the surname of Great: and in effect, whether we consider him as a soldier in the field, as a politician in the cabinet, or as a Christian in his palace, labouring under all the disadvantages of the age in which he lived, perhaps we shall not be thought too partial or too bold in pronouncing him to be the most accomplished character that ever graced the British throne. He concluded a glorious reign of twenty-nine years by an edifying death, in the year 901, the fifty-fourth of his age.

Tenth Century.

SECTION I. *Rollo, first Duke of Normandy.*

WHILE England mourned to see her lands laid waste, her cities burned, and her fair monuments of piety destroyed by A. D. 912. fierce invaders from the north, France likewise experienced the same calamities from the same savage nation. The same spirit of enterprize and plunder which wafted the Danish galleys to the English shore, carried numbers of them at the same time to the opposite coast, upon the Continent. Danes, Angles, Jutes, and other savages lying round the borders of the Baltic, composed the formidable host. By one common name the French called them Normans, or men of the north, as they all came from a country situated to the north of France. Towards the beginning of the foregoing century these adventurers landed in great force near the mouth of the Rhine, and began an irregular and desultory kind of war upon the defenceless inhabitants. In armed bodies they made quick excursions through the country, and as quickly retreated laden with plunder, which they conveyed on board their galleys, before any regular troops could come up with them. In this manner they continued for many years to ravage the coast and territory to a certain distance along the banks of the Rhine and Meuse. Maastricht, Liege, Tongres, Cologne, Juliers, and Aix-la-Chapelle, were taken in their turn and plundered by them. The love of plunder drew them by degrees farther into the country. In the year 884, Hastings, one of their leaders, who had acquired some military skill, led them on through Flanders, Artois, and Picardy, carrying terror and desolation wherever he directed his march. The villages were reduced to ashes, the monasteries and churches were demolished, the highways were strewn with dead bodies, numbers, without distinction of age, sex, or rank, were either wantonly butchered or reduced to a state of servitude. But what was still more deplorable for the country, and more shameful to religion, many of the French themselves joined the standard of the infidels, and renounced their faith to share in the plunder.

Carloman, the son of Lewis the Stammerer, and grandson of Charles the Bald, a weak prince, then sat at the helm; he had neither troops nor courage to face an insolent enemy, who at the expense of France had learned to keep the field, to fight pitched battles, and to carry on a regular siege. He undertook to treat with the Danish chief, and by laying down a large sum of money, which he collected from the clergy, prevailed upon him to lead off his troops. Not long after he had purchased this shameful peace, he died of a wound which he received in the chase from a wild boar; he left no issue, but he had a brother known afterwards by the name of Charles the Simple, then an infant only five years old, and sole heir to the crown. On account of his age, and the turbulence of the times, the lords of France thought proper to set the

young prince aside, and to offer the crown to the emperor Charles the Fat. The offer was equally injudicious and unjust. For Charles, though lineally descended from Charlemagne, laboured under the debility, both of body and mind, which rendered him as incapable as an infant to support the charge which they offered, and he accepted. The Normans took the advantage of it, and demanded a fresh tribute. The demand was not complied with; they renewed hostilities, marched into the heart of France, and laid siege to Paris in 886. Charles, too infirm to act or to command, confined himself to his Germanic states, was abandoned by his subjects and dethroned. He died in the year 888, destitute even of the necessities of life, but what he received from the hand of charity.

Upon the death of Charles the Fat, the disjointed empire of the west tumbled again into pieces. Italy was split into separate states, and underwent various changes of government, as contending factions happened to prevail by turns. The princes of Germany placed Arnulf upon the imperial throne. Arnulf was the son of Carloman, Charles the Fat's brother. The lords of France chose Eudes, or Odo, the valiant earl of Paris, for their king, and the archbishop of Sens set the crown upon his head. Eudes was possessed of merit which may have rendered him worthy of a crown, but to the crown of France he had no other title than what the suffrages of the nobles gave him. The voice of election gave him regal power, and that power he vigorously exerted for the good of his country. He attacked the Normans, forced them to raise the siege of Paris, and to evacuate the kingdom. This important service gained him universal popularity; but his assumption of the crown discontented many. The principle of hereditary right formed a considerable party in favour of Charles the Simple, the posthumous son of Lewis the Stammerer. In the year 893, that party publicly acknowledged the young prince, about fourteen years old, for their king, and Foulques, the archbishop of Rheims, crowned him. Eudes, whose mind was above the suggestions of low jealousy, peaceably let the royal youth enjoy the empty title, while he possessed the power of king. He continued to govern France with sovereign authority till the year 898, when he died, and was buried at St. Denis's, among the kings of France.

The death of Eudes put Charles in full possession of the Gallic throne without a rival. The Normans thought it a favourable juncture for them to renew the war. Under the command of Rollo, a bold and warlike chieftain, they overran the greatest part of Neustria, since called Normandy, and committed dreadful ravages. These bloody scenes, with some interruptions, had desolated the different provinces of France for near seventy years. The dispirited French pressed the king to devise some means of putting an end to the war. The king, unable to repel force by force, took the resolution of making them his friends, whom he could not subdue as enemies. A truce of three months was agreed upon, during which time all hostilities were to cease, and a treaty set on foot for cementing a lasting peace and friendship between the two nations. On the part of Charles it was proposed to Rollo, that he should renounce idolatry, and embrace the Christian religion; on that condition the

king offered to give him his daughter in marriage, and to cede to him and his heirs for ever, all the territory of Neustria, which now bears the name of Normandy, as a fief of the crown of France. The offer and condition were accepted and executed. Rollo in baptism took the name of Robert, under which name he is known for the first sovereign Duke of Normandy. He caused his Pagan followers to be instructed in the Christian faith, made good the damages done by his Normans to monasteries and churches, enacted salutary laws, and encouraged the public practice of religion among all his new subjects.

SECTION II. *State of Religion in England.*

ALFRED was succeeded by his son Edward, surnamed the Elder, who, with the crown, inherited many of the good qualities of his illustrious father. In the beginning of his reign A. D. 944. he had to contend with a powerful competitor, Ethelward, his cousin-german, who being son to Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother, claimed a prior right to the throne. He was supported in his claim by a strong party of the English; the Danish colonies of Eastanglia and Northumberland joined his standard. The contest was maintained with great animosity on both sides, till Ethelward fell in battle, and left Edward in quiet possession of the throne. The scene of civil war was scarcely closed, when a foreign enemy appeared to break the peace of England. New swarms of Danes invaded the British coast; their perfidious countrymen, to whom Alfred had granted riches, and the privileges of English subjects, immediately joined them. With these foreign and domestic Danes, Edward was constantly engaged for the last fourteen years of his reign. By repeated victories he quelled them in the end. But the tumult, even of successful war, favoured not the peaceful habits of religion. Owing to the war, general had been the neglect of filling up the vacant Sees of deceased bishops; in the whole west of England not a single bishop was left; the inferior clergy were suffered to trample on the sacred canons of the Church, without shame and without restraint; the people, in fine, had no pastors to look up to for instruction, for edification, or for help, in their spiritual distress. Complaints of this forlorn state of the English Church being made to the sovereign Pontiff, John IX. his Holiness dispatched a pastoral letter to King Edward, in which he weightily admonishes and exhorts his Majesty to redress the growing evil. The king in consequence, as William of Malmesbury relates,* called a council of his chief clergy and nobles to deliberate with him upon the means of correcting the abuses complained of, and of complying with the Pope's just remonstrances. Plegmund, the archbishop of Canterbury, presided; by the king and council it was unanimously agreed that the vacant Sees should be immediately filled up, that in the west three new bishoprics should be erected, one for Cornwall, another for Devonshire, and a third for Somersetshire, that the parishes should be divided anew, and that Plegmund should be deputed to

* Lib. ii. chap. 5.

Rome for the purpose of obtaining the papal sanction to these regulations. Plegmund executed his commission to the satisfaction of all: upon his return he consecrated seven new bishops in one day, anno 906.* This was a great step towards the restoration of right order; but the evil had taken too deep root to be eradicated by one stroke.

Edward, after a vigorous reign of twenty-four years, died in 924, and was succeeded by his eldest son Athelstan, who by some of our English historians is falsely said to have been of spurious birth. Their assertion rests on a bare surmise, that no marriage ever existed between his mother Eguina and his father Edward, because it was never publicly declared. Eguina had beauty which captivated Edward's heart, but no nobility of blood to recommend her to a throne. Her marriage on that account was not formally proclaimed, though unequivocally acknowledged by Alfred. Hence those authors seem to have committed another oversight in asserting, that according to the custom of those times illegitimacy was no bar to the crown. By no facts does it appear that such a custom then existed in England.

Athelstan was an accomplished prince, universally beloved by his subjects, and feared by the old enemies of his crown, the Welsh, the Scots, and restless Danes of Northumberland. For the encouragement of piety and learning, he founded a noble monastery at Exeter, which afterwards became the cathedral, when the bishop's seat was removed from Crediton to Exon. He reigned sixteen years, and then dying without issue, anno 940, the crown devolved on Edmund his half-brother by Edgiva, his father's third wife.

Edmund was but eighteen years old when he began to reign. He was endowed with good talents, both natural and acquired; the steady and prudent conduct which he displayed in a short reign of six years, would have done credit to a riper age. He enacted several salutary laws for the establishment of right order both in church and state. The excesses of the incontinent clergy continued to give great scandal and disturbance in the nation. They kept obstinate possession of their concubines, and of the Benedictine monasteries. In vain did the bishops exhort, rebuke, and threaten. Ecclesiastical censures had no effect upon men who were grown callous by the force of evil habits. The measures hitherto adopted to make these hardened sinners sensible of their duty, had proved ineffectual. Strong measures became necessary. In the year 944, the king convened a numerous synod of bishops, abbots, and nobles, in which, by the joint concurrence of the ecclesiastical and civil powers, it was enacted, "That all clergymen in higher orders shall lead a chaste life conformably to the character they bear, under the penalty of forfeiting their temporalities, and of being deprived of christian burial if they die impenitent."

By writers little versed in ecclesiastical history, these coercive measures are frequently misrepresented as a tyrannical stretch of power over the natural rights of the clergy. But it is not so. When these clergymen took holy orders, they freely and solemnly bound themselves to observe the law of celibacy, which was annexed to

* Alfordi Ann. Vol. III.

that state, and which was known to be as ancient as the Church itself. Even the Centuriators of Magdeburg* allow the obligation of celibacy to be incumbent upon all who aspire to the office of bishop, of priest, of deacon, and subdeacon. "If a matrimonial connexion is any where formed by a bishop, priest, deacon, or subdeacon," says Epiphanius,† it is not according to the canon, but according to the sensual appetite of man." This canon was observed with religious nicety, as Bede testifies,‡ by the English clergy in his time; and so it continued till the Danish invasion opened a gap to every kind of licentiousness and vice. A degenerate clergy seized that opportunity of following the impulse of corrupt nature in contempt of the law, which at their ordination they had engaged faithfully to observe as long as they lived. Before their ordination the marriage state was open to their free choice, but being once ordained they were no longer at liberty to make that choice. Such was, and ever had been, the law and discipline of Christ's Church from the beginning. A cloud of testimonies, in proof of this assertion, might be produced from councils and the holy Fathers, as may be seen in all Catholic writers upon this subject. From these venerable testimonies it is evinced, that the laws, enacted under Edmund and others of the English Saxon kings against the uxorious clergy, imposed no new obligation upon them, but only tended by just punishments to correct and bring them back to the primitive discipline of their profession.

Edmund, through his own imprudence, met with an untimely death, in 946. According to annual custom, he gave a public banquet to his nobles on the feast of St. Austin, the Apostle of England. Leof, a notorious robber and outlaw, entered the hall; and being ordered out, refused to go. Provoked at his insolence, the king hastily rose from his seat, and seizing him by the hair, dragged him to the ground. During the struggle the ruffian drew his dagger, and buried it in the king's body. The king expired upon the spot.

SECTION III. *St. Dunstan, Primate of England.*

EDMUND left two sons, Edwi and Edgar, neither of an age to be vested with regal power. The voice of the nation called A.D. 961. upon Edred, the late king's younger brother, to take the reins of government. Edred was endowed with talents that fitted him for the important charge. He governed in his own name, styling himself king of Great Britain, and monarch of all England. The interests of his people, the suppression of vice, a zeal for religion, and the administration of public justice, directed the system of Edred's government, and merited him the character of a good king. By Mr. Hume he is of course stigmatized for a weak and superstitious prince, because, in the conscientious discharge of his Christian duty to God and man, he thought fit to ask and follow the advice of St. Dunstan, the prudent and virtuous abbot of Glastonbury. A lingering illness put an end to the reign and life of Edred in 955. Edwi, his eldest nephew, had now reached the seventeenth year of

* Century 7. † Herc. 59. ‡ Lib. iii. de Tabern. and In. chap. 1. Lucæ.

his age, and, though little qualified to reign, mounted the throne without opposition. St. Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, gave him the royal unction, and set the crown upon his head. Vicious by nature, and restrained by no principle of honour or religion, Edwi began on the very day of his coronation to show the nation how little he regarded his own dignity, or that of his crown. The fact is related by William of Malmesbury, and Matthew of Westminster, but more circumstantially by Osberne, a prebendary of Canterbury, and the writer of St. Dunstan's and St. Odo's life.

Among other females who shared in the amours of Edwi, were a certain unmarried woman, his near relation, of high birth and beauty, by name Elgiva, and her grown up daughter, whose name those authors have not mentioned. These wanton Sirens, who under the fairest features concealed the foulest ebullitions of a corrupt heart, had so far captivated the prince's affection, as to give them hopes that they should at last inveigle him into a consent to marry one of them. Always upon the watch for an opportunity to try the power of their charms upon a lascivious youth, they were actually waiting for him in an adjoining room. Impatient of delay, Edwi abruptly rose from table, and hastened to join them. Such behaviour on so solemn a day shocked the nobles who were feasting with him. They looked at one another, they murmured, and in the end concluded that two of the company should go in the name of the rest and bring the king back. The disagreeable task being given by common consent to the abbot of Glastonbury and his relation Kinsey, the bishop of Litchfield, they immediately repaired to the room, where they found the king without his crown, indecently lying between the mother and the daughter. To these the abbot first gave a stern rebuke for their lewd demeanour, then addressing himself to the king in a milder tone, he besought his Majesty to respect his royal character, and to return with him to his nobles who anxiously expected the honour of his presence. Edwi, grew red and angry at this intrusion of the deputies, and refused to stir : upon this Dunstan, taking hold of his hand, raised him upon his feet, placed the crown upon his head, and conducted him back to the banquetting room, leaving Elgiva and her daughter to vent their rage and threats of revenge against him to one another.

This minute relation of a fact so scandalous in itself, and all its circumstances, might be thought by some to be out of place, were it not that several of our first rated historians have most shamefully misrepresented it. With no other apparent view than to varnish vice, and to blacken the character of those eminent men whom our ancestors have ever beheld with veneration, these writers pretend that Edwi, at the time of his coronation, was actually married to one of those two favourite ladies, and that his conduct on that occasion did not exceed the bounds of decorum. And what completes the barefaced insult which they offer to their readers, they cite the names of those original writers, Matthew of Westminster, William of Malmesbury, and Osberne, as vouchers for the facts, which in their genuine narrative are expressly contradicted. These ancient authors unanimously assert, that neither Elgiva nor her daughter was then married, but that both had hopes of drawing in the king to

marry one of the two. In the second place they assert, that the familiarities which passed between the king and them both alternately were illicit and incestuous. The decisive words of Ganea and Pellex, used by William of Malmesbury, can leave no doubt in the reader's mind: yet Carte, in his translation of the Latin text, has ventured to construe those words into queen and wife. These errors of Carte, Mr. Hume has transcribed, and added to others of his own. It is on the daughter, whom he calls Elgiva, that he presumes to lavish the titles of queen and wife, contrary to the very authorities he quotes. In a foregoing page the same ingenious writer entertains his readers with a romantic account of St. Dunstan, of the celibacy of the secular clergy, and of the Benedictine Order in England. The account contains almost as many falsehoods as it has sentences.

Elgiva was not tardy in her revenge upon the guiltless abbot of Glastonbury. At her instigation the king banished him out of the kingdom, under the pretence of abuses committed by him in the late reign. Not satisfied with this, he vented his resentment against the whole body of Benedictines; he confiscated their goods, turned them out of doors, and gave their monasteries to the married clergy. These acts of tyrannic violence fell not only on the monks; they were felt by his other subjects, who were less inclined to bear them. The northern and middle counties refused to acknowledge him any longer for their king, they renounced allegiance to him, and transferred it to Edgar his younger brother. In other times such a revolt might have occasioned a civil war, then it had no other effect than a pacific division of obedience to two ruling powers.

Edgar, seeing himself peaceably acknowledged sovereign of the revolted counties, exercised all the rights of sovereignty over them. He considered the banished abbot of Glastonbury as his subject, and an injured man: knowing well his merit and abilities to promote the public good, he called him home out of Flanders, where he had passed a year in exile, made him one of his privy council, and soon after promoted him to the See of Worcester. St. Odo, the primate, performed the ceremony of his consecration.

St. Dunstan, so much famed for sanctity and talents in former ages, and now so vilely slandered in modern history, was born of noble parents in the county of Somerset: he received a literary and virtuous education in the monastery of Glastonbury, under certain Irish masters, who entered into possession of that house after the monks were dispersed by the Danes. Upon the death of his parents he inherited a plentiful fortune, which enabled him to found five religious houses. His rank, his abilities, and his family connexions, for he was nephew to Athelm, the archbishop of Canterbury, and to Elphegus, the bishop of Winchester, recommended him to public notice very early in life. The kings Athelstan and Edmund called him to court, that they might profit by his counsels. There he remained, till perceiving himself envied and calumniated by jealous courtiers, he spontaneously quitted the palace, and retired to his uncle St. Elphegus at Winchester. The holy bishop advised him to renounce the vanities of a worldly life, and to consecrate himself solely to God in a religious state. The young man, who

was then inclined to marry, resisted his uncle's advice for some time, but yielded in the end. The bishop gave him the monastic habit, and ordained him priest under the title of our Lady's Church at Glastonbury. Soon after his ordination he went to serve his church, which was in a ruinous condition; near it he built himself a small oratory, and a cell only five feet long and two and a half broad.— There he passed his time like another Antony of Egypt, in the exercise of the monastic virtues, prayer, fasting, watching, and manual work. King Edmund bestowed upon him all the ancient domains of that famous abbey, which had fallen to the crown. In consequence of this royal donation he built a new magnificent church, repaired the old abbey, and reduced it to a regular form. When the buildings were finished, he assembled a large community of the scattered monks, and was installed the nineteenth abbot from St. Brithwald, the first Englishman who governed that house. For the uniformity of domestic discipline in the Benedictine monasteries of England, St. Dunstan compiled what is called the Concord of Rules, which incorporates several old monastic customs with the rule of St. Bennet. In these religious employments the virtuous abbot passed his time, till banished by king Edwi, in the manner related above. He was recalled by Edgar, made bishop of Worcester, and four years after, in 961, was translated to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. It had been offered to him no less than three times, and as often humbly refused by him. Nothing but the king's will, and the public voice of the people, induced him to accept it at last.— Pope John XII. appointed him legate of the holy See.

SECTION IV. *Expulsion of the incontinent Clergy.*

THE death of unhappy Edwi, in 959, united England again into one kingdom under Edgar. The reign of Edgar, surnamed A.D. 967. the Peaceable, is one of the most fortunate we meet with in the ancient English history. His capacity for the administration of affairs was superior to most. Though naturally inclined to peace, he showed no aversion for war, and so guarded was he against the attacks of a foreign enemy, that no hostile Dane presumed to molest the British shore. Edgar, having no external danger to apprehend, turned his mind to the correction of those internal disorders which had long disgraced religion and the state. To repair the ruined monasteries, to revive the Benedictine Order, to remove the scandal of clerical concubinage, and to restore the chaste discipline of ancient times, was the religious ambition of King Edgar. It was a laudable undertaking, and although likely to meet with strong opposition, he was determined not to desist till he had completed it, on which so much good depended. He had an archbishop, vested with spiritual powers and endowed with talents, ready to concur with him, and to bring the matter to a happy issue. The undertaking being so very opposite to the principles which animated the first reformers of the sixteenth century, we are not to be surprised at the invectives, misrepresentations, slanders, and falsehoods, which we find in a Parker, a Godwin, a Jewel, a Fox, a Spede, and most other protestant writers, when they mention the subject of religion. The earliest writers amongst them have penned down their own fic-

tions for historical facts, their successors repeat them upon credit without further examination, and the calumny is thus handed down under the odious name of Popery, till it is generally thought to be true. Carte bitterly inveighs against St. Dunstan and the monks, because he hated them; Hume, the servile train-bearer of Carte, in all his ancient history has copied his abuse, because he hated religion. These authors acknowledge St. Dunstan to have been in universal repute for his holiness of life, but this they attribute to the sanctified cunning which they say he practised in concealing his violent and most insolent ambition from the eyes of the vulgar. They scarce allow him so much as a single virtue, they throw a veil of hypocrisy over his most religious actions, they ridicule his piety, they ascribe his works of penance to base motives; Mr. Hume acknowledges his canonization, but declares his name to be a disgrace to the Roman calendar. The assertion is bold indeed, but it indicates no proof that the author of it had received any special lights from heaven, which enabled him to tell us what passed in the heart of St. Dunstan, and to discover, even in his best actions, such vicious motives as no one in the course of eight hundred years had ever hinted at.

Mr. Hume is a popular author; his history is put into the hands of youth; his assertions are positive, his style seducing; his page is decorated with the show of ancient names, of an Osberne, an Ingulf, a William of Malmesbury, a Matthew of Westminster, the Saxon Chronicle; hence the unsuspecting reader fancies that nothing is there advanced but on respectable authority; but upon examination he would find, that by the help of false constructions, and the mutilation of sentences, those ancient authors are brought forward as vouchers for the very contradictory of what they have written. Reader, beware how you give credit to a writer who has thus artfully employed his talents to deceive you in points the most interesting for you to be faithfully informed of. By this enlightened Mr. Hume, we are gravely told, "that before St. Dunstan's time, the bishops and parochial clergy lived apart with their wives and families; that the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who lived in the convents after the manner of the present canons or prebendaries, not subjected to the rigid rules of an Order, bound by no rule of obedience, and still retaining the choice, without quitting the convent, either of a married or a single life; that the Roman Pontiff was making rapid advances towards an universal sovereignty over the ecclesiastics, and had undertaken to make all the clergy throughout the western world renounce at once the privilege of marriage; that celibacy then began to be extolled as the indispensable duty of priests; and that an additional force was bestowed on this argument by the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was now creeping in; that a mistaken piety had produced in Italy a new species of monks, called Benedictines, and that Dunstan imported into England this new order of monks, who much changed the state of ecclesiastical affairs."

A great deal of strange matter is here compressed into a narrow compass, without the least ingredient of truth. If Mr. Hume at the time he wrote did not know, he should at least have informed him-

self before he wrote, that the Benedictine was no new Order, that it had existed above four hundred years, that St. Austin and his companions, who first announced the Christian religion to the English Saxons, were monks of the Benedictine Order; that the monasteries in England, from the period of its conversion to the time of St. Dunstan, and long after, were solely founded for and occupied by Benedictine monks; that except the monks of Bangor, whose rule we are not acquainted with, the island of Great Britain had not received amongst its religious establishments any monks but those who professed the rule of St. Bennet; that no such species of monks as he describes, living in community without vows, without subordination, and with wives if they chose it, was ever seen in England or in the Church of Rome; that it was no ancient privilege, but an abuse for churchmen in holy orders, to contract marriage; that ignorant indeed or shameless must be the man, who, in contradiction to the Fathers, to the canons and councils of the Church, asserts, that such a privilege ever existed; that upon historical record the rule of celibacy for the clergy, and the doctrine of transubstantiation, are coeval with the apostolic age; that in the West the rule of celibacy has always been in force, and was so in the East, till the stray synod of Trullus, in 692, permitted the subdeacons, deacons, and priests of Greece, to live with the wives they had lawfully married before their ordination. This new permission of the synod in Trullo manifestly proves the ancient prohibition. But the relaxation itself was introduced under certain restraints, which rendered it less desirable. For the same synod that sanctioned the uxorious innovation, strictly forbids all clergymen in higher orders to marry after their ordination, and all bishops to cohabit with the wives they had taken before their ordination.

The oriental indulgence never was received in the West, where the primitive discipline was wisely retained, as it is to this day. The discipline is justly styled primitive; for history furnishes us with no decree or ordinance of the Church to give it a beginning; all the regulations made upon the subject from the earliest times, found it already existing, and they only tend to preserve its existence unprofaned, and to punish the violation of it. In a synod held by St. Gregory the Great, anathema is pronounced against any priest or deacon who shall presume to marry. Spelman's collection of English councils exhibits many similar ordinances, sanctioned by the civil as well as by the ecclesiastical powers; yet John Fox, with the same unblushing impudence as he published his acts of fabricated martyrs, gravely assures us, That the marriage of priests was forbidden by no law before the reign of Pope Gregory VII. 1073.

In and before the reign of Edgar, the licentiousness of the secular clergy was grown to an enormous height, not only amongst those who had seized upon the abandoned monasteries, but also amongst the canons and beneficed clerks. Archbishop Parker calls them pious and devout priests, lawfully married; but it does not appear that they thought so themselves; for though they cohabited with their women as if they had been their wives, yet they considered them as mere concubines, whom they discarded at pleasure to make room for others. Such at least is the account which Harps-

feld, Capgrave, Reyner, and the annals of Winchester, give of them : and their account is confirmed by the speech of King Edgar to the bishops, whom he had called together to deliberate with him on the means of putting an end to those flagrant scandals.

The king begins by reminding the assembled prelates of the sacred nature of those religious foundations which his pious ancestors had formed to promote the service of God and the salvation of men. " These sacred foundations, says he, " we now see sacrilegiously wasted by dissolute churchmen upon their dogs, their birds, and concubines. In vain have you expostulated, exhorted, and rebuked. The houses of the clergy are become the seats of riot and intemperance, the resort of libertines, of singers, and buffoons. The people murmur, all good men are scandalized. The evil encreases, efficacious remedies must be applied. The sword of St. Peter is in your hands, I wield that of Constantine. The spiritual power is yours, the civil mine. The joint exertion of both is necessary to suppress the present insults offered to religion, to banish vice, and to purify the polluted altar of God. Unclean intruders have taken possession of the sanctuary ; it is time they should be compelled to quit their concubines or their livings. Too long have they bid defiance to the laws, and all lawful authority. But still let justice be tempered with humanity ; let us give encouragement to repentance ; we offer them the choice either to submit to the chaste and ancient discipline of the Church, or to relinquish their ecclesiastical possessions." The king's speech was received with applause, and the measure he proposed was unanimously adopted. When the proposal of reform was made to the delinquents, many of them seriously repented, and retained their livings. But many more refused to relinquish their sinful habits, were consequently expelled, and their benefices bestowed on more worthy subjects.—From this epoch we find many of our cathedral churches were served by canons of the Benedictine Order. St. Dunstan successfully employed his interest and his zeal in repairing and re-peopling the great abbeys that had fallen into ruin ; so that he is generally looked upon as the principal restorer of canonical and monastic discipline over all England. St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and St. Oswald, archbishop of York, had no small share with him in the meritorious work ; they likewise share in the virulent abuse which the abettors of a different reformation in the sixteenth century most liberally bestow on him.

SECTION V. *Fall and Penitence of King Edgar.*

KING EDGAR, at the very time that he exerted his authority against the incontinent clergy of England, was labouring under A. D. 969. the performance of a heavy penance for the crime of the like nature. For although Edgar bore the character of a virtuous prince, yet he carried about him a domestic enemy, that betrayed him, as it did David heretofore, into the foul sin of adultery.—The fact is not dissembled by the writers of those times, though related by them in a very different manner from the account which our more modern historians give of it. Mr. Hume, who expresses

a strong resentment against Edgar for what he had done against the incontinent clergy, and who, in flat terms, represents him as a licentious hypocrite, and a violater of every human and divine law, endeavours to impose upon his readers, by referring them to Osberne, as a voucher for the truth of his narration, though contradicted by that very author in almost every circumstance, as he might have seen. "Edgar," says the Scotch historian, citing Osberne for his authority, "broke into a convent, carried off Editha, a nun, by force, and committed violence on her person; for this act of violence and brutality he was reprimanded by Dunstan, and obliged, not to separate from his mistress, but to abstain from wearing his crown during seven years." Osberne relates the fact in the following manner: "On a certain time King Edgar came to a convent of nuns at Wilton, and there, being captivated with the beauty of a young lady, who was there for her education, among others who had not received the veil,* desired to have some conversation with her apart. She, under an apprehension that the king might possibly have some wicked intention in demanding this private interview, took from one of the nuns as she went along a religious veil, and put it upon her own head, as a safeguard against any indecency that the king might offer. The king seeing her enter the room with a veil over her face, How suddenly, says he, are you become a nun: and against her will snatched the veil from her head. He then led her off, and gratified his passion with the loss of her honour. This happened a little before the death of Elfleda, or Ethelfleda, his first wife, in 962, and occasioned great scandal when it became public. St. Dunstan, being informed of the fact, watched a favourable opportunity of going to court, and, like another Nathan, reproved the king for his sin in strong but respectful terms. The king stood silent for some time, then casting himself at the archbishop's feet, with great marks of repentance, confessed his sin, and begged to be absolved. The archbishop judging of his interior disposition by the external signs he gave of sincere repentance, gave him absolution, but enjoined him a seven years penance. The king humbly accepted and faithfully performed it, with the spontaneous addition of other penitential works," as Osberne testifies. The penance enjoined him by St. Dunstan was, that he should not wear his crown for seven years to come, that he should fast two days in the week during that term, that he should give large alms, and found a convent for the reception of religious virgins. After having performed a penance of this kind, is it candid, or is it charitable, to accuse the penitent Edgar of hypocrisy in his humiliation? Edgar had sinned like David, and like David he repented of his sin.

"But," says Mr. Hume, "Edgar reconciled himself with the Church without separating from his mistress." Osberne expressly tells us, that the king received absolution from the archbishop; the king therefore gave satisfactory tokens of a true repentance, by expressing his sorrow for the past, and making an unfeigned promise of amendment for the future. Without this real conversion of the heart, which includes a serious resolution to avoid not only

* Iter non velatas nutriebatur.

sin but the occasion of sin, no absolution can be of any avail to the sinner as the king knew, as St. Dunstan knew, and as every Catholic knows, who knows his catechism. To ascertain the real circumstances that accompanied Edgar's fall and repentance, it is necessary to consult those very authors whom Mr. Hume so fondly names as vouchers for his own representation of the fact. Osborne says, "The king having received absolution, punctually performed his seven years penance; to which he added many other works of piety, that he might appease the wrath of God." Vide Spelm. Council, p. 481. Matthew of Westminster, William of Malmesbury, and Capgrave inform us, that the young lady, whom Edgar violated, was then no nun,* that her name was Wulfrith, not Editha, that she became pregnant from her criminal connexion with the king, that she brought forth a daughter named Editha, that the king after the death of his first wife, Elfleda, proposed to marry her, but that she, as soon as recovered from her lying-in, chose henceforth to live chaste and penitent, retired into the convent of Wilton, and took the veil of religion from the hand of St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester. Her daughter Editha likewise made herself a nun afterwards in the same house, and there died a Saint. Mr. Hume continues to indulge his wanton imagination in relating two other scandalous stories of Edgar, on the pretended authority of William of Malmesbury, as true facts; although that author relates them as mere reports, maliciously invented to asperse the character of that illustrious king.

A respect for royalty and for truth would not suffer those ancient authors to charge Edgar's frailty with crimes which did not belong to him. They candidly relate the licentious sallies of a sinful passion, which Edgar promiscuously indulged for near a twelvemonth, when he was happily reclaimed by the exhortations of St. Dunstan. Being then a widower, by the death of his queen Elfleda, he married Elfrida, the spirited and ambitious daughter of the earl of Devonshire, who bore him two sons, Edmund and Ethelred. The first died an infant, the second became king, and reigned six and thirty years. Edgar died in 975. Elfrida tried to place her own son Ethelred upon the throne, to the prejudice of prince Edward, the son of Edgar by his first queen Elfleda. Her intrigues with a seditious party did not then succeed. The bloody knife more effectually served her horrid purpose four years afterwards. She resided at Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire. The king was one day taking the diversion of the chase in the neighbourhood, and being thirsty, rode to the castle for a refreshment, unarmed and unattended.—The most poignant jealousy of an ambitious step-mother, instantly awoke in the heart of Elfrida. In Edward she beheld the only bar that hindered her darling Ethelred from being king. She had him now in her power. But she covered her rancour with expressions of kindness and courteously invited him in: which he not accepting, a refreshment was brought him, and as he put the cup to his lips, one of her servants stepped forward and gave him a mortal stab.—He dropped from his horse and expired upon the ground.

* *Quam certum est non tunc Sanctimonialein fuisse. Malm. 1. 2.*

Thus Edward, in the seventeenth year of his age, and the fourth of his reign, fell a sacrifice, not to religion, but to the wicked ambition of his step-mother. The innocence of this prince's life, his purity of manners, his tender piety, and zeal for religion in its primitive chastity, have distinguished him among our English Saxon kings; he is known by the name of Edward the Martyr.

Great disorders still existed within the realm. Notwithstanding the exertions of Edgar to bring back the concubinarian clergy to their duty, they still made an obstinate resistance, in which they received powerful protection from some of the nobility. Elfre, earl of Mercia, openly espoused their cause, and put them in possession of the monasteries within his jurisdiction, from whence he had expelled the monks. He was one of Elfrida's wicked advisers, and acted by her authority. God in his mercy was pleased at length to touch both their hearts with remorse. The earl with sincere regret lamented the unjust proceedings he had been guilty of against the church, and died a Christian penitent. Elfrida founded two convents for women, in one of which she took the veil, and spent the remainder of her days in the most fervent acts of devotion and penance.

SECTION VI. *Extinction of the Carlovingian race of Kings.*

THE imbecility of Charles the Simple, and the independent spirit of a turbulent nobility threw France into civil dissensions. A. D. 987. Some of the most powerful lords confederated against their lawful sovereign, whom they declared to be both unfit and unworthy to govern. On revolutionary principles, which have gained ground to a very alarming extent since that time, they resolved to transfer the crown to a prince who had talents to support its dignity and to maintain its rights. They cast their eyes upon Rodolphus, the political Duke of Burgundy; they placed him on the throne in the room of Charles, whom the faction confined in prison, till he died in 929. Rodolphus was acknowledged king by the nation, over which he peaceably reigned without a competitor as long as he lived. Charles the Simple was married to the princess Eguina, a daughter of our king Edward the Elder, and by her had a son, called Lewis. The queen seeing her husband dethroned, and trembling for the safety of her son only four years old, escaped with him into England, where she found protection in the court of King Athelstan her brother. At the death of Rodolphus, in 936, the lords of France invited Lewis to return from England, and to take possession of his hereditary kingdom. Lewis, from his long sojourn beyond sea, obtained the surname of D'outremer, reigned eighteen years, and left behind him two sons, Lothaire, and Charles, Duke of Lorrain. Lothaire succeeded his father, reigned thirty-two years, and was succeeded by his son Lewis V. Lewis, a weak prince, after a reign of two years, died without issue. Upon his death, the crown by hereditary right devolved on Charles of Lorrain, his father's brother. But Charles had offended the lords of France; they once more broke the line of succession, and called their favourite Hugh Capet, the active and intriguing Earl of Paris, to the throne.

Duke Charles made a feeble effort to assert his right; but he fell by treachery into the hands of his competitor, who sent him prisoner to Orleans, and confined him for life. Hugh Capet was solemnly proclaimed king, universally acknowledged and crowned by the archbishop of Rheims on the third of July, 987. With the elevation of Hugh Capet ended the Carolingian line of kings in France. Hugh became the father of a new royal race, whose descendants on the principle of hereditary right swayed the sceptre of France in one continued line till the year 1791, when a levelling and anti-christian revolution overturned the whole frame of government, both in church and state, and threw the whole nation into a chaos of anarchy and democratical confusion.

Charles the Fat was the last French monarch who bore the title of emperor. Upon his death, in the year 888, the princes of Germany elected his nephew Arnulf for their sovereign, who soon after went to Rome, was crowned by the Pope, and took the title of emperor. From that time oriental and occidental France became two distinct kingdoms, and were ever after governed by distinct sovereigns. The sovereigns of Germany were called kings or emperors, as they procured their coronation from the Pope. The ceremony of a papal coronation was thought to render his person more sacred and more respectable to his subjects, but it conferred no temporal power, as issuing from the Pope to the new crowned sovereign, who, previous to that ceremony, was considered to be in full possession of his temporal independence. Arnulf died in the year 899, and left a son, called Lewis, who reigned twelve years with the title of King of the Romans. Dying without issue, in him was extinct the royal posterity of Charlemagne in Germany. In France it protracted a declining existence seventy-six years longer, as we have just stated, when it finally disappeared. The Germans being now no longer associated with the French in the same empire, became their hostile rivals in power: they offered not the crown of Charlemagne to his only surviving heir, Charles the Simple, but requested Otho, Duke of Saxony, to accept it. Otho, on account of his advanced age, declined the honour, and recommended Conrad, Duke of Franconia, to their choice. Conrad reigned eight years as King of Germany. When he found himself drawing towards the end of life, he proposed for his successor Henry the son of Otho, Duke of Saxony, as a prince the best qualified to govern the kingdom in those turbulent times. Henry, surnamed the Fowler, was accordingly elected king, and reigned seventeen years. By his queen St. Mathilda, he had three sons, Otho the Great, his successor; Henry, Duke of Bavaria; and Bruno, who became bishop of Cologne, and a saint. Otho at his accession had a heavy war upon his hands. The Hungarians, a fierce and warlike people, had for some years past burst out of their confines, and carried fire and sword thro' the adjacent provinces. They now renewed their hostilities with greater violence. They ravaged Franconia, Upper Germany, and Gaul, as far as the ocean; they then broke into France, and penetrated into Italy.

Italy, from the end of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, was become the seat of faction and civil discord. The ecclesiastical state was kept in a long and disgraceful servitude by the ambition of rival senators, by the Marquisses of Tuscany, and the Earls

of Tusculum. By these petty tyrants the patrimony of St. Peter was torn to pieces and sacrilegiously usurped. The Popes were not masters in their own capital. Raised by faction, as it happened, or by intrigue, they lost their personal respectability, were often insulted, imprisoned, and even murdered by the prevailing party. Two sister prostitutes, Marozia and Theodora, daughters of the lewd Marchioness of Tuscany, governed Rome by their political influence and criminal intrigues. To these disorders the Popes themselves contributed in no small degree. After Stephen VI. who died in 891, succeeded Formosus, Stephen VII. Romanus, Theodore II. John IX. Benedict IV. Leo V. Christophorus, Sergius III. Anastasius III. Lando, John X. Leo VI. Stephen VIII. John XI. Leo VII. Stephen IX. Martinus II. Agapitus II. John XII. Leo VIII. Benedict V. John XIII. Benedict VI. Donus II. Benedict VII. John XIV. Boniface VII. John XV. Gregory V. Sylvester II. Between the years 891 and 999, here are one and thirty Popes; their number is a clear proof, that the reigns of many of them were short, and their end dishonourable. Sergius III. exhibited a spectacle of scandal, of which the christian world had never known an example, a sovereign pontiff clasped in the lewd embraces of a notorious prostitute. Sergius III. without regard for the dignity or the holiness of his pontifical character, publicly avowed his criminal connexions with Mazoria; by her he had a son, who, under his mother's influence, crept afterwards into St. Peter's chair by the name of John XI. To the infamy of his spurious birth he added personal vice, in which he was shamefully imitated by many, who, in that century, were raised to the papal throne, without the virtues to merit or support their elevation. Protestant writers here exult in the disgrace of the Roman pontiffs at that time, and wildly fancy, that in the papal dress, thus defiled with vice, they behold the scarlet petticoat of the Babylonian harlot. These writers, instead of imitating the filial piety of Sem and Japhet, in drawing a cloak over their father's shame, as modesty would dictate, indecently laugh with Cham, and by dwelling with malignant pleasure upon vices incident to mortal men, even in the most exalted stations of life, wantonly insult their mother church. The insult affects neither the truth nor the holiness of her doctrine. Those vices of her first pastors are merely personal; they are not the result of her belief. Her existence rests not on the personal merit of any man: it is founded on the power and promises of Christ, who has engaged his word to lead her into all truth, and to abide with her to the end of time. On such grounds her faith can never fail. But scandals will still happen; they are a natural consequence of the depravity of man's heart; when they happen within the sanctuary, they are grievous indeed: they are one of the many trials which the Christian Church has to undergo; they tend to tarnish the lustre of her virtues, and to shake, if it were possible, the foundation of her faith. Dark gathering clouds often cast a dismal gloom over the earth, and seemingly threaten to blot out the light of day; but the sun's glorious orb never ceases to shine in a sphere far above their reach, and as the clouds disperse, breaks out upon us with undiminished brightness. Such is the triumph of the Church over all the temporary misfortunes that accidentally befall her.

SECTION VII. *View of the Tenth Century.*

FROM the general decay of morality and learning, the tenth century is commonly accounted one of the dark ages of the church. We have already given a cursory sketch of the devastations caused in England, France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, by the repeated incursions of Danes, Normans, Hungarians, and Saracens. Besides the calamities of foreign invasion, intestine broils and civil revolutions threw Italy, Germany, and France into strange confusion. In the tumult of successive wars we have seen the seminaries of piety and learning overturned, monasteries and cities smoking in their own ruins, the schools abandoned, students and professors flying from the sword of barbarous invaders. Hence ensued a general decay of science, a disuse of literary improvement, a neglect of civil and ecclesiastical discipline, gross ignorance, and licentiousness of manners, in the highest ranks of society. But amidst all these disorders that lay rankling in the very bosom of the church, the church preserved her doctrine untainted, her faith unaltered and immaculate. The efficacy of our blessed Saviour's prayer for St. Peter, that his faith might not fail,* was eminently conspicuous. In the iron age of Christianity, as Mr. Gibbon expresses it,† the triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated. In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the reign of the gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia. A laudable ambition to extend the kingdom of Jesus Christ, excited the monks of Germany and Greece to visit the tents and huts of barbarians in the northern and eastern regions of Europe. Their motive was pure and meritorious, their courage active and patient; poverty, hardships, and dangers, were the lot of those apostolical missionaries; a holy life, the force of truth, and the gift of miracles, were the only arms by which they conquered. The seeds of Christianity had been sown in Russia, as we have related in the foregoing century, but the conversion of the country is properly to be dated from the baptism of the great Duke Wolodomir, in 988.

This propagation of the gospel amidst the new converted nations of Europe, may in some measure atone for the insults done to religion by her own degenerate children. But the fatherly providence of God, who desires the conversion, not the destruction of sinners, left not even these, notwithstanding their infidelities, without helps to repentance. He raised up amongst them zealous and holy men, who by word and work sought to retrieve them from evil. In England we have seen St. Dunstan and his episcopal coadjutors, under the vigorous support of Edgar, successfully labouring in the reform of a corrupt clergy. In Germany we find St. Bruno, the learned archbishop of Cologne, and brother of Otho, redressing the abuses which an iniquitous age had introduced. To put a stop to the disorders that reigned in Italy, Otho went thither at the head of his army, in the year 962. He was received in Rome with loud accla-

* Luke, xxii. 23.

† Vol. 5, chap. 55.

mations by the clergy and people, and solemnly crowned emperor by the Pope, John XII. who had invited him to come. Strange irregularities and uncanonical proceedings had for some years back attended the election of a new Pope. John himself had been elected when only eighteen years of age. To prevent all such irregularities in future, certain regulations were proposed and adopted, though with little effect, as the event showed, towards obtaining the main point. Respecting the imperial election, two maxims were then established, 1. That the prince elected in the German diet, should from that instant be acknowledged sovereign of the kingdoms of Italy and Rome; 2. That he could not legally assume the title of emperor before he was crowned by the Roman Pontiff. Otho, now vested with the imperial crown and title, issued a public mandate for the restoration of all lands and property which had any ways been dismembered and usurped from the holy See. He had a respectable army at hand, and was instantly obeyed. This done, he confirmed by a solemn deed the former grants of Pepin and Charlemagne, under the same limitation of reserving to himself and heirs the supreme jurisdiction in civil matters over the Roman state and its dependencies, by the right of appeal. Otho died in 973. His victories, his activity, his magnificence, his justice, and religious virtues have gained him the surname of Great. His son and grandson, both of the same name, swayed the imperial sceptre in succession after him.

In the beginning of the tenth century France beheld the famous monastery of Cluni, the seminary of many learned and holy men, rise in the county of Macon, within the duchy of Burgundy. William, the good Duke of Aquitaine, wishing to testify his gratitude to God for the ample possessions he was master of, dedicated a part to pious uses, and, among other acts of religious liberality, founded the house of Cluni, as an asylum for the reception of such as might choose to serve God in holy solitude, free from the cares and temptations of a corrupt world. The first monks of this monastery, twelve in number, formed a particular congregation, under the direction of their own abbot, Bernon. They followed the rule of St. Bennet in its full rigour. For regularity, for zeal, for learning, and the spirit of piety, the community of Cluni soon grew into repute, and excited many to an imitation of the same pious plan of Evangelical perfection. The institution spread through France into Belgium and Lorrain, and greatly contributed to the revival of letters, and reform of manners among the clergy.

Eleventh Century.

SECTION I. *England again invaded by the Danes.*

THE Danes, whose appetite for plunder was not satiated, ventured again to visit the English coast, where they had great booty and little resistance to expect. In them nothing but the impulse of human passions appeared to be the spring of action, but in the secret designs of Providence they were the instruments of divine justice to chastise a degenerate and dissolute people. The young Ethelred had stepped into the throne over the dead body of his murdered brother; the queen dowager, his mother, had pointed the bloody knife against the beloved Edward, she encouraged the refractory clergy, and countenanced a public violation of the laws to strengthen her own power. A.D. 1012.

In this posture of affairs a small body of Danes landed upon the southern coast of England, to reconnoitre rather than to attack the country; they raised some contributions, and went off unmolested. Emboldened with success, they returned not long after in greater numbers, penetrated into the interior of the kingdom, and committed sad outrages. The ancient spirit of the nation seemed to be extinct. The nobles were disunited; none were disposed to risk their fortunes or their lives to support a government equally weak and unpopular; the idea of repelling force by force was abandoned, recourse was had to money. For the sum of ten thousand pounds the plunderers agreed to evacuate the country, and to return home. Peace, thus procured, was not so much a cessation from present hostilities, as an encouragement for future aggressions. The Danes so understood it: within the lapse of a few years they returned no less than three times with fresh forces, fresh insolence, and fresh demands. No part of the kingdom was safe from their incursions; their depredations were cruel, their exactions enormous. The nation became in a manner tributary to those fierce invaders. The sums required to purchase their departure were raised by a heavy and disgraceful tax, under the title of *Danegelt*.

The calamities of those times have furnished matter for the most violent invectives against the memory of King Ethelred, as the guilty cause of them all, though in many of them during his minority he could have no share. Historians, without sufficient grounds for their assertions, load his character with almost every kind of vice and cruelty. Though not endowed with that martial prowess and activity of mind which many of his royal predecessors had displayed, yet he was by no means destitute of merit; and had he reigned in less troublesome times, or had he been better served by those whom he was forced to employ, Ethelred might have had the reputation of a virtuous and pacific prince. In the history of his life no sufficient foundation appears to justify the harsh censures

which those authors lavish on him. No private vice, no domestic irregularity, no conjugal infidelity, no public abuse of power, is proved against him. It was Ethelred's misfortune not to be beloved by his subjects; but greater still was his misfortune to be surrounded by traitors and cowards, while a ferocious enemy was preying upon the very vitals of his kingdom. Yet under these discouraging circumstances, Ethelred did not abandon either himself or his people. He equipped a strong fleet, set a powerful army on foot, put himself at their head, and marched against the enemy. But cowardice and treachery robbed him of the success which his exertions deserved. Some of his lieutenants in the counties betrayed his councils to the Danes, with whom they kept a close correspondence, while his officers in command turned their backs upon the enemy in the field of battle, and refused to fight. It is ungenerous and unjust to criminate an unfortunate monarch, as those authors do, for misfortunes of which he was the victim and not the cause.

Seeing how little reliance was to be had upon his own faithless subjects, Ethelred had sought to strengthen himself by a foreign alliance with Richard II. the potent Duke of Normandy. Being a widower by the death of his queen Elgiva, he offered to marry Emma, the duke's sister, hoping, by that connexion with a Danish race, to fence himself against the insults of a Danish invasion. The marriage took place in 1002, the year in which the Danish massacre is said to have been perpetrated by Ethelred's order. That Ethelred could be so destitute of humanity and of sense as to think of celebrating his marriage with a princess of Danish descent by the slaughter of every Dane within the realm, is not credible, nor does the execution of such an order, had it been given, appear to have been even practicable. The discordant account given of it by different writers clearly show that they had no certain grounds to go upon. Some pretend that the bloody scheme was planned by Ethelred himself, and that he dispatched letters through all England for its execution on the same day, upon every Dane, without distinction of age or sex; others relate, that he only consented to it at the suggestion of Huna, the general of his army. By such an execution great part of Mercia, Eastanglia, and Northumberland, chiefly inhabited by the colonial Danes, must have been depopulated.—They were too intimately connected with the English to be kept wholly ignorant of the design, too widely spread to be taken unawares, and too numerous to be butchered all in one day. With greater probability it is thought, that some of those discontented Danes whom Alfred had settled in the country, may have suffered military execution for treason or sedition, to which they had always shown themselves inclined.

Ethelred reaped not the advantage he expected from his alliance with the Duke of Normandy. Pressed as he was with difficulties on every side, he assembled the prelates and nobles of the realm to deliberate with him upon the best means of rescuing the sinking state from destruction. In that assembly many good regulations were sanctioned, for the benefit of the church and state; to avert the scourge of heaven, inflicted by the Danes, it was ordained, that

a strict fast should in future be observed on every Friday, except when a festival concurred. This observance remained in force from that time, 1008, to the year 1777, when for just reasons it was abrogated by his late Holiness Pius VI.

In the year 1013, Sweyn, the fierce and enterprising King of Denmark, landed on the English coast with a formidable army, and began a more destructive war than England had experienced since the days of Alfred. From the western point of Devonshire, to the eastern shore of Kent, the whole country was laid waste, the towns were plundered and burnt. Canterbury suffered all the calamities that follow the rueful fate of being taken by storm. Elphege, the archbishop, presented himself before the conqueror to plead for his helpless flock; he pleaded without effect; his expostulations were sternly rejected, he had the merit and the glory of dying a martyr in the discharge of his pastoral duty. The whole country was now in the utmost confusion. Queen Emma fled with her two sons, Alfred and Edward, into Normandy; the king, perceiving that he had as much to fear from his faithless subjects as from the common enemy, followed her soon after. Sweyn crossed the Thames and marched into Eastanglia, where he had a strong party ready to join him.—Death cut him short in the middle of his career, in 1014, and gave the English time to breathe awhile from the ravages of war. Ethelred returned from Normandy, and made some weak efforts to restore order in the state. But the difficulties he had to struggle with surpassed his abilities. In the following year, Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, came over with fresh troops; Ethelred led his army to oppose him; treachery defeated his attempts.—Edric, the powerful and perfidious Earl of Mercia, who had long carried on a secret correspondence with the Danes, threw off the mask, and joined the Danish standard. This gave a fatal blow to the royal party. The desponding king quitted the field, and shut himself up in his metropolis, where he died in 1016.

SECTION II. *Edmund Ironside, and King Canute.*

THE unfortunate Ethelred, who, by his mother's crime had obtained the crown, left it in very disadvantageous circumstances A.D. 1016. to be struggled for by Edmund his son, the issue by his first marriage with Elgiva. Edmund, who on account of his bodily strength is surnamed Ironside, hastened to the north, where his rival was carrying every thing before him. Canute now no longer fought for a temporary tribute, or for plunder, but for sovereignty itself. The English in that part of the kingdom favoured his pretensions. Edmund soon perceived, that resistance was useless in a country which had either submitted or was ready to submit to a foreign master. The southern counties remained steady in their attachment to the Saxon race of kings. Edmund roused them to arms, and led them against his enemy. The nation was thus divided into two contending parties. The middle and northern counties acknowledged Canute for their king, the west and south stood firm in their allegiance to Edmund. The two rivals being equally animated and equally eager to bring the contest to a speedy issue, were

equally forward to try their strength in the field. Much blood was spilt in a very short time; nothing was decided. To spare the effusion of English blood, it was proposed and agreed, that the two competitors should decide the quarrel by single combat. They accordingly met in the small island of Alney, which divides the current of the river Severn, near Gloucester. Innumerable spectators crowded along the banks in anxious suspense for the event on which a crown depended. The two royal combatants seemed a match for each other; they were both in the vigour of youth, in dexterity and strength of body equally conspicuous. The struggle was long and obstinate. Neither being inclined to own himself conquered, Canute at last proposed a compromise, which Edmund accepted.— They agreed to divide the kingdom between them. A line of partition was drawn, the sword was sheathed, and civil discord ceased. But Edric, the perfidious Earl of Mercia, being wholly devoted to the Danish interest, had taken his resolution not to see the power of England weakened by a division of territory between two sovereigns. To complete all his former treasons against his native sovereign, he procured the assassination of Edmund before he had reigned a month. Canute upon this was acknowledged king by the whole nation.

Canute was an active prince, no less politic than brave. Policy put him upon measures to secure the crown, which his bravery had won. Edmund, his late antagonist, had left two sons, Edmund and Edward; and though they were then too young to form or to head a party against him, yet he apprehended the time might come, when their presence, and the claim of hereditary right, might chance to shake his throne. He thought their presence could not fail of keeping up a spirit of opposition to the Danish government, and of stimulating a desire in the English to see the old Saxon race restored. He was sensible that the ravages of war, rather than an attachment to his person, had induced the English to receive him for their king. By profitable experience he had learnt, that the English nobility at that time were not to be relied on; that they might as readily play the same treacherous game against him as they had done for him, and were as capable of betraying him as they had their native sovereign, should the temptation be suffered to remain amongst them. The odious Edric, who had murdered the father, advised the murder of his sons. Canute did not disapprove of the advice: but he was afraid of shocking his new subjects by its execution in England. He therefore sent them to his friend and ally the King of Sweden, whom he instructed to see they were speedily dispatched. The Swede, who had a horror of shedding innocent blood, sent them into Hungary, where he concluded they would be as much out of the way of giving any future trouble to Danute, as if they were really dead.

Hungary was at that time governed by King Stephen, who reigned from the year 997, to the year 1038. Why William of Malmesbury calls him Solomon, no reason can I find, after a diligent research. His account is certainly far from being accurate. The Hungarian king, whom he calls Solomon, is known in other histories by the name of St. Stephen. William of Malmesbury

says he was married to Gisela, the daughter of St. Henry peror; he should have said the sister of St. Henry. For never had a daughter; by mutual consent he lived in perfect continence with his empress St. Cunegunda, whom he left, as he declared in his last illness, as pure a virgin as he had received her.—The King of Sweden therefore sent the two English princes to St. Stephen, King of Hungary, who took them under his protection, and gave them a princely education in his palace. Edmund, the eldest, who is called Edwin and Edwi, died without issue; Edward, the youngest, surnamed the Outlaw, married Agatha, the Queen of Hungary's sister, and consequently the sister of St. Henry, the emperor. The issue of this marriage was one son, Edgar Atherling, and two daughters, Christina and Margaret; the first made herself a nun at Winchester, the second married Malcolm III. King of Scotland; both the sisters have a place among the Saints.

SECTION III. *Coronation of Edward the Confessor.*

FROM the two distant sons of Edmund Ironside, Canute had no further apprehensions: but there were two other Saxon A. D. 1043. princes nearer home, Alfred and Edward, the sons of King Ethelred by Emma, who gave him great uneasiness. These princes, with their mother, were in Normandy, under the protection of the duke their uncle. To guard against the danger that might spring from thence, the political Dane made proposals of marriage to Emma, and in order to gain the duke's consent, promised to settle the crown of England upon the issue he might have by that marriage. The insidious proposal was acceded to notwithstanding the dishonour and injustice which accompanied it. Richard approved the contract and Emma consented to marry the man who had dethroned her first husband and proscribed his race: she agreed to see the children of her former marriage unjustly disinherited; she left them in Normandy, went to England, and gave her hand to Canute, indifferent as it seems, whether a Briton or a Dane swayed the sceptre, as long as she were queen.

Canute's next concern was to reconcile the English to his government, which he tried to do by every popular act in his power. He lessened the expenditure of public money, by sending back into Denmark as many of his expensive followers as he could spare with safety, and incorporated the rest with the English natives. In a general assembly of the states he confirmed the ancient laws of the land, which he took care to have strictly observed, making no distinction between English and Danes in the execution of public justice; he ratified all their national customs; and to convince them that he was no friend to treason, he inflicted condign punishment on all those who had betrayed their former sovereign to serve him. Edric, the infamous Earl of Mercia, had boasted of being the author of King Edmund's murder to promote the interest of Canute. Canute, for his just recompense, ordered his head to be struck off, and his body to be thrown into the Thames.

Canute by these means having secured his power in England, sailed to Denmark, where the King of Sweden had attacked him. He re-

turned victorious, and in a second expedition attacked and subdued Norway. He had now attained the summit of his ambition, but still was not satisfied within himself. Christian sentiments, which he had imbibed in his youth, kindled in his soul that restless desire of something more, which no earthly pursuits can allay or gratify. His success in war, the pride of conquest, the extent of dominion, and the adulation of smiling courtiers, could not make him happy. He cast his view towards that future existence in which alone the cravings of an immortal soul can be fully satiated. He endeavoured to make reparation for some of the many evils which he had brought upon the English nation. The last six years of his life shine with Christian deeds, and as far as the building of churches, the endowment of monasteries, and the foundation of chantries can atone for the crimes of unjust aggression and usurpation of another's kingdom, have stamped upon his memory the character even of sanctity. He made a pious pilgrimage to Rome, but we do not find that he made any reparation whatever to the royal family which he had so barbarously injured. The crown of England he considered as his own by right of conquest. After a successful reign of nineteen years, he died at Shaftsbury, in 1035, leaving three sons behind him, Hardicanute by Emma, Sweyn and Harold by a former wife; Harold succeeded him, to the prejudice of Hardicanute, and reigned four years, without credit to himself or benefit to his subjects. Dying without children, he left the succession open to his half-brother, Hardicanute. This prince, at the end of two years, was suddenly carried off by an act of intemperance in 1042, and with him ended the royal race of Denmark in England.

The Danish conquest had caused an interruption of about six and twenty years in the Saxon line of succession. The English wished to see it restored. The sudden death of Hardicanute, without issue, opened a fair opportunity, which they resolved not to let slip. The nobles assembled and deliberated on the subject of their choice. They agreed to offer the crown to Edward, the only surviving son of Ethelred and Emma, and half-brother to Hardicanute. Edward was then in Normandy; Godwin, the potent Earl of Kent, was deputed by universal consent to make him an offer of the crown, which, after some hesitation, Edward accepted. The elevation of this amiable prince to the throne of his ancestors diffused general joy through the nation: on Easter-day, in the year 1049, he was crowned and anointed king by Edsius, the archbishop of Canterbury.

SECTION IV. *Greek Schism.*

AFTER the disgrace of Photius, the prime mover of the Greek schism in 886, the Church of Constantinople enjoyed peace for some years. His immediate successor in the patriarchal See was Stephen, and after him Antony, a holy monk; both have a place in the Greek calendar. After the death of Antony, succeeded Nicholas, the emperor's secretary, a man of pure morals, but inflexibly severe. No regard to persons, circumstances, or times, could ever induce them to depart from any rule of the Greek Church. The Greeks were averse to second marriages. Their ecclesiastical

discipline subjected those who married a third time to a rigorous course of canonical penance: fourth marriages were absolutely forbidden. Leo, the reigning emperor, having had the misfortune to lose three wives one after the other, without an heir to the crown, ventured upon a fourth marriage with Zoe, though he durst not acknowledge it at the time. In the following year, 905, she brought him a son, whom he wished to have solemnly baptized as his son and heir to the crown. The patriarch refused to comply, unless the emperor would solemnly promise to separate from the mother. He promised; the infant was christened with the usual ceremony; Zoe soon after appeared at court like an empress, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Leo besought the patriarch to approve his marriage; the patriarch refused, for which he was deposed and banished. Enthymius, a man of probity, was put in his place; among the bishops, some approved, others disapproved the fact; a schism ensued. Leo died five years after, in 911, but the schism continued till the year 920.

Romanus Lecapenus, an intriguing courtier, had effected a marriage between his daughter and the young Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of Leo and Zoe. In consequence of this marriage, Constantine made him his colleague in the empire. Romanus, now vested with the purple, began very soon to assume a superiority over his son-in-law, removed Zoe from the palace into a convent, and restored the patriarch Nicholas. The subject of fourth marriages, which had caused the schism, was then discussed in a public assembly, and a decree formed under the direction of Nicholas, which absolutely rejected all fourth marriages as unlawful. The patriarch sent his decree for the Pope's approbation. There the matter rested; the desired approbation never was obtained.— Nicholas died in 925, was succeeded by Stephen, the metropolitan of Amasce, who lived but two years after his translation to the patriarchal See; upon his demise, Tryphon, a monk, was ordained patriarch, on condition that he should resign the dignity and power of governing that church as soon as Theophylact, Romanus's son, was of an age to receive it. Five years after, Tryphon, according to agreement, retired to his convent, and Theophylact, at the age of sixteen, took upon him the sacred and important office of patriarch. He held it for three and twenty years, exhibiting to the world an equal display of vice and folly. The enormous expence which the keep of two thousand horses put him to, forced him into the most criminal acts of simony: he had his fixed prices for ordinations; he set up the bishoprics and church livings to public sale. By these scandalous and profane practices he continued to disgrace the mitre till the year 956, when a contusion he received from one of his horses, by running against a wall, occasioned his death.

Constantine, who became sole master upon the demise of Romanus, his haughty father-in-law, in 944, promoted Polieuctus, a learned and virtuous recluse, to the patriarchal chair. This emperor was a lover and promoter of science, which of late years had been shamefully neglected in the east as well as in the west. But he had unfortunately a son too greedy of power. Romanus the Younger, so called to distinguish him from his grandfather, procured poison to be ad-

ministered to his father Constantine, who in consequence fell into a lingering state, and died in 959. The unnatural son enjoyed the fruit of his parricide only four years, and then died of a decay of nature, brought on by vice. He left two sons, Basil and Constantine; their tender age gave an opportunity to Nicephorus Bardas, an officer in the army, of creeping into the throne. To strengthen his authority, he married Theophania, the widow of Romanus, his predecessor, but gained not her affection. She resolved to dispatch the man whom she could not love. For this purpose she procured an order for John Zimisques, who commanded the armies with signal success against the Bulgarians and Russians, to repair to Constantinople. He came; Nicephorus was murdered in his bed that very night, and Zimisques was proclaimed emperor in 969.—After a reign of six years he was carried off by poison, and the two sons of Romanus the Younger, Basil and Constantine, were acknowledged joint emperors. Basil reigned fifty years, famous for his victories over the Bulgarians, and died in 1025. His brother Constantine survived him three years, and reigned alone, a profligate and unprincipled prince through life. Being upon his death-bed, and given over by his physicians, he sent for the patrician Romanus Argyrophilus, and said to him, “Choose either to quit your wife, and to take one of my daughters with the imperial crown, or to have your eyes plucked out.” Romanus was perplexed what to do. His wife, to free him from that perplexity, made herself a nun, falsely thinking that the bond of matrimony would be thereby dissolved. Zoe, one of Constantine’s daughters, agreed to marry him, the mercenary patriarch Alexis gave him the nuptial benediction, and crowned him emperor. Zoe soon after marriage gave her affections to one Michael, a Paphlagonian money broker, whom she was determined to make her husband and emperor. For the accomplishment of her wicked purpose, she administered to her husband, Romanus, a dose of poison, which being slow in its operation, she instigated the Paphlagonian to dispatch him in a quicker manner. He did so, and the patriarch Alexis, with the help of a bribe, joined the two murderers in the bands of wedlock. Michael reigned seven years, till the year 1041, when he abdicated the crown, and took the habit of a monk to do penance for his sins. He died the same year. Zoe then expected to have the sole direction of the empire; but for that she had neither talents nor authority. In the present situation of public affairs she found it necessary to have an emperor; she recalled Constantine Monomachus from exile, made him emperor, and her third husband. Constantine was naturally gay and jovial, fond of pleasure and sensual enjoyments; the purple altered not his idle mode of life; so that government, instead of gaining strength by his promotion, became more and more languid, public order more and more neglected.

That so general a depravity of principle and morals, added to the strong antipathy which animated the Greeks against the Latins, should end in schism, is no matter of surprise. From the time of Photius that antipathy had increased; their union hung by a slender thread, repeated symptoms of a final separation had appeared in the reigns of Nicephorus and Basil. Every thing seemed now

ripe for the fatal event. The patriarch Alexis died in February 1043, and the emperor immediately named Michael Cerularius to succeed him. Michael had worn the habit without the virtues of a monk. Violent by nature, he had been banished for attempts against the state; being raised to the patriarchal chair, he began by facts and writings to display his inveterate prejudices against the discipline and doctrine of the Latin Church. Inferior to Photius in talents and learning, though his equal in virulence and invective, he strangely misrepresented the history of past times to enforce his slanderous assertions against the Latin rite. He assumed the pompous title of universal patriarch, and condemned the Roman See as guilty of heresy, for holding that the Holy Ghost equally proceeds from the Father and the Son. Every thing seemed to portend an approaching schism. St. Leo IX. who was then Pope, did all in his power to prevent it. He appointed the celebrated Cardinal Humbert, with two other legates, to repair to Constantinople, and to confer with the patriarch Michael upon the points in dispute. The emperor received the legates with distinctive marks of honour and respect; the patriarch refused to see or communicate with them.—The legates tried every lenient measure, till perceiving nothing could be done with a man so obstinately wrong, they drew up an act of excommunication against him, went with it into the great church of St. Sophia, and in the presence of the clergy and people laid it upon the altar, and immediately retired. In going out they shook the dust from their shoes, according to the gospel injunction, then went to the palace, took leave of the emperor, and quitted Constantinople. Soon after their departure Michael published an act of excommunication against the Bishop of Rome, and the whole Latin Church. This passed in the year 1053. From that epoch is dated the great schism between the Greeks and Latins, which continues to this day. By denying the procession of the Holy Ghost from God the Son as well as from the Father, the Greeks add the crime of heresy to that of schism. Michael having declared himself the independent head of the eastern church, grew insolent against his sovereign. He consequently fell into disgrace, and was banished to the island of Proconesus, where he died in 1058.

SECTION V. *Revival of Discipline.*

AFTER the death of Pope Silvester II. in 1003, the chair of St. Peter was filled by John, commonly called the eighteenth, be- A. D. 1055.
cause John XV. having not been consecrated, and John
XVI. being accounted an antipope, some disagreement of authors
has arisen in numbering the Johns. John XVIII. had for his suc-
cessors John XIX. Sergius IV. Benedict VIII. John XX. Benedict
IX. Gregory VI. Clement II. Damasus II. St. Leo IX. Victor II.
St. Stephen X. Nicholas II. Alexander II. St. Gregory VII. Victor
III. Urban II. Paschal II. in 1099.

When the limits of the eastern and western empires were settled between Charlemagne and Irene, the empress of Constantinople, the Italian dominions were divided. Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, were assigned to the eastern empire, the rest to Charlemagne and his

successors. The Saracens after that made frequent and successful descents from Africa upon the Sicilian and Italian coasts. The Greeks were too weak to offer any effectual resistance. The emperor Otho I. marched an army into Italy in 962, as has been said, chastised the petty tyrants of the country, restored the ecclesiastical state to its former possessions, drove the Africans out of Calabria and Apulia, and by right of conquest laid claim to the territory they had occupied. That right the Greek emperor confirmed in favour of Otho II. upon his marriage with Theophania, the daughter of Romanus the Younger. The Saracens, unwilling to abandon their former conquests, returned to the attack, were joined by the perfidious Greeks, and expelled the Germans in their turn. They remained masters of that lower part of Italy for some years, till Tancred, a gallant Norman, arrived with a powerful army of adventurers in 1008, and finally dispossessed both Greeks and Saracens. From that time the Norman chiefs became the Dukes of Apulia and Calabria, to which they afterwards added Sicily, and all the lands that lie between Naples and the Roman territory.

Otho II. from whom the Greeks and Saracens recovered all that his father had conquered in Italy, reigned ten years, and dying in 983, left his son Otho III. an infant four years old, in possession of the empire. This prince dying without children in 1002, the imperial electors chose his cousin Henry, the Duke of Bavaria, for his successor. Henry by descent was heir to the kingdom of Germany, being the great grandson of Henry the Fowler; he is known by the name of St. Henry. This religious king, for that was his title, till crowned emperor at Rome in 1014, being convinced that God had invested him with temporal power for no other purpose than to promote the happiness of his subjects, and the service of his Creator, turned his whole mind to those two important objects. For the correction of public vice, and the revival of ecclesiastical discipline, he roused the zeal of his bishops to concur with him in making such regulations as appeared suitable to the design. For the support of his crown his maxim was to repel, never to provoke hostilities. When foreign invasion engaged him in war, he prosecuted it with vigour in justice to his subjects: victory ever followed his banner. The troubled state of Italy required his presence; he entered Rome in triumph, Benedict VIII. set the imperial crown upon his head in 1014. By an ample diploma he confirmed the territorial donations made by his predecessors to the holy See, obliged the usurpers of its property to make restitution, and authorised the Norman adventurers to keep possession of the country which they had wrested from the infidels. Equally prosperous and religious was the reign of this Christian emperor to his dying day, in the year 1024. Having lived in the habit of continency with his empress Cunegunda, he left no issue. To the electors of the empire he recommended Conrad, the virtuous duke of Franconia, for successor to his earthly honours. Conrad was unanimously elected, and crowned at Rome by Pope John XX. In governing the empire he pursued the system of his predecessor, and thereby rendered his reign both honourable to himself and useful to his people. He died in 1039; his son Henry III. surnamed the Black, a just and religious prince, suc-

ceeded him. Grief at the sight of public calamities, to which he could discover no end, brought this pious emperor to the grave in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. For his successor he left an infant son, five years old, Henry IV. unfortunately destined by divine permission to give fresh cause of affliction to all good men.

St. Peter's chair had for some time been occupied by a succession of unworthy prelates, the disgrace and shame of the pontificate, as we have noticed above. God suffered not the scandal to go on beyond a certain period. Those scandals, while they lasted, had dishonoured the holiness, but had not altered the purity, of the Church's doctrine. The holy See recovered its former lustre; ancient discipline revived. St. Leo IX. who was chosen Pope in the year 1049, eminently distinguished himself, both by word and work, in doing away the abuses of the age. Active and zealous to banish scandal from the sanctuary, he refused no labour, and shrunk from no danger, where he thought his presence useful to religion. He visited France and Germany, assembled councils, exhorted and rebuked with all that apostolical authority which he judged conducive to the reformation of a depraved clergy. Incontinence and simony had taken deep root amongst them; vigorous measures were adopted and pursued to eradicate the evil, which, through length of time and the influence of bad example, was become inveterate and almost general. When public vice is once grown so common as to be no longer accounted shameful, the life of one man, however strenuous his endeavours may be, is too short to effect a total change.

SECTION VI. *Heresy of Berengarius.*

IN addition to the scandals which dishonoured the Church in the tenth and eleventh century, a new heresy sprung up, A. D. 1060. never known or heard of in the first ages of Christianity. The east had hitherto been the prolific parent of spurious doctrines. Self-conceited dogmatists of Constantinople and Asia, at different periods had advanced their blasphemous assertions against the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, and Jesus Christ the Incarnate Son of God, but not one of them all had yet presumed to dispute the real presence of Christ's body in the holy Eucharist. Berengarius, archdeacon of Angers, and a native of Tours, in France, was the first who publicly expressed his thoughts against the universal belief of that divine mystery. This churchman, possessed of no great talents, of some learning, and of no small vanity, taught in the public schools at Tours about the year 1050. Lanfranc, a monk of the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, gave lessons of theology at the same time, with such applause that many flocked from different parts of France to hear him. Berengarius, being piqued to see himself deserted by many of his hearers, hazarded some new positions to draw himself into public notice. They were chiefly three, the first was against infant baptism, the second against marriage, which confined a man to one woman only, the third was against the real presence of Christ's Body in the holy Eucharist. His two first propositions were universally exploded at first hearing, and he said no

more of them. The third gained some attention from a few of his hearers, who formed their judgment of revealed truths, not by faith, but by outward forms and appearances. Faith in this, as in all other divine mysteries which surpass the reach of human understanding, is grounded on the word of God: that word we receive by hearing,* not by seeing, not by the taste, not by the touch or smell. The words of Christ are express, *This is my Body, This is my Blood;*† they are so clear that no one can mistake the obvious sense and meaning of them; in that sense they have been universally understood by the Faithful in all nations for the first ten hundred years of the Catholic Church.

In opposition to this primitive and universal belief, Berengarius ventured to assert, that the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ were contained under the eucharistical forms of bread and wine in figure only, and not in reality. This figurative explanation of Christ's clear words was so new and shocking to the Faithful, that it gained but little credit. He then altered his tone, and had recourse to the unintelligible term of *Impanation*, which Martin Luther has since called *Consubstantiation*, as if the substance of our Lord's Body was blended and identified with the substance of bread in such a manner as both to be really present. These strange doctrines, unknown in the first ages of Christianity, being broached abroad, began to make a noise; the people were scandalized; the bishops, ever watchful against all innovation in matters of faith, took the alarm; in the year 1050 no less than three councils were held at Verceil, at Paris, and Rome, to examine and discuss Berengarius's propositions upon the holy Eucharist. He was cited to defend or reject them; of the citation he took no notice, and to the charge of false doctrines his answer was, that he had taken them from a treatise of John Scot, and believed them to be true. All three councils were unanimous in condemning the propositions, as contrary to faith. This John Scot was a native of Ireland, a smart philosopher, but no divine. He left his country to go into France, where he was well received by Charles the Bald, about the year 850. He composed a treatise, it seems, upon the holy Eucharist, which is now lost; it had never obtained any credit, it had sunk into oblivion, when Berengarius took it down from the dusty shelf, where it had lain for two hundred years, undisturbed, unnoticed, and unknown. But being then brought forth in defence of error, it was sentenced to the flames, and the opinion of Berengarius was pronounced heretical. These censures wounded the innovator's pride, but did not change his heart. He continued still to dogmatize, and by his insinuating manner he seduced many into error. Several councils were consequently held, in which his doctrine was repeatedly condemned. He went to Rome in 1059, and there made a full retractation of his errors, according to the formulary delivered to him by Cardinal Humbert. But Berengarius was neither steady nor sincere. No sooner had he quitted Rome, than he wrote against his own retractation, and began to propagate anew his old heterodox opinions.

In the year 1079, St. Gregory VII. held a council in Rome, at

* Rom. x.

† Mark xiv.

which a hundred and fifty bishops assisted. Berengarius appeared before them, with full liberty to plead all he could in favour of his opinion. What the Catholic Church at that time believed on the subject of the holy Eucharist, there could be no doubt. Whether the Church had always believed the same was then the question. To ascertain this point, recourse was had to the fathers and doctors of the Church, unexceptionable vouchers for what was taught and believed in their days. Ignatius,* who lived in the apostolic age, Justin† the Martyr, Irenæus,‡ Athanasius,§ Hilary,|| Cyril of Jerusalem,¶ Chrysostom,** the great Council of Nice, Ambrose,†† Austin,‡‡ Jerom,§§ Cyril of Alexandria,||| and others their cotemporaries, give clear evidence, that the belief in the real presence was the primitive belief of Christianity. Berengarius owned himself to have been deceived, threw his writings into the fire, abjured his error a second time, and pronounced his profession of faith before the council in the following form. "I, Berengarius, anathematize all heresies, and namely that of which I stand accused. In word and heart I sincerely hold and profess the faith which the Pope and Council prescribe concerning the Eucharist, according to the authority of the Gospel and the Apostle, to wit, That the bread and the wine which are placed upon the altar, are by the powerful words of Jesus Christ substantially changed into the true Body and Blood of our Lord, so that after the consecration the same body is there really present, which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was nailed to the cross, and is now seated in heaven, at the right hand of the Father. So help me God, and his holy Gospel."

Berengarius having given this public satisfaction to the Church, returned in peace into France. His subsequent conduct has made it doubtful whether he was sincere in any of his retractations, which were generally followed by a relapse. It is, however, thought, that he at last died a sincere penitent, in communion with the Catholic Church, in the year 1088. His heresy expired, and silently lay buried with him in the same grave, till after the lapse of some centuries the spirit of innovation called it forth again, and strange to relate, a British parliament has set it up as a public test of civil orthodoxy. Without respect to the inviolable right of conscience, this test contains, in express terms, a solemn declaration, which directly contradicts that of our divine Redeemer to his apostles at the last supper.

SECTION VII. *Norman Conquest.*

WE have seen Edward, the Confessor, chosen by the nobles of the land to succeed his half-brother Hardicanute in the A. D. 1066. British throne. His nephew, Edward the Outlaw, had certainly a nearer title; but he was then in Hungary, and to leave the throne vacant till his return, was thought to be attended with great political danger. The troubled state of the nation, the dis-

* Epis. ad Smyr. † Apol. 2a. ‡ L. 4o. contra hæc. § Theodoret Dialogo 2do. || Lib. de Tri. ¶ Cat. 4a. ** Hom. in Mat. †† De Sac. L. 4o. ‡‡ Ser. 2o. Tom. 11. §§ Com. in Epist. ad Titum. ||| Ep. ad Rest.

contents of the English, the intrigues of the Danish faction, and the example of former times, justified the nobles in placing the uncle upon the throne. Edward's exaltation was acceptable to all parties; his descent from the old Saxon line, by his father Ethelred, endeared him to the English, and his being son of the same Queen Emma, as the late King Hardicanute, gained him the good will of his Danish subjects. The wise system of his government, making no distinction between English and Danes, gradually extinguished all animosity between the two nations, and by one common tie of interest encouraged them to emulate each other in their exertions for the public weal. By those who judge of regal greatness from the pomp of enterprise and success in war, the meek piety of Edward may be thought more suited for a cloister than a palace. But on a close inspection of his character they will find him possessed of virtues which eminently qualified him for the government of a Christian nation. Having been inured from his youth to the hardships of adversity, he knew how to feel for the sufferings of others; he had spent near thirty years of his life in the court of Normandy, which gave him experience and a knowledge of mankind. Having no ambition but that of reigning in the affection of his subjects, he made his government as light and as easy to them as the public safety would admit. He imposed no new taxes, he took off some of the old ones. The odious tax of Danegelt, which his father Ethelred first imposed to redeem the kingdom from devastation, and which the Danish kings had since swept into the exchequer to enrich themselves, Edward generously remitted. His own private patrimony furnished him with the sums he wanted to discharge the obligations of justice, to reward desert, to relieve the indigent, and to answer the purposes of religious liberality.

The peace of Edward's happy reign suffered a short interruption from the political intrigues of Godwin, earl of Kent. This nobleman, whose immoderate wealth and popularity seemed to raise him above the rank of a subject, took upon himself to dictate to his sovereign. A partiality, which the king was thought to show to his followers from Normandy, furnished the earl with a plausible pretext for his insolence. His towering spirit aspired to the throne.—With that view he at once proposed a marriage of his daughter Editha with King Harold the Dane; and that the crown might be secured without a competitor to the issue of that marriage, he had even planned the murder of the two princes, Alfred and Edward, who were come from Normandy to England upon a visit to their mother, Emma, the queen dowager. Alfred unfortunately fell into the assassin's hands, and was murdered at Guilford, in his way to London. Edward made a speedy retreat into Normandy. His escape disconcerted Godwin's plan, and hindered the projected marriage between Harold and Editha. This accomplished lady, highly extolled by Ignulf, who knew her for her amiable qualities, was upon a reverse of fortune, given in marriage by her father to the very Edward whom he had intended to destroy. This connexion rather increased than diminished the insolence of that haughty earl. Impatient of controul, he levied war in order to force the king, his son-in-law, into such terms as he should please to dictate. But

Edward, with all his meekness, and with all his piety, was not to be dictated to by an overbearing subject. Godwin's power sunk in the contest; he lost his titles and estates in punishment of his rebellion; but through the mediation of his friends he recovered them again soon after. A sudden death in 1053 prevented him from plotting more mischief; his son Harold inherited his vast possessions, which he employed in paving himself a way to the throne.

Edward, on the other hand, was anxious to transmit the sceptre into the hands of a prince who had an exclusive right to it. With this view he sent a solemn deputation to his nephew, Edward the Outlaw, still in Hungary, inviting him to come with his family into England, that he might be ready on the spot to make good his claim to the crown of his ancestors. The prince, with his son Edgar, and two daughters, Margaret and Christina, arrived from Hungary in 1056, but died a few days after he landed. His son Edgar then became the heir apparent, whom the Confessor ever treated as such, and to whom he gave the distinctive title of Etheling, designing him beyond a doubt for his successor in the throne; nor can it with any appearance of probability be presumed, that Edward, a lineal descendant of the ancient Saxon Kings, could ever think of altering the succession in favour of a Norman, the known object of jealousy and dislike to the whole English nation.—The story of a verbal promise or a written will made by the Confessor in Duke William's behalf, is treated by the critics as a mere fiction, set forth by the Norman writers to justify the cause of an unwarranted invasion. No such promise has ever been proved, and no such will has ever been produced. The duke himself set up no other title than that of conquest; the public voice has distinguished him by no other appellation than that of William the Conqueror.

Edward during his exile in Normandy had made a vow of going in pilgrimage to Rome, as soon as an end should be put to the misfortunes of his family. Being settled on the throne he thought the time was come for the accomplishment of his vow; he took the advice of his council upon the matter. The council decided, that his absence would expose the kingdom to fatal danger, and entreated him to lay aside his design. The king consented to have the matter laid before the Pope, St. Leo IX. His Holiness judged it would be imprudent for the king to leave England in the present juncture, and on that account freed him from his vow, on condition that he distributed in alms to the poor a sum equal to what he would have expended in his journey; secondly, that he should build or repair and endow a monastery for divine service, in honour of St. Peter. On receiving the Pope's brief, the pious king pitched upon a spot, lying to the west of London, where he erected that noble structure, called Westminster Abbey. It was the work of years; as soon as finished, it was solemnly consecrated on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, in 1065, nine days before his death. He was taken ill while assisting at the ceremony of the dedication, and died on the fifth of January 1066, after a prosperous and religious reign twenty-three years and some months.

Two aspiring competitors for the British crown had been long

looking and long preparing for this event, Harold, the son of Godwin, and William Duke of Normandy. A third competitor was Edgar Etheling, the legal heir by descent. But the capacity of this weak prince was generally thought unequal to the task of governing an unwieldy nation; few came forward to urge his claim, nor did he himself show any great inclination to enforce it. Harold immediately stepped into the throne without opposition, and, as it appeared, had the chief strength of the nation to support his pretensions. William of Normandy who had already concerted measures with the continental powers, lost no time in providing himself with an army for the conquest of a kingdom which Harold himself had promised to put him in possession of upon the demise of king Edward. He first summoned Harold to perform his promise. Harold, as was expected, scornfully rejected the duke's demand, and prepared for war. The duke by this time had collected a numerous fleet of transports and other ships, with an army of sixty thousand chosen men, and only waited for a favourable wind to waft them to the English shore. On the eve of St. Michael he sailed from the Norman coast, proceeded in good order, and disembarked his troops without loss and without opposition, at Pavensey, a village on the Sussex shore.

Harold mustered his whole force, and marched directly against the invaders, being determined, contrary to the advice of his friends, to risk his own and the kingdom's fate upon the issue of a single battle. On the fourteenth of October, 1066, both armies met in a plain near the town of Hastings. The night preceding the battle had been spent in a very different manner by the two parties, by the Normans in acts of devotion and silent prayer, by the English in riot and disorder. The battle began with the dawn of day, and continued till sunset. The fall of Harold put an end to the contest. The conqueror marched straight to London, allowing the English no time to rally or to recover from their consternation. His unexpected presence struck terror through the people, the clergy, and nobility, who were there assembled. They received him with some faint expressions of congratulation, declared him worthy of a kingdom, and made him a tender of the British crown. He seemed to demur at first; but was soon persuaded that the critical moment was not to be neglected. Preparations were immediately made for his coronation, which Aldred, the archbishop of York, performed in Westminster Abbey, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1066.

SECTION VIII. *Despotism of the Norman Government.*

WILLIAM, the founder of the Norman royal race in England, was A. D. 1077. the natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by

Harlette, a tanner's daughter, from which circumstance he is surnamed the Bastard. At the age of nine years he succeeded his dying father, who having no legitimate offspring, bequeathed to him his Norman title and estates. The Conqueror, for natural talents, for political and military abilities, may deservedly be ranked the first among the princes of that age. The French writers lavish the most florid panegyrics upon his kingly and religious virtues.—

They exultingly pride themselves upon the honour which their country has acquired, in giving to England a new progeny of kings, the founders of her present grandeur, and of the mighty consequence she holds among the nations of Europe. They tell us, that the rude Normans, within the space of a hundred and fifty years, were become polished Frenchmen; that England, in consequence of being conquered by them, emerged from a state of barbarism and ignorance into an enlightened nation, and that religion began to blaze forth with fresh lustre. What grounds there are for this splendid boast, solid facts will show better than empty declamation.

Under the Saxon kings England saw a wise policy established, and wholesome laws enacted, which at once secured the administration of justice on the part of government, and preserved right order among the people. These laws, made at different periods for the welfare of the state under Ethelbert, Inas, Alfred, and Edgar, were collected and published with improvements by the Confessor, and are known by the name of Edward's laws. The Conqueror found these laws universally respected and observed in the English nation; he acknowledged their excellency, bound himself by oath at his coronation to observe them, and finally confirmed them, though with some additions in favour of his Norman followers.—History informs us, that England had made considerable progress in the improvement of agriculture, mechanics, and manufactures, long before any Norman had landed on her shore. Mention has already been made of her public schools for the education of youth, of her numerous monasteries, the fruitful seminaries of virtue and learning. Those foreign writers, who so freely stigmatize the English nation with the gross imputation of barbarism and ignorance in comparison of their accomplished Normans, surely forget or never knew, that England, besides her monastic depositaries of foreign and domestic records, had her university at Oxford, that the learned languages, Greek and Latin, were warmly cultivated, that ecclesiastical knowledge and the study of holy scripture were regularly attended to, that a constant intercourse, in fine, with the most polished nations was industriously maintained. The English Saxons, as we have seen, had long before the conquest furnished France itself with masters, Germany with apostles, the Church with learned prelates, the calendar with eminent saints. They had ever been remarkable for a simplicity of manners, an honest confidence in one another, a hearty devotion, and a reverence for religion; all which began gradually to decline after the conquest. And if before that epoch, England had had the misfortune to see her studies interrupted, and her morals tarnished by the irruption of barbarous invaders from the north, her misfortune was common with the other western and southern countries of Europe. England within herself possessed resources which enabled her to rise above misfortune, witness the prosperity of St. Edward's reign.

When the enterprising Norman embarked in his expedition against Harold, he held out to his surrounding followers the spoils of England as the reward of their labours; he pointed to the opposite shore, and in a firm tone exclaimed, "There, my fellow soldiers, lies the field in which you are to fix your establishment, and erect

trophies to your valour." He made his promise good. From the day that the chance of war placed him on the British throne, he considered the people of England as his slaves rather than his subjects; and began to treat them with that despotic rigour which he thought the right of conquest gave him. Having the power of calling from the continent as many troops as he judged requisite to complete his oppressive plans, he created a military government, and reduced his new subjects to the most abject slavery. Insult, added to oppression, galled the spirited nobles, and sometimes drove them into acts of resistance. The Conqueror was not sorry to see those impotent insurrections, as they furnished him with a plausible pretext of levying new fines, and of making new confiscations, either for the increase of his own royal domains, or for the reward of his military chieftains. By these measures, ancient and opulent families of the English nation were reduced to a state of indigence; degraded nobles experienced every sort of ignominy and contempt, while they beheld their castles and manors transferred to Normans and other foreigners. The despotic policy of William suffered no Englishman to hold any post of emolument or honour; his jealousy turned out every native from every office of trust. In less than nine years, death, or the Conqueror's high hand, removed every baron, bishop, and abbot of English extraction from the kingdom, with the sole exception of St. Wolstan, the inoffensive bishop of Worcester. By the help of attainders, of fines, of banishment, and capital executions, William made himself the rich source both of property and honour. By the liberal distribution of titles and estates among the favourite Normans, he secured to himself the whole strength of the nation, and still reserved a competent portion to establish his own independent power. The appropriation of fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors, in different parts of the kingdom, furnished him with a more ample revenue than any king of England ever had before or since. Being thus above the reach of all law and control, he suffered none to dispute his sovereign will with impunity. He ordered the Norman language to be taught in all the schools, all pleadings in the courts of judicature, all deeds to be drawn and all laws to be composed in the same foreign idiom, that the English with their loss of freedom, might likewise lose the use of their own native tongue.

But the most intemperate stretch of Norman despotism was the formation of a new forest near Winchester, the king's usual place of residence. Hunting was a sport in which Saxons and Normans equally took delight. The royal forests of England appeared not sufficiently extensive for the mighty Nimrod of a conquered country. He ordered the county of Hampshire, to the extent of thirty miles, to be laid waste, for the preservation of game. Deaf to the cries of humanity, he drove the helpless inhabitants from their dwellings, took possession of their lands without making any compensation, destroyed whole villages, and sacrilegiously levelled many churches and convents to the ground. The promotion of Lanfranc to the vacant See of Canterbury was but a small compensation for the great burdens he put upon the Church. Lanfranc, an Italian by birth, a Benedictine monk by profession, had distinguished himself

by his literary abilities, and particularly by his writings against the errors of Berengarius. He first taught the public schools that were opened in the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, was then made abbot of St. Stephen's, in Caen, and from thence advanced against his will to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, which he governed with pastoral zeal and prudence for nineteen years. The conqueror's hand lay heavy upon his English subjects to the very end. After a political and oppressive reign of twenty-one years, death summoned him, like other mortals, to appear before the awful tribunal of God, the sovereign judge of conquerors and of kings themselves. He left behind him three sons, Robert, William, and Henry. By will he bequeathed Normandy to the first, England to the second, and five thousand marks in money to the third.

SECTION IX. *St. Gregory VII. Pope, and Henry IV. King of Germany.*

SIMONY and incontinence had struck deep root among the clergy of England, Italy, Germany, and France. The evil A. D. 1074. began under those unworthy Popes, who so shamefully disgraced the tiara by their immoral conduct in the tenth century; the scandal spread, and had now continued so long, that the inferior clergy pleaded custom for their irregularities. Many even of the bishops were equally unfaithful to their vow, and with greater guilt. Hence the corrupt laity being under no apprehension of a reproof from men as deeply immersed in vice as they, gave free scope to their passions. To stem the torrent of so general a licentiousness which then deluged the Christian world, required the zeal and fortitude of an Apostle. Gregory VII. known by the name of Hildebrand before he was raised to the Popedom, seems to have been destined by a special Providence for the arduous undertaking. This celebrated pontiff was born in Tuscany, educated at Rome, and professed a monk in the monastery of Cluni. Nature had endowed him with fine talents, which being cultivated by study, and adorned with virtue, were too bright to lie hidden in a religious cell. His reputation spread through Italy, France, and Germany. He preached with applause and success in the court of the pious Emperor Henry III.; Pope Victor II. employed him as his legate in France. His singular merit united the suffrages of all for his promotion to the pontificate upon the death of Alexander II. in 1073. Foreseeing the difficulties in which a faithful compliance with the pastoral charge would unavoidably engage him, he used his best endeavours to procure a new election, and even went so far as to entreat Henry, the King of Germany, to except against the choice made in his favour. He urged every reason which he thought likely to make an impression upon the king's mind, and among other things told him, that the crimes of which his majesty stood guilty, were so public and enormous in their nature, that should he be compelled to accept the office of sovereign Pontiff, he could not in conscience let them pass without censure. His remonstrances had not the effect he wished; Henry approved and ratified his election.

Gregory being thus placed in St. Peter's chair, not by faction or

intrigue, as his enemies have slanderously said, immediately began to exert his authority for the extirpation of those scandalous vices which had long shocked all good men, simony and incontinence of the clergy. To remain silent or inactive amidst such disorders, he conceived would be to make himself a partner in the guilt. Experience had shown him, that lenient measures would produce no good. The inveteracy of the evil required a strong hand to root it up. The zealous pontiff, like another Jeremiah, undertook the work of reform with wonderful resolution and fortitude. No appearance of difficulties, no respect of persons, no apprehension of danger, was capable of damping his courage, whenever his duty to God and the Church demanded his exertions. In every public transaction of moment he previously laid the matter before his council, and acted with their advice. Fixed in the resolution of putting a stop to the prevailing vices of the age, as far as he was able, he assembled a provincial synod of bishops to deliberate with him upon the most efficacious means of succeeding in the religious enterprize. With their approbation and advice he published a decree, in which he declared all persons, of whatever rank, who were guilty of simony, disqualified from holding any ecclesiastical benefice, and incapable of being invested with spiritual jurisdiction. Similar censures against the incontinent clergy were likewise denounced, in terms equally strong.

Upon the publication of this decree, sullen murmurs began to rise on every side: from the many, who felt themselves guilty, it met with violent opposition, especially in Lombardy and Germany. Their criminal resistance drew upon them fresh censures of suspension and excommunication. Tumults ensued in some parts of Germany; applications were made to the holy See for mitigation in the decree. The subject was of too sacred a nature to admit a deviation from the ancient rule, and his Holiness had taken his resolution upon too pure a motive to be shaken in it.

Certain writers, better versed in the system of modern reformation than in the primitive discipline of Christ's Church, represent this pontifical decree of Gregory VII. as a tyrannical act, and a strange attempt to impose a new obligation upon the clergy against their consent. In this short view of ecclesiastical history, enough has been produced from authentic records to show that the celibacy of the clergy made a part of primitive discipline in the Church, and consequently that St. Gregory's decree enacted no new law, but only enforced an old one, which every clergyman knew he was bound to observe from the moment he took higher orders.

Many of the German prelates seeing themselves involved in the censures pronounced by the sovereign pontiff against simony, and being by no means disposed to relinquish their rich benefices, had recourse to Henry, the King of Germany, for his support in a cause which equally affected their common interest. Henry, as we have seen, had the misfortune to lose his father when but five years old. His mother Agnes, the empress dowager, undertook to govern in his name. His dutiful behaviour for some years gave promising hopes of his becoming the imitator of his father's virtues. But being surrounded by wicked sycophants, the usual attendants of a court, he was persuaded at an early age to dismiss his mother, and to take

the reigns of government into his own hands. Being now under no control, he gave free scope to his passions, and ran headlong into vice. By his violent and imprudent conduct he quickly lost the confidence of his subjects, and provoked a war with the German princes. The Saxons rebelled, the Dukes of Suabia, of Bavaria, and Carinthia, took up arms to repel his usurpations. The pious Empress Agnes, retired from the tumultuous scene to Rome, and made herself a nun to serve God in religious solitude, being equally disgusted with the vanities of the world, and the excesses of her deluded son. The zealous Gregory, from the time of his advancement to St. Peter's chair, never ceased to render to Henry the good offices of a friend and a father, as long as he had hopes of reclaiming him. In a language the most pathetic and persuasive, he admonished him of his Christian duty, expostulated with him upon the evil courses he had taken, exhorted him to repent, and solicited his concurrence for the extirpation of those public vices, which had too long disgraced religion and the empire. Henry at that time had too much upon his hands to quarrel with the Pope. It was his interest to dissemble, and even to promise what he never intended to perform. In his answer to the holy Father he humbly acknowledged and condemned his guilt, in selling the benefices of the Church, and by an abuse of power in bestowing the ecclesiastical livings upon persons wholly unfit. But no sooner was the storm dispersed which had threatened to overset his throne in Germany, than he resumed his former habits and former violences against the Church. Experience had taught him, that the sale of bishopricks and abbeyes was too lucrative a traffic to be tamely given up: he took the simoniacal prelates under his protection, and bade defiance to the grumbling thunders of the Vatican.

SECTION X. *Henry, Defender of Simony and Schism.*

HENRY and his schismatical associates had little hopes of carrying their point as long as they saw Gregory in St. Peter's chair. They resolved to depose him. With that intent A. D. 1076. they assembled at Worms on the twenty-third of January, 1076. Opportunely for their extravagant undertaking, arrived a cardinal from Rome, called Hugh, whom the Pope had lately degraded on account of his scandalous immoralities. He came fraught with the desire of revenge, and provided with a long list of invented crimes against the holy Father, which no witness had proved, and no man believed. He also produced a packet of forged letters in the name of the cardinals, of the senate, and Roman people, containing complaints of the simoniacal election, and demanding the deposition of Hildebrand from the papal throne. These apocryphal instructions to the diet being read, a formal accusation was thereupon exhibited against Hildebrand, styling himself Pope, and sentence of deposition was peremptorily pronounced without further ceremony. Two bishops ventured to object against the illegal mode in which the whole business had been conducted; incompetent judges, they said, have presumed, in despite of the canons, to accuse, to condemn, and punish, not only a bishop, but the sovereign pontiff, in his ab-

sence, without the formality even of citing him to appear, or of notifying to him the grounds of accusation. They however signed the iniquitous sentence with the rest who were present. To this mock sentence Henry subjoined two insulting letters, commanding Hildebrand the Monk, whom he no longer held for Pope, to quit St. Peter's chair, and to make room for one more worthy, whom he should appoint in due season. These letters he delivered to Roland, an ecclesiastic of Parma, with a strict charge to deliver them into the Pope's hands. He directed also other letters to the bishops of Lombardy and Ancona, inviting them to join in the Pope's condemnation.

The Pope, wholly ignorant of what had passed at Worms, had appointed the first week of Lent for holding his provincial council, according to annual custom. Roland, the king's messenger, so measured his journey as to enter Rome the evening before the opening of the council. Next morning he entered the church where the Pope and bishops were assembled, and delivered his packet into the Pope's hands, declaring its contents aloud to the whole assembly. Great confusion arose, the bishop of Porto exclaimed, "Let him be taken into custody." The officer of the guards advanced with his drawn sword, and would have dispatched the insolent man, if the Pope had not quickly interposed and saved him. As soon as silence and order were restored, the bishops began to deliberate on what was prudent to be done in the present emergency. There was but one opinion upon the matter, and it was, that Henry, by his outrageous conduct, had forfeited his crown, had lost his claim to all future allegiance from the empire, and that the sentence of deposition and excommunication ought to be pronounced against him. On the following day the Pope appeared again in council, and, conformably to the advice of the bishops assembled with him, pronounced sentence of excommunication against King Henry and his schismatical adherents; he moreover declared him fallen from his royal dignity, and his subjects no longer bound by their former oath of allegiance to him. Singular as the power may seem which Gregory then exercised over the temporal right of kings, the general opinion of those times admitted, as the reader must observe, that such a power lay within the sphere of papal jurisdiction. The princes, and even Henry himself, were of that opinion, as his letter to Gregory, from Worms, expressly testifies.

His Holiness sent a copy of the sentence to the princes of Germany, accompanied with an exhortation to assemble and deliberate upon the choice of a new king. Many of the king's adherents now began to enter seriously into themselves; they acknowledged their error, repented of what they had done, and made their peace with the holy See. The princes assembled to take the present state of the empire into consideration. Whether Henry should be king or not, and whether the reigning evil could be redressed while he remained in power, was the question in debate. The majority thought not. Henry saw his danger, sent deputies to them, and made them fair promises: he had often done so before, and had as often deceived them. They at last came to this resolution, that if the king did not within the twelve-month procure his absolution from the

sentence of excommunication, they would proceed to depose him, and elect another in his stead.

The distressed king was now convinced that the only chance he had of saving his crown, was to reconcile himself with the holy See. In December, 1076, he set off from Spire with a single attendant for Italy, with a full determination to obtain absolution from the Pope at any rate, on which so much depended. The Pope had quitted Rome, and was advanced as far as Canusium, or Canosse, a castle in Lombardy, in his way to Germany, where the princes expected him. Henry in a penitential garb, presented himself before the gates of the castle, humbly begging to be admitted into the Pope's presence, confessing his guilt, and with every mark of sincere contrition expressing his readiness to make all the satisfaction in his power to the injured church and state, could he only be absolved from his excommunication. The Pope, who more than once had experienced the insincerity of his protestations, kept him in suspense for three days by way of trial; on the fourth he gave him an audience, received his submission upon certain conditions, and absolved him on the 28th day of January, 1077. His Holiness immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the princes in Germany of this important reconciliation, and to desire that they would put off their election till he and Henry should join them in a full diet to terminate their quarrels. The messenger found the princes actually assembled at Forcheim in Franconia; the Pope pressed Henry to repair thither, and to fulfil his promises. Henry found excuses; he would not go himself, nor suffer his Holiness to go. The princes grew weary of delay, and finding nothing good was to be expected from a faithless king, proceeded to an election, and on the fifteenth day of March chose Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, for their sovereign.

Henry was not inclined to yield without a contest. The seeds of civil war were sown: the two competitors took the field; the war was carried on with various success for three years. Rodolph at last was slain in battle, and left his antagonist sole master of the empire.

Elate and fierce with victory, Henry renewed his violences against the Church. A crowd of simoniacal and deposed bishops surrounded his throne; at their instigation he published anew the mock deposition of Pope Gregory, that had passed in the diet of Worms in 1076, and set up Guibert, the excommunicated archbishop of Ravenna, in his room. The Pope, in consequence of this, renewed his former censures against Henry and his adherents. Henry, full of revenge, marched an army into Italy; his antipope, under the name of Clement III. accompanied him. When he came to Rome he found the gates shut against him. He began a siege; at the end of three years a bribe more powerful than his arms gave him entrance into the city. He took immediate possession of the Lateran palace, caused his antipope to be enthroned, and was then crowned emperor by him in 1084. Gregory retreated into the castle of St. Angelo, and there remained secure from the insults of his persecutor, till Robert Guiscard, the valiant Duke of Calabria, came to his assistance. At the duke's approach the emperor re-

ried with his antipope into Lombardy, and from thence into Germany. Gregory was now master of Rome again; but as the violence of party rendered it either unsafe or unpleasant for him to remain there, he removed first to Monte Cassino, and thence to Salerno, where he fell sick, and died in 1085. In his last moments he uttered these words, "I have loved justice, and have hated iniquity, therefore I die in a strange land."

Two virulent invectives, replete with incoherent slanders against this illustrious Pope, have been transmitted to posterity by Cardinal Benno, an enraged schismatic and devoted friend of Guibert the antipope. Spanheim, Turretin, and other writers of the same malignant cast, have made copious collections from them. The most satisfactory refutation of those writers are the ten books of epistles which St. Gregory has left us: they are an elegant and lasting monument of the eminent virtues that adorned his soul. "They are penned with much eloquence," says Du Pin,* a French author, whom no one suspects of being partial to this or any other Pope; "They are full of good matter, and embellished with noble and pious sentiments. Pope Gregory VII. it must be acknowledged, was a man of uncommon talents and unblemished morals, an enemy to simony and libertinism, well versed in the constitution of his predecessors, full of Christian thoughts, animated with zeal for the reformation of a corrupt clergy, constant and undaunted in the execution." If St. Gregory in his censures against the boisterous Henry, who, like a wild boar, in the scripture phrase, had broke into and was laying waste the vineyard of the Lord, is thought by the present age to have exceeded the bounds of his spiritual jurisdiction, it must be remembered that he did but follow the general opinion of the age in which he lived.

A disgraceful end overtook his violent persecutor. Henry's obstinacy in schism kept up a strong opposition to his government in Germany. His two sons, Conrad and Henry, openly rebelled, and joined the discontented princes of the empire. Conrad died soon after his revolt; Henry carried on the war, and forced his father to abdicate the crown. The dethroned monarch retired to Liege, where he died soon after, in 1106. As he died under the sentence of excommunication, his body lay above ground in a stone coffin for five years, without Christian burial, till his son Henry V. had it carried to Spire, and deposited with pomp in the imperial vault.

SECTION XI. *St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

BESIDES the calamitous scandals brought upon the Church at A. D. 1093. that time by simony and incontinence, a sharp contest upon the subject of investitures was likewise carried on between the mitre and the crown. Investiture is a term employed to express the right and the act of investing persons with certain powers, either ecclesiastical or civil. The kings of Germany, of France, and England, claimed the privilege of conferring investi-

* Cent. ii. chap. 1.

tures upon the bishops and abbots elect within the realm, as a right belonging to the crown. When that royal claim was first set up, history does not inform us. But in the eleventh century the claim was certainly new, and as it was exercised by the delivery of a ring and crosier, emblems of a spiritual commission from the sovereign to the prelate elect, it wore a simoniacal appearance. The communication of spiritual jurisdiction cannot be derived from any other source, nor can it flow through any other channel, than that which Christ has established. To no lay or civil potentate did the divine Pastor of our souls give the commission to feed his lambs, and to feed his sheep : he gave it to Peter.* Upon this ground Pope Gregory VII. opposed and condemned the lay practice of ecclesiastical investitures, which had been one subject of quarrel, among many others, between him and King Henry IV. Henry persisted in his claim, against all the force of ecclesiastical censures, as long as he reigned ; his son and successor, Henry V. equally persisted in the same claim till the year 1122, when he gave up the point to Callistus II. upon certain conditions that were ratified by both parties in a diet held at Worms.

During the disputes between the ecclesiastical and civil powers upon the continent, England was sorely aggrieved by the tyranny of William II. surnamed Rufus, from his red hair. William ascended the throne upon the demise of his father the conqueror, in 1087. Of the many vices which composed the character of this second king of the Norman race, the most enormous seems to have been the extortion of money, from which no respect for God or man could stay his sacrilegious hand. By an injustice, hitherto unknown in England, he usurped the revenue of vacant church livings, and put off the episcopal elections, that he might enjoy the rents. After the death of Lanfranc, in 1089, he would suffer no successor to be elected ; and he even swore that no one during his life should be appointed to the metropolitan See of Canterbury. The flock was four years without a pastor ; the king fell dangerously ill ; seeing himself upon the brink of a frightful eternity, he trembled at the prospect, and gave signs of repentance. To repair the public wrongs which he had committed, he ordered public justice to be done ; he earnestly requested, among other things, that no time might be lost in providing the See of Canterbury with a bishop. Anselm, a former disciple of Lanfranc, and then abbot of the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, chanced to be in England at the time. He was mentioned to the king as a man eminently qualified for the high office of primate. The king ordered him to be introduced ; he no sooner saw than named him for the See of Canterbury.—The religious abbot humbly declined the honour. Several bishops were present ; they all united in pressing him to accept the charge ; he persisted in refusing it. The king earnestly besought him to consent, saying that the salvation of his miserable soul depended on it, and seriously promised that, in case of his recovery, all abuses should be redressed. Anselm still withheld his consent, till the bishops thrust a crosier into his hand, and forced him reluctantly to

* John, chap. xxi.

yield. The ceremony of his consecration was performed with great solemnity by the archbishop of York, on the fourth day of December, 1093.

The king recovered ; his fair promises of amendment vanished with his sickness. Like most pretenders to repentance, who promise to relinquish sin when they can sin no longer, Rufus relapsed into his former habits. The archbishop failed not to remind him of his Christian duty, and of the fair promises he had made. The admonition gave offence ; the king grew angry, and took the resolution to put the archbishop out of the way of giving him any further trouble. He exhorted his nobles to disclaim him, he engaged the bishops not to acknowledge him for their metropolitan, and offered an annual pension to Pope Urban, if he would but depose him. Under such circumstances the afflicted primate judged, that it could answer no good purpose for him to remain a silent spectator of growing disorders, which he had not the power either to correct or prevent ; he asked the king's leave to quit the kingdom, and to visit Rome. The king after some difficulty, gave his assent, which at once discarded a troublesome monitor, and left him free to sweep the archiepiscopal rents into the royal exchequer. The good bishop at parting gave the king his blessing, and they separated seemingly on amicable terms.

St. Anselm travelled as a poor pilgrim, accompanied by two monks, till he came to Rome, where he was received with very signal marks of kindness and distinction by Urban II. The schismatical Greeks had shown some inclination of entering again into communion with the See of Rome. Urban agreed to meet them in council at Bari, a town in the territory of Naples ; he took St. Anselm along with him. In October 1098, a hundred and twenty-three bishops assembled to discuss the controverted points between the Latin and Greek Church. The Greeks began by proposing the question relative to the procession of the Holy Ghost ; it was a question of faith ; they erroneously asserted that he proceeded from the Father only. When they had said all they had to say upon the subject, Anselm, in consideration of his profound learning in theological questions, was called upon to speak in reply. He spoke with such force of argument, so clearly and so solidly to the point, produced such convincing proofs from scripture and the fathers in support of the Catholic doctrine, which asserts the procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father and the Son, that the Greeks had nothing more to object. They were silenced, but not reclaimed from their error.

Anselm accompanied the Pope to Rome, where he made some stay, and then repaired to Lyons, to his old friend the archbishop Hugh. There he received news of the king of England's death. The king was hunting in the new forest ; a stag bounded from the thicket before him ; Walter Tyrrel, a Norman gentleman of his train, let fly an arrow ; the arrow glanced from a tree, and pierced the king's heart. Tyrrel seeing what he had done, galloped off with full speed to the sea shore, embarked for Normandy, joined the crusade, and was never heard of more. The king's bloody corpse was found on the spot where he fell, was conveyed to Winchester,

and there buried without ceremony. Such was the untimely end of Rufus, without the grace of a moment's warning for repentance. His brother Robert being then engaged against the infidels in the holy land, Henry, the youngest of the three brothers, took advantage of Robert's absence, seized the reins of government, and caused himself to be crowned king by Maurice, the bishop of London, in the year 1100.

To supply his defect of title to the throne, the new king began his reign by courting popularity. He recalled the archbishop Anselm, confirmed many privileges to the nation, and afterwards compounded with his brother Robert for the crown, by agreeing to pay him an annual pension. Anselm soon after his return held a synod at Westminster, in which he incurred the displeasure both of the king and many of the clergy, by the censures he pronounced against all such churchmen as kept their concubines, or received their investitures from the crown. The lay collation of investitures, as we have seen, was a late claim, which the king was not inclined to relinquish, and which the archbishop could not agree to, consistently with his duty to the spiritual powers of the church, that had repeatedly condemned it under the severest censures. These censures equally affected the giver and receiver. The dispute became daily more and more serious. By the consent of parties St. Anselm went to consult the Pope, Paschal II., the successor of Urban. Henry on his part sent deputies to urge his claim. His claim was not admitted to the extent he contended for. Homage to the crown for temporalities depending thereon, Paschal allowed might be lawfully done both by bishops and abbots, and with that answer the king was satisfied. St. Anselm returned for the last time from the continent to his church of Canterbury 1106, where he passed the last three years of his life in peace. His virtues give him rank among the saints; his theological tracts entitle him to a place among the doctors of the church.

Besides St. Anselm and Lanfranc, who adorned England with their writings in the eleventh century, three other contemporary authors claim our notice, Eadmer, the disciple and faithful companion of St. Anselm in his travels; Osberne, precentor in the cathedral church of Canterbury; and Ingulf, abbot of Croyland. These authors in a plain and unaffected style have left us memoirs of the times in which they lived, or which immediately preceded them; they were men of character, men of judgment, men of veracity. Mr. Hume sometimes crowds his page with their names to strengthen his narrative, and sometimes vilifies them with the appellation of monkish writers. If he cites them as vouchers for facts regarding religion, it frequently is to make them say, what in their memoirs they absolutely contradict. We have instanced it above in the account given us by the Scotch historian of Edgar and Edwi.

SECTION XII. *First Crusade.*

In the eleventh century a romantic spirit of enterprize began to establish itself in Europe. The last weak princes of A. D. 1096. the Carlovingian race laid the foundation of those petty states, into which France and Germany were from thence divided.

The lords and governors of the provinces usurped to themselves the fragments of the mouldering empire, and assumed the title of independent potentates, according to the measure of their power. Elated by their princely situation, they were frequently at variance with each other, and were ever ready to embark in every military enterprise where the lure of honour or of conquest invited them to arms. To set their Christian brethren free from the Mahometan yoke, and to wrest the holy land out of the hands of infidels, was an object suited to the temper of the times. It was no sooner proposed than embraced with all the enthusiasm which a genius for chivalry, stimulated by religion, is capable of inspiring.

The project of this holy war, as it is since called, originated with an obscure solitary of the diocese of Amiens in France. This devout man, known in history by the name of Peter the Hermit, being long inured to the penitential exercises of an eremitical life, and impressed with a lively sense of gratitude for the inestimable benefit of redemption, resolved upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, that he might adore his Saviour upon the spot where he shed his blood, and rose again from the dead. To satisfy his devotion the pious pilgrim made some stay in the city, daily visiting the holy sepulchre in which our Redeemer's body had been laid, and bedewing it with his tears. He waited upon Simeon, the virtuous patriarch, in order to collect the best information he could of the state of religion in that country. The patriarch at first sight discovered in him the marks of goodness and of sound sense, entered into conversation with him by means of an interpreter, and at some length described the wretched situation in which the Christians there were placed by the tyranny and oppression of their Mahometan rulers. The good hermit wept at the mournful account, and asked if nothing could be done for their relief. "We once had hopes," replied the patriarch, "of receiving succours from our former sovereigns, the emperors of Constantinople: but those hopes," he added with a sigh, "are now vanished, and we, in punishment of our sins, are left to groan under a load of miseries, without help, without comfort, and without hope. Were your sufferings only known to your Christian brethren of the west," subjoined the hermit, "an armed confederacy might possibly be formed for your relief. Draw up a memorial to the Sovereign Pontiff of Rome, and to the princes of Europe, stating your grievances, and imploring their succour; I will undertake to present it." The patriarch was no less surprised than charmed to find such a generosity of sentiment in a lowly pilgrim; he lost no time in penning a memorial, as Peter advised. Peter received it from his hand, and set off for Rome. At his arrival there he found the Pope, Urban II. making preparations for his journey into France, where he had promised to preside in person at a council in which some important points of ecclesiastical discipline were to be settled. Peter was announced to his Holiness, obtained an audience, presented the memorial of the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem, and received a gracious answer.

Urban left Rome, and repaired to Clermont in France, where a numerous council met according to appointment, in November, 1095. Upwards of two hundred bishops assisted at it. When all the ecclesiastical business was despatched, his Holiness communi-

cated to the council the memorial which he had received from the venerable patriarch of Jerusalem. He made them an eloquent and pathetic discourse upon the subject, expatiated at large upon the cruel sufferings of the oriental Christians in Palestine, under the implacable enemies of Christianity. "Open the eyes of your imagination," said his Holiness, "and behold the Holy Land, which an incarnate God once consecrated by his presence, now occupied by infidels; behold the churches of Jerusalem insultingly profaned by Mahometan superstition; behold, in fine, the Sepulchre of our Lord, and all the holy places, wantonly defiled by impious Mussulmen, the enthusiastic followers of a false prophet. Let us then exert our endeavours to unite the Christian powers of Europe in a general confederacy, for the rescue of our oppressed brethren, whose lamentable cry for help has reached these distant provinces of the west." The emotions which this discourse excited in the audience, were so quick and lively, that they all exclaimed as with one voice, "It is the will, it is the call of God."

The bishops departed for their respective dioceses; they published what had passed at Clermont respecting the holy war; preachers mounted the pulpit and invited such of their hearers as were fit for that service to enlist under the banner of the Cross, which had for its object nothing less than the conquest of the Holy Land, and the deliverance of thousands from a state of servitude. It is incredible with what eagerness the invitation was every where heard and received by all ranks of men. Princes forgot their private quarrels to encounter the common enemy. The monk left his solitary cell, and the husbandman his plough, to become a pilgrim or a soldier. From Germany, from France, and Italy, a motley multitude of different characters and dispositions crowded round their leaders to share in the labours and perils, in the merit or licentiousness of this ill-digested enterprize. A straggling description of undisciplined peasants and mechanics, with their wives and children, who accompanied the army, is said to have amounted to more than four hundred thousand souls. From such a mob nothing but confusion, and a vast consumption of provisions, could be expected. Against this disorderly abuse Urban had judiciously provided; but to the regulations he made for the preservation of discipline and order, little attention was paid in the wild transports of enthusiasm. The number of military knights, in which the strength of the expedition really consisted, was about a hundred thousand. The most renowned names we find amongst them were Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine; Hugh, surnamed the Great, brother to Philip I. King of France; Robert, Duke of Normandy, brother to William II. King of England; Raymond, Count of Toulouse; and Robert, Earl of Flanders. A red cross, sewed upon the left shoulder of their upper garment was their military badge, from whence is the term of Crusader and Crusade.

In the autumn of 1096, this unwieldy body began to move. They marched in three divisions, and by different routes, not to cause a famine. In a long march through the extended countries of Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, to the banks of the Hellespont, they had many difficulties to encounter, and many obstacles to surmount, before they reached the place of rendezvous near Con-

stantinople. They arrived not before the following spring. The whole country round the imperial city was covered with tents before the last division arrived. The devastation and violences they committed during their stay disgraced the cause in which they were engaged, and confirmed the Greeks in their opinion of the rude and ferocious genius of the Franks. Alexis Comnenus, the emperor, had three years before solicited the Pope and the princes of the west to send him succours against the Saracens, whose encroachments he was too weak to repel. His Holiness informed him, that an armed confederacy in the west was formed for the conquest of the Holy Land, that an army was actually upon the march with that view, and that they were directing their course towards the straits of Constantinople, where they hoped to receive from his imperial majesty auxiliary aid for the success of their religious expedition. When Alexis saw such an inundation of Franks pouring along his territories, and so formidable a force encamped under the very walls of his capital, he began to apprehend lest some hostile attack might not possibly be in agitation against him. Their disorderly insults upon the churches and houses of his subjects, and the subsisting schism between the Latin and Greek Church, made him doubtful in what light he was to view them, whether as friends or enemies. Policy dictated to him not to provoke them. Their numbers awed him into acts of civility and seeming friendship, while he was determined within himself to contribute all he could towards their ruin. He gave directions that vessels should be prepared with the utmost dispatch to convey them across the Hellespont, and to land them upon the Asiatic coast.

SECTION XIII. *Jerusalem Delivered.*

THE Christian army directed their march to Nice, the capital A. D. 1099. city of Bithynia, famous for the reception it formerly gave to the fathers of the first general Council. They besieged, and soon after took it by capitulation, in the name of the emperor Alexis. For such was their agreement, that the princes should conquer in the name and as vassals of the Greek emperor, on condition that he furnished them with provisions, ships and auxiliaries, to aid them in the conquest of Jerusalem. Alexis broke his promise, the princes no longer thought themselves bound by theirs. After the reduction of Nice, the Latins continued their march, and without much resistance reduced many places in Natolia, where they left garrisons, and appointed governors in their own name. Tarsus and the rest of Cilicia were in their possession, when Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, led off a detached body of troops towards the north, and traversed a wide tract of country, all inhabited by Christians, till he came to the Euphrates. The Christian citizens of Edessa in Mesopotamia, no sooner heard of his arrival, but invited him to come and take them under his protection. He went; and there established an independent principality, till it was subdued and entirely ruined by Noradin, the Turk, in 1144.

The main army in the interim took a more southern direction towards Syria. They soon found themselves embarrassed in a de-

solated waste, which afforded no subsistence for man or horse. No armed enemy appeared before them, but famine, a more mortal foe quickly overtook them. Most of their horses either died for want of forage, or were slain for the food of men; thousands of the men sunk under the accumulated weight of sickness and fatigue. The survivors pushed forward with unshaken resolution, till they entered Syria. Antioch, a strong city, the capital of the province, challenged their attention. In a council of war it was thought unsafe to leave so important a place behind them in the hands of the enemy; the tedious formality of a siege was resolved on. The attack and defence was supported with equal obstinacy on both sides for seven months, when a Greek renegado offered to let the besiegers in, upon condition that Boemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman Duke of Calabria, should have the sole command of the city. It was agreed; the Christians took possession on the third of June, 1098; Boemond by common consent was acknowledged sovereign of Antioch and its dependencies, with the title of Prince.

After the hardships of a long march, succeeded by the labours of an obstinate siege, it was judged prudent to let the army rest, before they proceeded any farther. The princes also required time to consider and arrange the ecclesiastical as well as the civil concerns of that patriarchal See. The bulk of the people was Christian; composed of Catholics, Nestorians, and Eutychians: the rest were Mussulmen. A Catholic patriarch of the Latin rite was appointed. In making these arrangements, and in reducing to their obedience some neighbouring places, which were thought necessary for the security of their conquests, a year elapsed. About the end of May 1099, the army was in motion; they marched through the plains of Palestine without molestation, and without seeing an enemy, till they came within sight of Jerusalem; the walls and towers of which presented to them the appearance of a town strongly fortified, and with the additional works of defence lately made by the Saracens, in a state of standing a siege for many months. The crusaders carried it by storm at the end of five weeks. Duke Godfrey was the first who entered the city, the whole army followed him; the carnage that ensued in the enthusiastic glow of victory is not to be described; it shocked the conquerors themselves, when looking round they beheld the streets covered with heaps of slaughtered infidels. More Christian sentiments then stifled the first motions of revenge, they sheathed the sword, and putting off their bloody armour, devoutly went in their pilgrim dress to pay their grateful homage to God in the Church of the holy Sepulchre. The fifteenth of July 1099, was the day which put the Christians in possession of Jerusalem. The object of the Crusade was accomplished. The first eight days were employed in joyful acts of thanksgiving and devotion.

The princes then assembled to settle a regular form of government, and to give stability to their conquest. A kingly government seemed best suited for the purpose. By a plurality of votes Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince no less commendable for piety than for valour, was chosen king. The choice did honour to his merit, while it imposed a weighty charge, by raising him to a station beset

on every side with difficulties and perils. The king turned his first attention to the re-establishment of divine worship. He began by founding two chapters of canons for the church service, one in the church of the Sepulchre, the other in that called the Temple. The patriarch Simeon was gone to Cyprus to collect alms, and as he did not appear again, a Latin patriarch, after the lapse of some months, was elected.

The kingdom of Jerusalem at that time held out to its possessor little more than an empty title, a mere phantom of kingly pre-eminence; it possessed no riches, no power, no subjects, nor any other advantage that could excite or gratify ambition. The small towns of its dependence were but few, and separated from one another by a country still in the hands of a powerful enemy. The city had no resources within itself, nor was it provided with sufficient troops to repel any considerable force, which the infidels might any day send against it. The other princes having acquitted themselves of their vow, had no temptation to remain in a foreign land; they hastened back to Europe with the poor remains of their surviving followers, and left Godfrey with no more than three hundred horse, and two thousand foot, to defend his crown as he could.

By modern writers the eleventh and four preceding centuries are contemptuously styled the darker ages. The appellation originated with certain literati of the fifteenth century, a Laurentius Valla, a Platina, and an Angelus Politianus. These polished humanists, better acquainted with the rules of profane eloquence than with the sacred principles of religion, relished no compositions but those of ancient Greece and Rome. Hence they looked down with a supercilious eye upon the productions of the middle ages, and conceitedly concluded, that all real learning lay buried under a heap of barbarism and ignorance, because the study of the classics was then less cultivated than it had been at a former period. The flashing reformers of religion in the following century caught the sound, and confounded classical knowledge with the knowledge of religion, falsely presuming that the failure of one involved the failure of the other. The knowledge of true religion never failed, though conveyed in a language less studied and less correct. The great apostle made profession of employing no sublimity of language, and no persuasive turns of human eloquence, when he announced the doctrines of Christ crucified to the Corinthians. Though little versed in the flowing periods of Cicero or Demosthenes, and strangers perhaps to the fine strains of Virgil and of Homer, the pastors of the Church, even in the middle ages, never neglected the study of the holy scriptures and primitive fathers, from whence they drew that sacred knowledge which enabled them to lead the faithful flock of Christ in the path of salvation, the sublime end and object of religion. To those who are not wilfully blind, it must then appear, that the picture of those dark times, as they are termed, is much overcharged with shade, to be a true representation. The unextinguished lamp of faith gave its usual light; during that period it diffused its rays on England, Holland, Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and other provinces of the north. By the preaching of apostolical missionaries, those countries emerged

from the dark shades of idolatry, at a time when all Europe is supposed by pedantic grammarians to have been absorpt in the abyss of profound ignorance. If a passing cloud of immorality eclipsed the virtues of some particular churches in France, in Germany, in Italy, and England, the eclipse was partial, it roused the zeal of Christ's faithful ministers, who, by their vigorous exertions, removed the abuse, and restored the sacred ministry to its primitive purity.

END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Twelfth Century.

SECTION I. *Military Religious Orders.*

THE spirit of the twelfth century, which drew numbers of pilgrims to Jerusalem, gave occasion to the establishment A. D. 1102. of two military orders of men, who undertook to unite the duties of a soldier and canon regular together. These were the Hospitalers or Knights of St. John, and the Knights Templars. They first date their origin from the foundation of an hospital, which the infidels permitted some Neapolitan merchants to erect about the year 1048, for the reception of pilgrims, with a chapel adjoining, in honour of St. John Baptist. On the charitable motive of serving the sick pilgrims in the hospital, certain devout men formed themselves into a regular congregation, whence they received the name of Hospitalers, or Brothers of St. John of Jerusalem. Brother Gerard, a native of Provence, was the director of this hospital, when the Christians made themselves masters of the holy city in 1099. The illustrious Godfrey of Bouillon being chosen king, took the institution under his protection, and endowed it with a yearly revenue. Many young men of the Crusade became members of the charitable confraternity. Their revenues increased with their numbers. They then extended their views and offices of charity towards their neighbourhood beyond the walls of an hospital. The pious travellers, on their way to and from the holy Sepulchre, were exposed to the insults of robbers and spiteful infidels. The Hospitalers generously undertook to see them safe through the country. For the performance of this service they assumed a military character, buckled on their cuirass, and learned the use of arms. To render the institution permanent, they made a proposal to the patriarch for binding themselves by vow, and of forming a religious order. The patriarch approved of their design, gave them a written rule, which they accepted from his hands, and made the three solemn vows of voluntary poverty, chastity, and obedience, to which they added a fourth, of fighting against the infidels. Pope Paschal II. and Calistus his successor, confirmed their institute, and granted them many privileges. From that time they were no longer styled the Brothers, but the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Their superior was distinguished by the title of Grand Master. Many noble youths went over from the different states of Europe to engage in this new military and religious order. The Knights of St. John were for some years the chief support of the throne of Jerusalem. When that kingdom was no longer able to defend itself against the Turkish arms, they retired to the isle of Rhodes. There they made a gallant stand, till superior force compelled them to retreat to Malta, which Charles V. yielded to them with all the privileges and rights of sovereignty. Malta from that time became the residence of the Grand Master, and chief seat of the order.

A few years after the Knights of St. John had obtained a legal establishment, sprung up another order professing the same kind of institute, known by the name of Knights Templars. The first promoters of this institution were two noble knights, Hugh de Paganis, and Jeffery of St. Omer. They presented themselves before the patriarch, and in his presence devoted themselves to the service of God, by vowing voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity, and obedience. The duty imposed upon them by the patriarch, was to protect the travelling pilgrims against the infidels. Seven others joined them soon after; King Baldwin II. assigned them a dwelling in his palace near the Temple, hence their title of Knights Templars; a public revenue was appointed for their decent maintenance. To understand what is here meant by the Temple, it must be remembered, that when Omar, the Saracen chief, first conquered Jerusalem from the Christians, in 636, he accurately informed himself of the precise spot on which the Temple of Solomon once stood, and ordered a Mahometan mosque to be erected on the self-same spot. The shell of it was a stately octagon, finely decorated with mosaic workmanship, the walls both inside and outside were incrustated with rich marble, the roof was covered with lead. When the Crusaders re-took Jerusalem, Godfrey gave orders that the mosque should be converted into a Christian church, which from that time was called the Temple.

In the year 1128 King Baldwin II. sent six of the Templars to Europe, with a view of procuring succours against the danger that hung over the Holy Land. A council of bishops was then sitting at Troyes in France. The six deputies repaired thither to acquit themselves of the commission which they had received from the King of Jerusalem. The name of a Templar being hitherto unheard of in Europe, the council desired to know what the nature of their institution was, and what were their religious practices. The Templars answered every query with great simplicity. The bishops did not disapprove of their undertaking, but judged it expedient for them to have a written rule, sanctioned by the authority of the Pope and Patriarch of Jerusalem. St. Bernard, who was there present, had the commission to pen down certain regulations for the observance of the new knights. Pope Honorius II. gave his sanction to the rule which the abbot of Clairvaux had written, and formed the Knights Templars into a religious order, with the obligation of wearing a white habit. The new order soon grew into universal renown; happy for them had they only known how to preserve it.

SECTION II. *Monastic Orders.*

THE religious order of St. Bennet had been the seminary of virtue and learning for upwards of five hundred years. The A. D. 1110. Christian religion in its full perfection inculcates the observance, not only of all the divine precepts, but of the evangelical councils likewise, which comprise the three vows of voluntary poverty, of perpetual chastity, and obedience to a superior in all things where there appears no sin. These three vows are made by all such as engage in a religious state of life. The vow of chastity is strictly

uniform in its observance; it admits no indulgence, and no modification whatever; the other two allow a latitude of more or less rigour, according to the spirit and letter of the particular rule under which they are made. The Benedictine order vows obedience according to the written rule of St. Bennet. The piety of those religious men, in the beginning of their institution, was fervent, active, and exact in every duty. In process of time that primitive fervour cooled by degrees, monastic discipline relaxed, new modes in the practice of poverty and obedience were introduced. The more zealous members of the order observed and lamented the abuse. Different attempts were made to bring back the primitive practice, but not always with success. Hence a secession sometimes took place, and new congregations of reformed monks began. We have already mentioned the congregation of Cluni, established in the year 910.

The congregation of Citeaux, since named the Cistercian Order, is become still more famous. It began in the following manner. A monastery of Benedictine monks had been founded in the forest of Molesme, in Burgundy. Strict discipline there flourished with singular edification for some time. Sloth crept in amongst them; the behaviour of some of the brethren was not conformable to the rule they professed. Robert, a truly religious man, was their abbot; by exhortation and example he endeavoured to make them sensible of their obligations. The most regular of the community zealously seconded his endeavours, till finding no good could be done, they requested their abbot's leave to retire into some other solitude, where they might have nothing to disturb them in the perfect observance of their religious institute. The holy abbot approved of their request, and engaged to make one of their number. Robert, therefore, and twenty of his monks, all animated with the spirit of their holy founder, left their undisciplined brethren to themselves in the monastery of Molesme, and settled in a place called Cistercium, or Citeaux, five leagues from Dijon. It was a lonesome spot, clothed with wood, and watered with a small rivulet. The religious colony immediately cleared as much of the ground as was sufficient for their purpose, with the approbation of Walter, the bishop of Chalons, and built themselves separate cells of wood. The duke of Burgundy, charmed with their edifying manner of life, gave them lands, and erected a monastery for their convenience of living in community. This foundation was the parent house of the Cistercian body, which in the course of time became very numerous. They professed and practised the original rule of St. Bennet in its fullest strictness. Their first abbot St. Robert, who passed the last years of his life at Molesme, died in the year 1110.

Nine years before the death of Robert, died another eminent servant of God, St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusian monks, who carried monastic discipline to a higher degree of corporal austerity, than the west had yet seen. Bruno was descended of an ancient family, and born at Cologne. His pious parents provided him with a good education in the episcopal college of that city; he embraced an ecclesiastical state, and in consideration of his virtue and talents was vested with a canonship in the cathedral. Eager to improve

himself in the different branches of sacred and profane literature, he removed to Rheims, where he was appointed to teach, and to preside over the public schools. The manner in which he acquitted himself of that important trust, opened to him a fair prospect of high ecclesiastical preferment. But the virtuous Bruno raised his views much higher. Temporal advantages were of little estimation with a man who had his thoughts wholly turned on heaven. His delight was solitude. He connected himself in close friendship with six of the students, whose sentiments were congenial with his, and persuaded them to accompany him into some lonely retreat, where nothing could occur to draw their attention off from God, or break their exercises of a contemplative life. An unfrequented desert in the neighbourhood of Grenoble suited their design. They requested the bishop's leave, who was master of the place, there to fix their residence. The good bishop kindly listened to their request, and pointed out to them a sequestered spot, called the great Chartreuse, remote from the society of men, and almost inaccessible to human steps. It was just the situation they were in quest of; there they resolved to dwell. In the middle of a barren plain, hemmed in with woods and rocky mountains, covered with fogs and snow almost the whole year round, they constructed a church and lowly convent, so divided into cells that each religious had his own without any communication with another. Perpetual solitude and silence reigned within the cloister, unless when the bell summoned the monks to public prayer, or some public duty. To the observance of the Benedictine rule, as far as was compatible with the regulations of an eremitical system, they added corporal austerities, as a spiritual armour against the attacks of their domestic and infernal enemies. They never eat any kind of flesh meat, not even in time of sickness, they observed a strict fast eight months in the year, always wore a platted hair shirt, and slept in their habit upon beds of straw. The Carthusians had nine houses in England when Henry VIII. began to execute his plan of monastic extirpation.

A third order of religious men started into light about the same time, under the guidance of St. Norbert. Norbert was born of noble parentage in the county of Cleves. He entered young among the clergy, not upon any motive of sanctifying himself in that state, but of passing through life at his ease in a reputable station. Graceful in his person, polite in his manner, and agreeable in conversation, he became a favourite at the court of Henry V. and gained preferment in the church, for which he was wholly qualified in point of learning. But being in the receipt of an ample income, he made it his daily business to enjoy and spend it merrily. One day taking his usual ride, accompanied by a single servant, he was suddenly overtaken by a most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which threatened him with instant destruction. The earth opened under his horse's nose, and the surface round was in a sulphurous blaze. Terror gave him serious thoughts; he resolved upon the spot to change his way of life. He addressed himself to his superior, the archbishop of Cologne, disclosed to him the secrets of his soul, and earnestly begged to be admitted to priest's orders. For he felt himself interiorly moved, not only to do penance for his own sins, but

also to exhort others to repentance. Being ordained priest, he resigned his livings into the hands of the bishop, sold his rich patrimony, gave the price of it to the poor, and conformably to Christ's council consecrated himself to the service of God and his neighbour in a state of voluntary poverty. His demeanour was that of a sincere penitent, meek, humble, mortified, and devout. Zealous for the salvation of souls, he sought the Pope, Callistus II. who was then in France, and obtained permission to preach the word of God wherever he might see a prospect of doing good.

The apostolical missionary made excursions into Germany, the Netherlands, and different provinces of France, preaching every where the necessity of repentance. He had a natural talent for speaking in public, a sacred unction accompanied his words, and the conversion of many sinners was the fruit of his exhortations. He came to Laon, in the isle of France. The bishop of the place after much persuasion prevailed upon him there to fix his residence. Norbert now formed an idea of training a body of religious men, who should carry on the apostolic work which he had so usefully begun. Within the diocese of Laon lay a barren spot of ground in the lonesome forest of Coucy, abandoned by its proprietors on account of its ungrateful soil. St. Norbert thought it well situated for his design. The bishop purchased the ground, built a church and monastery upon it, and appropriated the whole for the saint's use. Norbert took possession, and was immediately joined by thirteen virtuous men from Flanders, who wished to serve God under his direction. Their number soon increased to forty, to whom he gave the rule of St. Austin; they all made the three religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; the Order in fact is more than a reformation of the regular canons of St. Austin. Honorius II. sanctioned the institution by a formal bull in 1126. Their habit was white, and they were known in England by the name of White Canons. They were here possessed of thirty houses, when Henry VIII. began the dissolution of monasteries. The barren spot, on which the bishop of Laon built the first house of this order, is called Premontr ; and by this name the Norbertines, or disciples of St. Norbert, were commonly known in France. Soon after the confirmation of his Order, Norbert was promoted against his inclination to the archiepiscopal See of Magdeburg, where he died in 1134.

The watchful providence of God over his Church perhaps in no one instance so advantageously appears as in the institution of religious Orders. These Orders are a kind of sacred militia, embodied by a special call of the Holy Ghost, to edify and assist the Church in her spiritual warfare. By them the exercise of primitive piety is constantly maintained, the evangelical councils are devoutly followed, and the promotion of God's honour is made their sole occupation of life. Some never cease to appease the divine anger by penitential deeds, and to draw down blessings on mankind by fervent prayer, while others lend a more active service to the Church by their writings, by their teaching, their preaching, and other functions of the sacred ministry.

SECTION III. *First General Council of Lateran.*

WE have already mentioned the vigorous exertions made by the first pastors of the Church to root out simony and in- A. D. 1123. continence from the sanctuary. But those vices had taken too deep root, and were too powerfully patronized to yield immediately to exhortation or to censures. They were indeed checked in some degree, but not eradicated. Henry V. was no sooner settled in the Germanic throne, than forgetting all his fair promises he renewed his father's pretensions on the subject of investitures. He had solemnly pledged his word to Paschal II. the successor of Urban, not to renew the claim, and on that condition Paschal consented to crown him. Henry repaired to Rome, the day was fixed, and every preparation made for his coronation in the Church of St. Peter. The ceremony began, the king was called upon to ratify in public the promise he had given; he positively refused, made a signal to his German attendants, who laid violent hands upon the Pope, and put him under confinement, with many of the cardinals and chief clergy. Many Romans joined the imperialists in strongly insisting that the imprisoned pontiff should give his consent to the emperor's demand concerning the right of investitures. Violence at last extorted a forced connivance, and Paschal with reluctance promised to give the emperor no future trouble about the matter. This passed in 1111.

Paschal upon this recovered his liberty; he crowned the emperor, and harmony seemed to be restored. But murmurs soon were heard to rise among the bishops, and loud complaints succeeded, that the Pope, by yielding to Henry's unjust pretensions, had betrayed his trust and sacrificed the Church's rights. Symptoms of a schism upon the subject began to appear. Under those circumstances Paschal summoned a council of bishops to discuss and decide the case. Upwards of a hundred bishops met in the Lateran Church, 1112. The humble pontiff made an explicit profession of his faith before them, acknowledged and condemned the injudicious act he had done, and judging himself on that account to be no longer worthy of presiding over the Church of Christ, earnestly besought the Fathers of the Council, as Godfrey of Viterbo writes, to accept his resignation. The council with one voice rejected his request, declared his forced concession to the emperor to be absolutely null, and the emperor himself, like his father before him, an enemy to the Church. Four years after, a more numerous council assembled in the same Church of Lateran, and passed a similar declaration. Henry still persisted in his pretensions. In the year 1118 he drove Gelasius II. the successor of Paschal, out of Italy, and placed Bourdin, an anti-pope, in his stead. Gelasius sheltered himself in France, where he died in the following year. Gui, archbishop of Vienne, was canonically chosen to succeed him, under the name of Callistus II. Callistus by birth was related to the emperor and to the kings of France and England. Great hopes were entertained that by his means an universal pacification would be effected among all the jarring parties, both in church and state. The public mind was variously agitated in France and Germany; jealous princes were quarrelling

with one another ; Rome was occupied by an antipope, calling himself Gregory VIII. ; his authority was by many acknowledged to be legal.

For composing these public troubles Callistus showed himself very active. He called a council to meet at Rheims in the autumn of 1119. Bishops from Italy, Germany, France, and England, there assembled to the number of two hundred. Lewis the Fat, King of France, appeared in person as the accuser of Henry King of England, for violences committed against his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, and a vassal of France. The debates were carried on in a very disorderly manner ; nothing was concluded. The Pope put an end to the council, and passed into Normandy, where he had an interview with Henry, King of England. Henry alleged such plausible reasons for his conduct towards his brother the Duke of Normandy, that his Holiness thought proper to leave matters as they were between the two brothers, and hastened his journey to Rome. His arrival there was so quick and unexpected, that he took the usurper Gregory unawares, seized his person, degraded and shut him up in a monastery to do penance for his sins.

The overthrow of Bourdin, the antipope, extinguished the schism in Italy, and disconcerted all the measures of Henry the emperor. Henry, under the sentence of excommunication, abandoned by his warmest partisans, and dreading the fate of his late unhappy father, expressed a strong wish for peace with the holy See. Callistus wished nothing more. Twelve negociators were chosen on each side to settle the terms of reconciliation between the mitre and the crown. A diet of the empire met at Worms in 1122. Articles of peace were proposed and agreed on by the parties concerned. The Pope called a general council to meet at Rome in the beginning of the following year 1123. Three hundred bishops and six hundred mitred abbots assembled, according to summons, in the Lateran Church of St. John. The articles agreed on between the pope and emperor in the diet of Worms were read and ratified by the council. By those articles the emperor renounced his pretensions to the right of investitures, as he had hitherto claimed it by the delivery of a ring and crosier : he moreover promised to permit a free and canonical election and consecration of bishops and abbots in all the churches within his dominions. The Pope on his part agreed, that the bishops and abbots elect might do homage to the emperor by a sceptre for the civil rights they held dependant on the crown. Thus ended the disagreeable contest which had been carried on so long, and with such violence between the two powers of spiritual and civil jurisdiction and a line of separation drawn to determine the limits how far each of the two might go without trespassing upon the other.

The council enacted twenty canons for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. The first proscribes all simoniacal practices ; the third reprobates the concubinage of the clergy, and rigorously forbids them to take under their roof any other woman than is mentioned by the great Council of Nice ; the fourth pronounces all lay men guilty of sacrilege, who contrary to the apostolic canons, shall presume to seize upon or alienate for their own or another's profit the property of the Church.

SECTION IV. *Second General Council of Lateran.*

AFTER a long series of troubles and disgrace, which his own imprudence had brought upon him, the Emperor Henry V. A. D. 1139. passed the three last years of his reign in peace; he died in 1125, and dying without issue, in him ended the Saxon line, which for two hundred and seven years, from the election of Henry the Fowler, had swayed the imperial sceptre. For his successor the electors of Germany raised Lothaire II. Count of Supplimburg, to the throne; he was a just and religious prince, and reigned twelve years. His predecessor Henry left a widow in the bloom of youth, called Maud, or Matilda, the daughter of our King Henry I. and grand-daughter of Queen Margaret of Scotland, who was sister to Edgar Etheling. Maud, the empress dowager, took for her second husband Jeffery, Earl of Anjou, surnamed Plantagenet, by whom she had a son called Henry. This Henry in his mother's right mounted the throne of England, and restored the ancient Saxon blood to his royal race.

Pope Callistus died in the year 1124. He was succeeded by Honorius II. on whose death, in 1130, a dangerous schism began. The breath was scarce out of his body, and his death not yet announced to the public, when a majority of cardinals, apprehensive of a riot, privately assembled on the very day to choose a successor. Their votes unanimously fell on Gregory, one of the sacred college, who took the name of Innocent II. Soon after, on the same day, the rest of the cardinals met in another place, and chose one cardinal Peter, to whom they gave the name of Anacletus. Anacletus was the grandson of a rich converted Jew at Rome; being designed for the church, he was sent by his father to study at Paris. Upon his return from thence he passed by Cluni, and there took the religious habit. After some stay there, his father, who had great interest in the court of Rome, prevailed upon Paschal II. to call him home from France, and to give him a cardinal's cap. Elated with his dignity, and being naturally of an ambitious turn of mind, Peter flattered himself with the thought of mounting some day or other into the papal throne. He even then began to pave the way, and being possessed of a rich patrimony, he spared no cost to bribe a faction. It was to defeat the views of this ambitious and simoniacal cardinal, that the uncorrupted members of the sacred college were in such haste to give a successor to Honorius. Anacletus, by dint of money, procured a mob, got possession of Rome, and forced Innocent, the lawful Pope, to fly for protection into France. He then sent to notify his election to all the Christian princes, both of the east and west, but met with no encouragement any where, except in Italy. There many cities declared for him; his chief protector was Roger, Duke of Calabria, on whom he conferred the title of King of Sicily and Lord of Naples. By the help of these his Italian partisans, Anacletus kept possession of Rome, even against the imperial troops, till he died in the year 1138. With him expired the spirit of faction and of schism. Innocent went peaceably back to Rome.

The peace of the church had for some years been broken, not

only by schism, but by heresy, which sprung up in various forms, and in different places, under different teachers. Abailard, famous in history for his connexions with Heloisa, broached new doctrines against the Trinity. His disciple Arnould of Brescia, launched forth into other errors, madly asserting that there was no salvation for the clergy who were possessed of personal property, nor for the bishops who were vested with temporal lordships, nor for the monks who had immovable possessions in common; that all such goods essentially belonged to the prince, and could not be bestowed by him upon any persons but the laity. These strange assertions, propagated by a popular preacher, under the appearance of religion, excited great commotions in the state. Besides Abailard and Arnould, two other dogmatizers, Peter de Bruis, and his disciple Henry, an apostate monk, had for twenty years past been indefatigable in preaching and disseminating their impious tenets through the different provinces of France. Manicheans by principle, they were both equally corrupt in faith and morals. The venerable Peter of Cluni was the first who took up his pen to refute their errors, which are comprised in the five following propositions; 1st. That baptism administered to infants before the use of reason, profits nothing. 2d. That no material temple or special place of divine worship is to be allowed. 3d. That crosses, meant to represent the instrument of our Redeemer's sufferings, are not to be respected, but to be broken and burnt. 4th. That the sacrifice of the mass was an empty nothing, and that bishops and priests did not consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ. 5th. That to pray aloud, or for the dead, was a ridiculous and useless devotion. For the suppression of these errors, and the reparation of evils caused by the late schism, Innocent called a general council to be held at Rome in the Latheran Church, on the 8th day of April, 1139. The council was composed of near a thousand bishops; Innocent presided in person; the bishops who had been schismatically ordained, were deposed, the new heresies condemned and proscribed, thirty canons, in fine, were enacted for the preservation of sound faith and morality, conformable to the holy scripture and ancient decisions of the church. This is the tenth general council.

SECTION V. *St. Bernard.*

THE monastery of Citeaux had no increase of members for the first fifteen years after its foundation. It was under the direction of the holy abbot Stephen Harding, an Englishman, when thirty candidates unexpectedly presented themselves on the same day for admission. The chief amongst them was Bernard, the third of seven brothers, born of a noble family at Fountains Castle, near Dijon, in Burgundy. His rich and pious parents sent him when young to a college of the secular clergy. There he entered upon a regular course of studies: quick parts and diligent application made him shine among his literary competitors. His first appearance in public was accompanied with those advantages of a lively, cultivated genius, which recommend a noble youth to notice in the world. But Bernard discovered nothing in the world

equal to his more exalted views. Nothing transitory, nothing that death or fickle fortune might in a moment snatch from him, engaged his thoughts; supernatural goods alone, which no length of time ever should consume, did he deem worth pursuing, and those he resolved to seek in the pious practices of a monastic life. Full of those Christian sentiments, Bernard, in the twenty-third year of his age, presented himself, with nine and twenty other devout men, before the gate of Cîteaux, humbly requesting the favour of being admitted into the Order. St. Stephen the abbot, judging of their sincerity by the sentiments they expressed, received them with open arms, and gave them the habit in 1114. From that time the monastery of Cîteaux grew into great repute, not from its riches or the stateliness of its buildings, for it was no more than a rustic collection of cells or small huts irregularly thrown together, but from the vigour of its discipline, which excited many to embrace its institute. Candidates for admittance came in so quick one after another, that want of room obliged them to look out for new habitations. Within the short space of two years, four colonies of Cistercian monks swarmed from the mother house, and established four new communities.

St. Stephen the abbot, selected Bernard to go with twelve brethren, and form an establishment in the diocese of Langres, in Champagne. The religious troops set off, walking in procession and singing psalms, till they came to a sequestered vale, in the middle of a wild forest, called the Valley of Wormwood. There, remote from all worldly commerce, they resolved to settle: they grubbed up the ground and built cells. The vale in a short time exchanged its name of Wormwood for that of Claravallis, or as it is now called, Clairvaux. It lies upon the river Aube, eleven leagues from Langres; it then belonged to Hugh, the Earl of Troyes, who bestowed it on this Cistercian colony. Clairvaux, lately the haunt of robbers, now became the seat of harmless monks, and from a barren desert grew into cultivated fields. Public report soon spread the reputation of Bernard and his community through the neighbouring country. Many flocked thither, and made their religious profession amongst them. Their encreasing numbers forced them to emigrate as they had done before from Cîteaux, and Clairvaux itself became a mother house with respect to many other foundations that were peopled from it. The regularity observed by the monks of Clairvaux, was equally strict and edifying. Allowing a short time for rest to weary nature, their hours were divided between the alternate exercise of prayer, study, and manual labour. Profound silence was strictly kept as well by day as in the dead of night, unless when interrupted at fixed hours by the harmonious choir, in singing the praises of Almighty God. A scanty portion of barley bread, with some boiled vegetables, supplied them with a meal barely sufficient, as it seemed to ward off death rather than to nourish life. Such rigid virtue excited the admiration of some, the reproach of others. To the dainty Cenobites of Cluni, who had degenerated from their primitive spirit, it appeared reprehensible, the effect of folly and indiscretion. These allegations against the austerities of the Cistercian Order having made a disadvantageous impression upon the minds of

many, St. Bernard thought himself in charity and in justice bound to apologise to the public for the rigid practices of his religious institute. In a short treatise he modestly justifies the practice, which is founded in the true spirit and doctrine of the gospel.

In quitting the world, Bernard's sole ambition was to serve God in silent solitude; fame would not suffer his eminent virtues and talents to lie dormant in a private cell. Bishops, popes, and princes, sought his advice in the most weighty concerns of the church. Their urgent solicitations drew him into action, and engaged him in many public negociations of difficulty and importance. The resolution being taken to set on foot another expedition for the relief of the distressed Christians in the east, against their Mahometan invaders, St. Bernard was obliged, against his inclination, to undergo the invidious task of preaching a second crusade. Disinterested was his motive, persuasive was his eloquence. To check the growth of a Turkish empire, and to free the Holy Land from the yoke of infidelity, was an enterprise worthy of Christian heroes. But the enterprise failed in its execution, and its failure cast an unmerited load of obloquy upon the man who had encouraged it from the pulpit.

SECTION VI. *Second Crusade.*

THE conquests made in the east by the first crusade were left, as A. D. 1147. we have seen, in a very perilous situation, without internal strength, in the midst of restless enemies, who would naturally strive to recover what they had lost. The Christian conquerors of Jerusalem had to contend not only with the Mahometan Saracens, who sprung from Arabia, but also with a more hardy and more savage race of Mahometans rushing from the forests of Great Tartary. These barbarians, called Turks, had for many years been intermixed with the Mahometan armies of Persia, had adopted their religion, and by degrees had gained such an ascendancy, as to give the law and a Sultan to the Persian Mussulmans. These fierce warriors were equally hostile to the Saracens and Christians. Before the first crusade they had subdued a part of Armenia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia, and erected the Turkish kingdom of Asia Minor. They continued to extend their conquests, till in the process of time they drove the Christian princes from the east, and possessed themselves of the whole Saracen empire.

In the first crusade the Latins established four independent principalities, namely, that of Edessa, upon the river Euphrates, those of Tripoli and Antioch in Syria, and finally, the kingdom of Jerusalem in Palestine. Sound policy, when the motive of religion failed, should have linked them fast in one confederate league of friendship and defence against the common enemy: but partial views disunited them, and each set up a separate interest for itself. Jerusalem had the misfortune to lose Godfrey, her valiant and pious sovereign, before he had completed the first year of his reign. His brother and successor, Baldwin, the Count of Edessa, reigned eighteen years: upon the demise of this prince, Baldwin II. his relation, was chosen to replace him. This prince held the reins of government eleven years without advancing its interest. His son-in-law Fulk

succeeded, who, dying in the year 1142, transmitted the sceptre to his son Baldwin III. a minor, thirteen years of age.

In this posture of affairs, Noradin, a Turkish chief, who had raised himself against the Saracens to the dignity of Sultan of Aleppo, attacked the town of Edessa, which after a siege of two years, he took and destroyed in 1144. The total ruin of this principality cast the other three into a most dreadful consternation, not doubting but the next attack would be against one of them. They felt themselves too weak to cope with the mighty conqueror, and had no succours to expect but from the Christian powers of the west. They dispatched messengers to Europe with instructions to describe the forlorn situation they were in, and to solicit a second crusade. Conrad III. Duke of Suabia, had then succeeded Lothaire II. in the imperial throne; Lewis VII. swayed the sceptre of France; from these two princes, succours were chiefly sought and expected. Eugenius III. sat in St. Peter's chair. This Pope, who succeeded Lucius II. and Celestin II. the successor of Innocent II. had been the disciple of St. Bernard at Clairvaux, and to him the holy abbot wrote his treatise of Consideration. Eugenius, alarmed at the danger which threatened the holy land, used his endeavours to unite the powers of Germany and France in another expedition for its defence. He wrote to Lewis of France upon the subject, and by the advice of that king sent an order to the abbot of Clairvaux to leave his peaceful cell, and preach the expediency of a social war against the Mahometan invaders of the holy land. The abbot, in obedience to the order, immediately began his excursions through the two kingdoms of France and Germany, setting forth from the pulpit the glory and the merit of an undertaking to rescue their Christian brethren from the yoke of tyrannic infidels. The noble object of the enterprise, strongly recommended by the persuasive eloquence and character of the preacher, infused an enthusiastic ardour into the breasts of all who were capable of bearing arms. Lewis and Conrad publicly took the cross; their subjects vied with each other who should be the first to follow their example.

Two numerous armies were soon formed. Many engaged on the noble principles of honour and religion; the motives of others were not so pure, as their subsequent conduct proved. The prospect of plunder, the opportunity of eluding the payment of their debts, and of escaping from the hands of justice, induced numbers to enlist in the holy service. Conrad at the head of seventy thousand horse, and as many infantry, began to march on Ascension day, in the year 1147. Lewis, with an army equally gallant, and as well equipped, followed him a fortnight after: both directed their route towards Constantinople. Military discipline was not so well observed, as might be expected from soldiers engaged in such a cause. When they entered the Greek territory many irregularities and depredations were committed by them. The German army reached Constantinople two months sooner than the French. Manuel Comnenus inherited the crown and the perfidy of his grandfather Alexis. The devastations made by the Latin troops, in their march through his territories, had greatly irritated him, and determined him to effect their ruin, under the friendly appearance of lending them as-

sistance. He conveyed them over the Hellespont, furnished them with guides, and wished them good success. But to the guides he gave secret instructions that they should conduct the German army through the most barren and impracticable part of the country, till they came to a mountaineous desert, where they should then leave them. He took care to inform the Sultan of Iconium of the plan he had laid for the destruction of his enemies, who were coming to attack him. His malignant expectations were fully gratified. Conrad, under the direction of his false guides, advanced into a vast wilderness, intersected with mountains, from which he could discover no outlet. The guides on a sudden disappeared, provisions were exhausted, crowds of armed infidels rushed down from the hills; nine parts out of ten of the Christian army perished. Conrad escaped with difficulty. Lewis in the interim had taken the same route and experienced the same fate. In the midst of their misfortunes the two monarchs met; though reduced in numbers, they persisted in their resolution of going to the holy land. They led off the remnants of their mighty armies to the coast, procured shipping, and by sea gained the Syrian shore. They marched straight to Jerusalem, and performed their devotions at the holy Sepulchre. No enemy appearing in the field against them, they resolved to attempt some new conquest before their return to Europe, lest they might seem to have made all their military preparations to no purpose. In conjunction with the Christian forces of Syria, they laid siege to the strong town of Damascus. Their bad fortune here followed them. The town was upon the eve of surrendering, when treachery, or jealousy, disconcerted their operations, and obliged them to raise the siege with disgrace.

The miscarriage of this expedition raised a loud outcry against St. Bernard, who had promoted it with a seeming promise of success. The saint in his defence modestly replied, that all he had done in preaching the crusade, was done by obedience, not by choice; that the crusaders, like the ancient Israelites, when marching through the desert in quest of the promised land, had provoked God by their disorderly conduct, and rendered themselves undeserving of the success which their arms might otherwise have had; that he could not foresee, and consequently could not in justice undergo the blame of Greek perfidiousness, to which the failure of the expedition in human appearance was chiefly owing. St. Bernard fell into a lingering illness in the year 1153. Abstinence and fatigue had now quite exhausted his constitution, which was naturally delicate.—Precious was his death in the sight of God, but bitterly lamented by all his brethren. The amiable virtues that adorned his soul still breathe through his much esteemed writings. His meekness, his humility, his charity, his tender piety, and ardent love of God, draw respect and commendation from all who have the least relish for spiritual things. His name closes the catalogue of those learned and pious writers who are styled Fathers of the Church.

SECTION VII. *Henry II. King of England.*

AFTER the death of William Rufus in 1100, the British sceptre passed successively from one usurper to another, till the A. D. 1154. demise of the empress Maud gave her son Henry II. an indisputable right to the throne. Henry I. the conqueror's youngest son, taking the advantage of Robert, his elder brother's absence in the holy land, seized the crown. The nation at that time laboured under many grievances, which the Norman conquest had introduced into the church and state. Nothing was more common than to seize the revenues of a vacant bishopric or abbey, and to farm out or sell the ecclesiastical benefices. These and many other grievances Henry solemnly promised to redress. The barons of the realm believing him to be sincere, swore allegiance to him, and Maurice, bishop of London, set the crown upon his head. A very short time discovered that a prince educated in the palace of his despotic father, had too deeply imbibed the principles of governing with a high hand, to be bound by political promises, or cramped in the exercise of regal power by a coronation oath. Duke Robert, his brother, returned soon after from the holy land, where his gallant actions had acquired him a great name. He immediately laid claim to the crown of England, which the right of primogeniture gave him over his brother Henry. His Norman subjects heartily espoused his cause, and a powerful party of the English nobility was waiting in readiness to join his standard. Robert landed at Portsmouth; Henry marched with the troops, which he had hastily collected together to oppose him. The two armies came in sight of each other in an open plain; they stood drawn up in battle array, ready to engage, when terms of accommodation between the two brothers were unexpectedly proposed and accepted. Robert returned to Normandy, with the promise of a pension from England; Henry remained in possession of the crown. The Duke after this forgot his former heroism, and ingloriously sunk into the habits of indolence and effeminacy, which ultimately proved his ruin. His unprincipled conduct occasioned strange disorder and confusion in the state. Discontent and disaffection rose among the nobles of Normandy. They invited Henry to come over and restore order among them. No invitation was ever more welcome to a prince who wished to extend his territory. He had long fixed his eye on Normandy.

The scale was now turned between the two brothers. Henry collected a powerful army, laid his English subjects under heavy contributions, embarked his troops, and landed on the Norman coast, with a determined resolution to obtain by bribery, or by force, his brother's patrimony. Roused with indignation, Robert met him in the field, and imprudently risked his all upon the issue of a single battle. The degraded Edgar Etheling fought by his side; both fell into the victor's hands, and were carried prisoners to England. Robert was confined in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire, where he died after a thirty years imprisonment. Edgar had a small pension settled on him for life. With that he lived content in obscurity to a good old age, wholly neglected and for-

gotten by the world. Normandy, deprived of its Duke, became a province, subject to England, in the year 1106.

It was of this seizure of his brother's territory and person, in the manner here related, that Lewis, the king of France, accused Henry, as we have mentioned above, in the council of Rheims. But the reduction of Normandy had now given such an addition of strength to Henry's government, as to set him above the control of all foreign and domestic power. He had in his hands the means of enforcing obedience to his despotic mandates, and of ruling with the arbitrary sway which his father had established, without respect to the ancient laws and customs of the realm. The nobles of the land caught the same domineering spirit; where they could do it with impunity, they trampled on their vassals in the same oppressive manner: the revenues of churches were usurped by rapacious harpies of the court; the bishops durst not, or could not, oppose the evil. The conqueror had been by turns the oppressor and protector of the Church, as it suited his interest. His successor Rufus was bound by no ties of conscience or of religion. He rioted in the plunder of vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Henry in many instances followed his brother's sacrilegious example. These and other abuses, which an arbitrary stretch of power had introduced and carried on through two successive reigns, began under Henry I. to be denominated the ancient customs of the realm. These customs, far from being ancient, were notoriously new, and founded in injustice. A surfeit, occasioned by eating too plentifully of lampreys, carried off Henry in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign, in 1135. Political skill in the management of his affairs, success in his military undertakings, and a rich treasury, have placed Henry among the greatest of our English kings. But his good qualities were overbalanced by three notorious vices, cruelty, avarice, and lust. He is the last male of the royal Norman race.

Henry left no son to succeed him. By his will he settled the crown both of England and Normandy upon his only daughter, named Maud or Matilda. This princess had been married to the emperor Henry V. and being left a widow without issue, took for a second husband Geoffry Plantagenet, the Earl of Anjou. That no opposition to his will might arise after his death, Henry exacted from the nobles and bishops of England and Normandy an oath of fealty to her, while he was yet alive. His precautions were baffled by Stephen his nephew. Stephen was a Frenchman, third son to the Earl of Blois, by Adela, a daughter of the Conqueror. He had a younger brother, called Henry, who had embraced an ecclesiastical state. The late king invited them both to England, loaded Stephen with riches and honours, and promoted Henry to the See of Winchester. Stephen employed his uncle's bounty to promote his own ambitious views, to the prejudice of his cousin Matilda. He courted popularity, and made many friends among the leading men of the nation, who might one day help him, as he fondly hoped, into the English throne. At the first report of Henry's death he posted into England, called together the powerful friends he had made, and by their means caused himself to be proclaimed king. William the Primate crowned him on St. Stephen's day.

Matilda in the interim had been informed of what was going on in England; she lost no time in preferring her claim to the crown, to which her birth and her father's will gave her a just title. She landed at Arundel, on the Sussex coast, with a few followers; a respectable force soon joined her standard; civil war began; the two armies met at Lincoln; a decisive battle placed Matilda on the throne; Stephen was taken prisoner. The contest would have ended there, if Maud had known how to preserve what conquest gave her. By her imperious conduct she soon forfeited the affection of her subjects. The high-spirited barons would not submit to the arbitrary mandates of a woman; they would have a king; they had recourse to arms; fortune turned, Stephen remounted the throne, and Matilda fled for safety into France. Stephen remained in peaceable possession for some years, till Prince Henry, the son of Maud, was of an age to assert his mother's claim. The prince came to England, where a formidable power was ready to receive him. It was now expected that all the calamities of a civil war would be renewed, when a friendly compromise between two contending parties was proposed and accepted. To spare the effusion of kindred blood, it was agreed that Stephen should hold the crown during his life-time, and that at his death Henry should succeed as the lawful heir. Stephen survived this treaty but one year; Henry ascended the throne without opposition, although his mother Matilda, through whom he derived his title, was still living in the year 1154.

SECTION VIII. *St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

ON the nineteenth of December 1154, Henry Plantagenet of Anjou, and his Queen Eleanor, were crowned at Winchester by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. This A.D. 1162. is the famed Eleanor, daughter and sole heiress of William IV. Duke of Guienne. She had been married to Lewis VII. of France, had lived with him fourteen years, and had borne him two daughters. She accompanied her royal consort in the expedition which he undertook with Conrad for the relief of the holy land. Her gallantries at Antioch were notorious; the king resolved to procure a total divorce from her, could it be lawfully done. After his return from the east he ordered a council of bishops and nobles to meet and discuss the point. The question to be decided was, not whether the bond of matrimony was to be dissolved, which no human power on earth is enabled to do, but whether the bond of matrimony between Lewis and Eleanor was ever really tied. There are certain impediments, there are prohibited degrees of consanguinity, which render a marriage absolutely null. It was juridically proved, that from proximity of blood such an impediment existed between Lewis and Eleanor previous to the marriage ceremony: in consequence of which the bishops pronounced the ceremony to have been of no effect, that there was no marriage, and that both parties, having never been lawfully joined, were free to marry whom they pleased. Eleanor departed from Lewis and took back with her all her hereditary demesnes. The young prince of Anjou immediately offered her his hand, and, notwithstanding her disparity of age, her haughtiness of

temper, and the lewdness of her behaviour in the east, married her within six weeks after her separation from King Lewis, in the year 1152. A vast accumulation of wealth and territory now centered in Henry at his accession to the English throne. In right of his father he possessed Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; in right of his mother, England and Normandy; in right of his wife, Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois and Limousin, to which he soon after added little Brittany.

Henry was a prince of great personal abilities; but his ambition and lust sometimes hurried him into difficulties and disgrace which all his shining qualifications will never wipe away. From both parents he inherited all the despotic principles of the continent, which is said to have given no small alarm to the whole English nation from the time he mounted the throne. Such was the public opinion of him. Violent and fiery in his temper, he would suffer no contradiction. Peter of Blois, the pious and learned archdeacon of Bath who lived for some time in his court, and thoroughly knew him, tells us,* that Henry, "although mild as a lamb so long as his mind was pleased, was a lion, or more cruel than a lion, when angry." His quarrel with Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the cruel methods he pursued in venting his spleen against him, verifies this account given of his temper by the archdeacon. The account is confirmed by Fitz-Stephens, a contemporary writer, who lived in the archbishop's family, and saw him assassinated.

Thomas Becket, the first Englishman who rose to any considerable station since the conquest, was born in London of a good family. From his earliest years care was taken to form his mind by study and the principles of religion in a monastery of canon regulars. After that he went to the University of Oxford, and for further improvement travelled into France and Italy; he studied the civil and canon law both at Paris and Bologna. At his return to England he took holy orders: archbishop Theobald ordained him, and made him his archdeacon, the first ecclesiastical dignitary in England after the bishops and mitred abbots. The archbishop entertained a very high opinion of him, did nothing of consequence without him, sent him on different occasions to Rome upon business of the greatest moment, and finding his integrity equal to his talents, finally recommended him to the king for preferment. The king was already prepossessed in the archdeacon's favour. He knew it was by his advice that Theobald had refused to crown Eustachius the late king's son, as Stephen had required of him, in order to exclude Henry from the throne. He took the first opportunity to make him chancellor. The deportment of Thomas in that high station was tempered with such mildness and attention, in an impartial administration of justice, that it gained him the esteem and good will of all men, especially of his sovereign. The king was never better pleased than in his company, frequently dined with him, and committed to his care the education of his eldest son Henry.

Theobald, the archbishop, died in 1160. Henry was then in Normandy with his chancellor; he immediately took the resolution

* Epis. 75.

of raising him to the primacy, and sent to inform the clergy of England and the chapter of Canterbury, that such was his royal pleasure. Thomas, with a sincerity peculiar to his character, humbly declined the honour, used every argument to dissuade the king from persisting in his design, and, amongst other reasons, frankly told his majesty, "That should God permit him to be archbishop of Canterbury, he should lose his royal favour, and probably incur his severest anger. "For," added he, "your majesty will be pleased to suffer me to tell you, that several things you do in prejudice of the inviolable rights of the Church, make me fear that you will require of me what in conscience I never can agree to." The king paid no attention to his remonstrances; measures for his election went on quietly in England, Thomas was canonically chosen on the eve of Whitsunday, in 1162. He reluctantly submitted to the charge, which he no longer could refuse, and repaired immediately from London to Canterbury, where he was consecrated bishop by Henry bishop of Winchester, on Trinity Sunday. John of Salisbury brought him the Pallium from Pope Alexander III. who had been obliged to retire from Italy for safety into France.

The new archbishop entered upon his pastoral office with a virtuous resolution to discharge the duties of it to the extent of his abilities. A corrupt clergy, a temporising prelacy, a haughty nobility, and an imperious sovereign, opened to him a prospect beset on every side with risks and difficulties. Conscious of his own insufficiency without the aid of divine grace, he relied with pious confidence on God alone, for success in his undertaking. John of Salisbury, his chaplain, and afterwards bishop of Chartres in France, tells us, that Thomas Becket, from being a courtier and busy officer of state, became a mortified and interior man, wholly detached from secular business, and solely employed in the exercise of his sacred functions. He resigned the chancellorship, judging it to be incompatible with his episcopal charge. His custom was to rise at two o'clock in the morning, which gave him time for private devotion, for prayer, meditation, and reading, before he began to transact public business. He chastised his body with the spirit of St. Paul; he daily washed the feet of thirteen poor men, to whom he gave an alms; he doubled the ordinary alms of his predecessor. The extraordinary effusions of his bounty were such, that his whole revenue seemed to belong not so much to him as to the poor, whom he considered as his brethren in Christ. Frugal were his meals, water was his drink, while for others he kept a table decently served, conformable to the rules of hospitality. Next his skin he wore a rough hair-cloth, over which he put on the habit of a Benedictine monk, and over that a canon's dress of light stuff. Every one had free access to him, and no one returned without bestowing the highest praises upon the goodness and affability of the virtuous prelate. Such are the outlines of St. Thomas's moral character, as drawn by his contemporaries Fitz-Stephen, John of Salisbury, and Hoveden. They are copied even by Mr. Hume, who admits the justness of the portrait, while he dashes it with the foulest aspersions that blind prejudice can cast upon the intention of an upright man.

SECTION IX. *Sufferings of St. Thomas of Canterbury.*

MANY lands belonging to the See of Canterbury had been usurped by powerful laymen; the archbishop sued for and recovered them with the king's approbation. But the king's friendship for Thomas soon after cooled, upon the latter's refusing to retain the chancellorship. He then began to enforce certain pretensions, which infringed the inviolable rights of the Church. These pretensions were partly new, and partly of some standing, which his Norman predecessors had tyrannically introduced, and which he was now determined to establish by law, as ancient usages of the realm. An open breach ensued; a stubborn contest between the crown and mitre commenced with great violence on one side, and with equal firmness on the other. The question was, not as the Scotch historian sarcastically states it, whether the king or the priest, particularly the primate, should be sovereign of England; but whether the king should govern or not govern according to those maxims of justice and religion which he found established by King Edward the Confessor's laws, and which Henry himself, by his coronation oath, had solemnly promised to observe. Thomas, like a dutiful and faithful subject acknowledged the king's sovereign power in civil matters, but with evangelical freedom he opposed an arbitrary invasion of those spiritual powers which Christ has committed to his Church.*

By the king's proceedings the young reader may be inclined to suspect that some encroachment was intended upon the prerogatives of his crown, and that the Church was taking measures to invade his civil rights. No such intention appeared from any facts, or from any measures, which the king seemed to suppose, but never proved. The encroachment was from the king himself. He began by calling upon the bishops to promise upon oath that they would maintain all the customs of the realm. The oath was captiously worded. Under the cover of customs lay concealed certain notorious abuses and usurpations against the sacred rights of the Church. This the bishops well knew, and at first unanimously refused to take the oath, unless permitted to add the saving clause, "as far as was lawful or consistent with duty." The king flew into a mighty rage: the bishops trembled; fear overset their first resolution; the primate alone stood firm; they besought and pressed him to relent. At length he yielded to their entreaties, and in general terms promised to comply with the king's order. General terms answered not the king's purpose. He specified his pretensions, and in sixteen articles set forth his claims, which he wished to incorporate into the laws of the land. He summoned a national council of the nobility and prelates to meet him at Clarendon, one of his country seats, near Salisbury. Threats and bribes were employed in the interim to gain the barons over to the king's measures. The council met according to appointment; the bishops were overawed by the strong combination formed against them; they had not the courage to resist; they used their utmost endeavours to prevail on the archbishop to join them. He

* Acts xx. 28.

stood out for a long time, till being disarmed partly by their entreaties, and partly by their plausible remonstrances, he was persuaded to follow their judgment rather than his own, and so voted with the rest. The king's sixteen propositions, which thus obtained the force of law, are called the constitutions of Clarendon. The tendency of them was to restrain the spiritual powers of the Church, to subvert its authority, and to alienate its property, to subject its ancient discipline to the royal ordinances, to separate it from the See of Rome, and to establish schism ; so that when they were laid before the Pope's tribunal, and their meaning thoroughly investigated, only six of them were found to be exempt from censure ; the other ten were absolutely condemned.

The council being dismissed, the archbishop set off for Winchester. As he went along, he chanced to hear some of his attendants murmuring amongst themselves, that the Church was betrayed, that the bishops had forfeited their honour and their conscience. The archbishop heard, and was struck at the reproach ; he began seriously to reflect, he turned the matter over in his mind, and the mist, as it were, being suddenly dispersed from his understanding, he clearly saw the guilty oversight he had committed ; like St. Peter, he wept bitterly upon it, publicly retracted all that he had been persuaded to do at Clarendon, and imposed upon himself a severe course of penance, till he should receive absolution from the Pope, who was then at Sens. This retraction and repentance of the primate vexed the king more than all the opposition he had hitherto experienced from him. Rage, and the thirst of revenge, transported him beyond all bounds of moderation ; by the violence of his proceedings Henry lost himself, and turned the public mind in favour of the persecuted prelate.

The archbishop hoped that absence might possibly allay the storm ; he secretly withdrew out of the kingdom into Flanders. From thence he repaired to the Pope at Sens, by whom he was kindly received. In the interim the exasperated King of England sequestered the revenues of the See of Canterbury, which he put into the hands of Ralph de Brock, one of the most daring and profligate of men. The next violent step he took was to confiscate the goods of all the primate's relations, friends and domestics. Having thus reduced no less than four hundred of innocent persons to a state of beggary, he obliged them to depart out of England ; but before he let them go he compelled them all to swear that they would find out the archbishop and endeavour to soften him into a compliance with the king's will. The archbishop had retired to the monastery of Pontigni, belonging to the Cistercian monks, with whom he lived as one of the community. Henry was informed of it, and immediately wrote to the general chapter of Citeaux, threatening to expel all their brethren out of England, if they continued to harbour his enemy. The Pope tried every lenient measure to infuse more Christian sentiments into the breast of that vindictive prince. The king of France interposed his mediation for peace between Henry and the archbishop. Upwards of six years were spent in fruitless negotiation. All difficulties were at length removed ; reconciliation took place ; Henry consented that the primate should return to his church in peace.

During the contest, complaints had been carried to Rome against Roger, the mercenary archbishop of York, and his two accomplices in evil, the bishops of London and Salisbury. The Pope laid them all three under the censure of suspension and interdict; the packet, containing the censure, was delivered to the archbishop of Canterbury, who forwarded it on to England. The three suspended prelates met the archbishop in his way to Canterbury, and in a menacing tone insisted upon his absolving them from their censures. Thomas meekly replied, that he was ready to grant their request, provided they were ready on their part to fulfil the customary conditions which the Church prescribes in such cases. They refused to submit, and pursued their journey to Normandy, where the king was. When they arrived at the palace, they renewed their complaints against the primate as a disturber of the public peace. The king in wrath uttered a rash curse, which indicated a wish to get rid of a troublesome priest. Four wicked knights, whose officious study ever was to anticipate their royal master's will, instantly agreed to take away the archbishop's life. With that bloody design they set off for England. There they were joined by Renald de Broke, who furnished them with a military force. They repaired to Canterbury, broke into the cathedral at the hour of Vespers, and savagely murdered the archbishop before the high altar, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1170.

The shock, which this atrocious murder excited, was universal; no one felt or expressed it more than the king himself. Conscious of his guilt, he endeavoured to make reparation by the most humiliating and unfeigned marks of repentance at the tomb of the holy martyr. The abuses which, under the name of customs, he had endeavoured to introduce and enact into laws, he solemnly renounced and annulled, and restored to the church all the lands and revenues which he had sacrilegiously usurped. Thus did the martyr conquer by his death: and had he not been a churchman, he probably might have been extolled as the champion of civil as well as of religious liberty, by those very men who now load his memory with the most bitter invectives. Mr. Hume, with his usual inconsistency on religious subjects, first tells his readers, "that no man can reasonably doubt of this prelate's sincerity," and then pronounces his enterprises to have been no other than the enterprises of pride and ambition covered from the world, and probably from himself, under the disguise of sanctity and of zeal for the interests of piety and religion. To sacrifice every worldly enjoyment, honours, riches, ease, and life itself, rather than surrender the rights of justice and religion, is the strongest proof a man can give of his sincerity. How sincerity can be the cover of dissimulation, and how a pious zeal for justice can be nothing less than pride and ambition in disguise, let the reader judge.

SECTION X. *Third General Council of Lateran.*

WHILE Henry II. of England was endeavouring to fetter the church with his oppressive statutes, Frederic the emperor, proceeded with more disastrous violence against the Roman See. Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa, was the nephew of

Conrad III. whom he succeeded in 1152. He wisely began his reign on the principle of moderation, treading in the footsteps of his religious uncle and predecessor. He entered into a political alliance with the good pope Eugenius III.; the object of that alliance was to repel the aggressions of the Greek emperor in Italy, and to quell the seditious spirit that disturbed the peace of Rome. Eugenius died in 1153; Anastasius IV. succeeded him, who reigned only sixteen months. At his death Adrian IV. an Englishman by birth, was raised to the pontificate, in 1154. In the following year Frederic went to Rome, and was solemnly crowned. Adrian, in a letter which he wrote some time after to the emperor, made use of an expression which gave no small umbrage to the Germans. The expression was simply this, "we have conferred a favour on you."* The emperor was made to believe that the Pope by those words meant to insinuate the dependence of the imperial crown upon the holy See. He immediately took fire, and insisted upon a reparation of the insult offered to the independence of his crown. Upon this Adrian deputed two legates with a letter, to assure his imperial majesty that his words had been misconstrued, that the sense attributed to them was the farthest from his thoughts, and that he simply meant to express nothing more than that he had done him the good office of setting the crown upon his majesty's head. The emperor was satisfied with the Pope's declaration, and a right understanding was restored between them.

Adrian died soon after, in the fifth year of his reign, 1159. The cardinals and bishops assembled in St. Peter's at Rome, to give him a successor. At the end of three days' consultation they were unanimous, with the exception of three dissenting votes, in their choice of Cardinal Roland, whose known probity and learning gave him the preference to all others; he took the name of Alexander III. Octavian, an ambitious cardinal, and one of the three who had dissented from the rest, was vexed to see himself baffled in his views by the promotion of Alexander. He prevailed on his two dissenting brethren to give him their votes, on the strength of which he assumed the name of Victor, and by the help of a senatorial faction thrust himself into St. Peter's chair. Alexander was forced to quit Rome, and to seek refuge in France. Schism was established. The partisans of Victor endeavoured to justify their conduct, by publishing to the Christian world what had passed at Rome. Their publication only served to show the weakness of their cause. They allowed that Alexander had the advantage over them in a plurality of votes, and the priority of time in his election, but that the election had been carried through the influence of William, king of Sicily, the emperor's professed enemy. This declaration on the part of Victor must be considered as a fair concession, that his invasion of the pontificate was planned and executed on no other ground than that of political intrigue. We are indebted to John of Salisbury for opening to us the secret springs of these infamous transactions. This author, in his fifty ninth epistle, tells us, that being at Rome, in the pontificate of Adrian, he had discovered a project, formed by the en-

* *Contulimus beneficium.*

terprising Frederic, to re-establish the former grandeur of the empire, by compelling the whole west to acknowledge the sovereign dominion of Rome; and that the Pope must be made to concur with him in the vast design, by excommunicating all those princes against whom it might please the emperor to declare war. Alexander was not the Pope to prostitute his spiritual powers for so unwarrantable a purpose. Frederic wished to have a Pope subservient to his views; he espoused the pretensions of Victor. Unwilling to pass for an open abettor of schism, he summoned a certain number of German and Italian bishops to assemble at Pavia, and to pronounce on the merits of the two competitors for the papal crown. They were all at his devotion, and decided as he wished. All the west besides acknowledged Alexander for the lawful Pope.

Frederic commenced a desolating war against those who had the courage to oppose his schemes; he entirely razed the ancient town of Milan to the ground, with all its churches; to the devastation of war he added the terror of persecution and banishment against all persons of any rank, who refused obedience to his antipope. Alexander, with many of his catholic adherents, fled for refuge into France, where he was supported by the charities of the Faithful. His schismatical competitor usurped the name of Pope for four years and a half; he died without any signs of repentance, in 1164. The German and Italian schismatics lost no time in substituting another in his room, who took the name of Paschal, and was acknowledged by the emperor. This antipope signalized his usurpation by a mock canonization of Charlemagne, under the direction of Frederic. No lawful Pope either ratified or condemned the act, Charlemagne from that time has in some places been honoured as a saint. Paschal enjoyed his assumed title for about the same length of time as his predecessor. Upon his death the faction chose John, the abbot of Strum, to replace him, and named him Callistus. This antipope, after a lapse of ten years, being no longer countenanced by the emperor, abjured his schism, and submitted to Alexander, who received him with open arms into his communion.

Frederic was now grown weary of his own proceedings, which he had carried on for eighteen years with such hostile animosity against the Pope and his faithful adherents, the Lombards and the King of Sicily. The censure of excommunication, under which he had long lain, and the defeats which he experienced in the field, made him wish for peace. He let Alexander know how much he desired a reconciliation with the holy See: he sent deputies with full powers to negotiate in his name; the preliminaries were soon settled; the Pope and emperor met at Venice; the emperor renounced the schism, the Pope absolved him from the censure of excommunication, and a peace on solid grounds was concluded between the church and empire in 1177. His Holiness returned to Rome, and issued a bull for the convocation of a general council, to meet in 1179. Its object was to repair the evils occasioned by a long schism, and to concert measures for preventing the like in future.

Upwards of three hundred bishops met in the Lateran Church on the fifth day of March, 1179. The Pope presided in person. Nec-

tarius, a Greek abbot, deputed by the Emperor Manuel, represented the Church of Constantinople. The Latin prelates of the east assisted, among whom the most distinguished was William, archbishop of Tyre, author of the best history we have of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. In three sessions the bishops finished the business for which they had been called together : they enacted twenty-seven canons, the first of which regards the election of a new Pope : and it states, that if an unanimity of suffrages cannot be obtained, two-thirds, at least, must concur in the same person to make the election valid ; and that whoever shall presume to take upon himself the office or the name of Pope, with a number of votes less than two thirds, shall, upon conviction, be considered as an excommunicated person, incapable of exercising any ecclesiastical function whatever.

SECTION XI. *Fall of Jerusalem.*

THE Latin kingdom of Jerusalem never promised to be of any long duration. Internal divisions began soon after its A. D. 1187. first establishment to consume the little strength it contained within itself. The fatal miscarriage of the second crusade convinced the infidels that they had not much to fear from European Christians, whom they had hitherto been taught to dread as irresistible heroes in the field. The two military Orders of Hospitalers and Templars, that had been instituted for the defence of the country, no longer answered the design of their institution. The disorderly and faithless conduct of the Templars hastened the ruin of all the Latin establishments in the east. Saladin the Turk, who had made himself master of Egypt, of Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, had now left the Christians no place of any strength which was not hemmed in by the Turkish dominions. The Christians were not in sufficient force to contend with so powerful a conqueror ; they made a truce with him.

Baldwin IV. the feeble King of Jerusalem, died in 1185 ; his young nephew and successor Baldwin V. died the year after, and Gui of Lusignan, who was married to Sybilla, the sister of Baldwin IV. mounted the throne. The knights Templars pretended a total exemption from all duties of faithful subjects ; they neither respected nor obeyed his authority. Governed, as it seems, by no other principle than that of undisciplined soldiers, they seized and plundered the Turkish caravans in their way to Mecca. Saladin insisted upon satisfaction ; it was refused. He declared the truce to be at an end ; full of revenge he entered the Christian territory, at the head of fifty thousand men. To oppose him the king of Jerusalem mustered all the troops he could ; they were but few ; three thousand foot, and seven hundred horse. The two armies met at Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, a city on the coast of Phenicia, bordering upon Palestine ; they engaged in an obstinate battle, which lasted on very unequal terms for two days. Numbers in the end prevailed ; the Christians were totally defeated ; their king, with the two grand masters of the knights of St. John and of the Templars, were made prisoners.

The victorious Sultan laid siege to Acre, which he took at the

end of two days : then pushing on his conquest, he marched straight to Jerusalem. The city was in a respectable state of defence, and might have stood a long siege : but the inhabitants were so dispirited and divided among themselves, that they sent to treat with the enemy at his very first appearance. Saladin at first would listen to no proposals, being fully determined to retaliate upon the Christians for the inhuman slaughter of seventy thousand Mussulmen, when Godfrey and the first crusaders got possession of the city. The queen, in the absence of her captive consort, assembled the lords of council, and by their advice, in a second message, represented to the Sultan how dangerous it was even for a conqueror to drive a strong city to extremities, and in positive terms assured him, that they would fight it out to the very last, if an honourable capitulation were not granted them. Saladin upon this grew more tractable ; he consented to spare the lives of the citizens on their paying a light tax, and to let all the Europeans depart with their private property, on condition they surrendered the city to him in the state it was. All was faithfully executed according to agreement. Thus, without a drop of blood being shed, the Turks took possession of the holy city on the second day of October 1187, eighty-eight years after the Christians had taken it from the Saracens. All the Latins quitted the city ; the Armenian, Syrian, and Greek Christians remained.

Saladin ordered the crosses, which the Christians had set up, to be pulled down, the church bells to be broken in pieces, the patriarchal church to be washed with rose water, and again converted into a Turkish mosque. The same kind of lustration was performed in all the other churches, except that of the holy Sepulchre, which the Syrian Christians redeemed, and which the Turks suffered to remain with the view of drawing pilgrims and money into the country. The fall of Jerusalem reduced the whole Latin force in the east to three solitary cities, Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre.

About six years before this melancholy event Aimeri, the third Latin patriarch of Antioch, had the consolation of reconciling a small nation, called Maronites, to the Catholic faith. The Maronites, which in the Arabic idiom is an abbreviated appellation for Monothelites, were a Christian tribe of about forty thousand souls, inhabited the adjacent country round Mount Libanus. The communication they had with the Latins at Antioch gave them an opportunity of discovering their error in faith. They abjured the heresy of Monothelism, and embraced the Catholic communion. Their conversion was sincere and lasting. In the midst of errors they still preserve their faith ; for the instruction of their youth they have a college at Rome. In their liturgy they use the Syriac tongue, although the Arabic is their vulgar language.

SECTION XII. *Third Crusade.*

THE fatal loss of Jerusalem had been long apprehended by those A.D. 1190. who were upon the spot ; timely succour might have prevented it. Baldwin IV. saw the gathering storm ; and in the year 1184 despatched Heraclius, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, to solicit help from the European powers. The two

grand masters of the Templars and Hospitalers accompanied the patriarch to Italy, France, and England. Their account of the distressed situation to which the Latins were reduced in Palestine, excited compassion, but procured no help. The sovereign pontiffs, Lucius III. Urban III. Gregory VIII. Clement III. and Celestine III., used their best endeavours to engage the western princes in another crusade. These potentates, the chief of whom were Frederic Barbarossa, the Emperor of Germany; Philip Augustus, King of France; and Henry II., King of England, made some faint preparations, though little disposed at that time, as it seemed, to undertake such an expedition. Frederic had other schemes in view; the French and English monarchs were wasting their national strength against each other.

The violence which Henry had discharged against the Church, was soon after retorted upon himself by his own undutiful sons. These bold aspiring youths, abusing their father's excessive fondness for them, and being encouraged even by Queen Eleanor, their mother, demanded of the king to grant to each one of them a separate and independent sovereignty over some one part of his extensive dominions. The indignant king rejected their impudent demand; they took up arms to enforce it. Lewis of France, who, with a jealous eye, had long beheld the overgrown power of England, and wished to see it lessened, sent assistance to the rebel princes against their own father. He had indeed a personal quarrel with Henry on the subject of Alice, his daughter, who had been betrothed to Richard, Henry's second son, and was sent to England for the accomplishment of the marriage contract. But Henry, instead of making her his son's wife, made her his own concubine. Lewis died in the year 1180, and was succeeded by his son Philip Augustus. Three years after, Richard, by the death of his elder brother, became heir apparent to the crown of England. An open profession of friendship subsisted between him and the young monarch of France.

Philip Augustus inherited his father's political principles against England. With the view of humbling Henry's pride, and of breaking the bulk of his vast empire, he persuaded Richard to insist upon being put in possession of all the English dominions upon the continent. Henry refused it; an unnatural war commenced; many discontented barons, with their numerous vassals, ranged themselves under Richard's banner, Philip joined them with the whole strength of France; so powerful a combination could not be long resisted. After some struggle the haughty Henry, who had hitherto been used to dictate, was compelled to accept a peace upon terms the most humiliating and disadvantageous. A list of the leading rebels whom he was to pardon being presented to him, the name of his favourite son John was the first that met his eye. Grief and vexation instantly transported him out of himself. He cursed the day on which he began to exist among the sons of men: against his disobedient and ungrateful sons he uttered the most bitter imprecations, which no entreaties or exhortations of his bishops could induce him to retract. The violent agitation of his mind brought on a fever, which reduced him to the grave at Chinon, a small town in Touraine, on the sixth day of July, 1189.

On the next day Richard came to visit the corpse of his deceased father. The mournful sight brought to his remembrance all his past undutiful behaviour, his treasons and rebellions. Tears of compunction gushed from his eyes, his heart throbbed with remorse, he gave every sign of sincere repentance. But the active genius of Richard Cœur de Lion would not suffer him to waste his time upon the couch of indolent affliction. He hastened to England, was solemnly crowned by Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, and, as if the sole purpose of his assuming the crown had been to rescue Jerusalem from the Mahometan yoke, he began to make immense preparations for the holy war. Philip Augustus had a fleet and army already prepared for that momentous enterprise. The surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin had greatly alarmed the European powers; they did not know, but were fearful to what length that successful warrior might extend his views of conquest, if not timely checked.

The emperor Frederic, with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand combatants, was upon the march to attack him. In the month of May, 1189, he put that formidable body in motion, with orders to rendezvous at Presburgh, the capital of Hungary; he repaired thither by water down the Danube. From thence he led them through Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Romania, towards Constantinople. The Greek emperor, Isaac Angelo, had given him positive assurances that he would meet with every necessary, and every friendly help from his subjects, as long as he remained amongst them. Whether Isaac was then sincere, or whether he afterwards changed his mind upon its being suggested to him that the Germans might possibly turn their arms against his empire, we venture not to say; but certain it is, that Frederic no sooner entered the Greek territory, than he experienced all the opposition that might be expected from a declared enemy. Necessity obliged him to employ force, and to make good his passage sword in hand. He wintered at Adrianople, in Romania, crossed the Hellespont in spring, and pursued his march to Cilicia. The Sultan of Iconium had promised to befriend him: the infidel was false. The Christian army had many narrow defiles to pass in that mountainous country; the hills on each side were occupied by Turkish troops, who killed and wounded thousands with impunity. The army still continued under these disadvantages to advance in good order, till they came to the famous river Cydnus. It was the month of June, the sun intensely hot, the cool stream invited the emperor to bathe; he imprudently plunged into the rapid current, and was drowned. His second son, Frederic, took the command of the army, and marched on to Syria. But fatigue, sickness, and the sword, had now so far diminished their numbers, that at their arrival they were not thought to be in sufficient force to stand singly against the hardy troops of Saladin: they joined the army of Guy de Lusignan, who had laid siege to the strong town of Acre, upon the Syrian coast.

The confederate kings of France and England in the interim had been very active in their preparations to join the emperor in Syria; but not to run the risk of being destroyed by faithless Greeks, they resolved to convey their armies by sea. December was the month fixed for their departure. Having solemnly pledged their word to

be true and faithful to each other while the war should last, they gave orders for the troops to march for the Mediterranean coast, where two fleets lay ready to receive them. Their numbers amounted to a hundred thousand men. Richard sailed from Genoa about the same time that Philip did from Marseilles. They steered for Messina in Sicily, where they met about the middle of September, 1190. There they passed the remainder of the year. During that time the unhappy seeds of discord were sown between the two monarchs. Philip pressed Richard to marry his sister, the Princess Alice, to whom he had been long betrothed. Richard, on account of what had passed between her and the late King Henry, his father, absolutely refused to take her. This could not be forgot.

In spring, 1191, the two fleets put to sea again, a storm arose, they were dispersed in different directions; part of the English squadron was thrown upon the coast of Cyprus. Isaac Comnenus, a revolted subject of the Greek emperor, had assumed an independent power, and styled himself king of the island. He pillaged the stranded ships, and cast the men into prison. King Richard arrived soon after with the rest of the English fleet, and being informed of what Isaac had done, contrary to the law of nations, he ordered the inhospitable usurper to be seized and bound in chains; then in his own name he took possession of the island, which he afterwards generously bestowed on Guy of Lusignan, the dethroned King of Jerusalem. Philip in the mean time arrived before Acre, which had stood a siege for two years. At the appearance of the immense force now brought against it, the Turks offered to capitulate, but did not surrender till after Richard's arrival in July. The Christians entered the town. Leopold, Duke of Austria, fixed his banner upon one of the towers; this the King of England thought he had no right to do, and with an hastiness of temper peculiar to him, ordered it to be pulled down, and thrown into the ditch. Leopold took ample revenge afterwards for this affront. Majesty and friendship never sit long upon the same throne. The two kings disagreed. On the plea of bad health, and the intolerable roughness of Richard's temper, Philip abandoned the common cause, and returned to France the same year, having first renewed his promise to Richard not to molest either his subjects, or his territories, during his absence. The supreme command of the Christian armies then devolved solely on the British monarch, who began immediately to move along the coast, towards Jerusalem.

Saladin was prepared to oppose his progress with an army of three hundred thousand Mussulmen. A bloody battle was fought; the Christians obtained a complete victory; no fewer than forty thousand Turks are said to have fallen in the field; the strong town of Ascalon surrendered soon after; nothing remained to hinder the conquerors from marching straight to Jerusalem. That holy city now seemed to be upon the eve of being delivered a second time from Turkish bondage. Providence otherwise ordained. In the scale of divine justice the virtues of a degenerate people were found too light to draw down so great a blessing. The French division of the Christian army refused to follow the King of England's standard any farther. The Italian also, and the German troops, were

grown weary of the service, and insisted upon returning home.— Thus the conquering Richard, in the midst of his splendid career, and almost within sight of Jerusalem, the grand object of his enterprise, was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of proposing a truce to Saladin, which was agreed to for three years. This done, he embarked for his hereditary dominions in Europe, where the hostile intrigues of his brother John, under the encouragement of Philip, made his presence necessary. In this manner ended the third crusade.

A violent storm drove Richard upon the Adriatic coast, near Aquileia, from whence he took his way by land through Austria, under the disguise of a knight Templar. At Vienna he was unluckily discovered by Leopold, who, in revenge for the affront given him at the siege of Acre, ordered him to be arrested and put under confinement. From that confinement he could not procure his release, but at the enormous sum of a hundred thousand marks paid to the emperor, and fifty thousand to Leopold, after a cruel and unjust imprisonment of fourteen months.

During the long siege of Acre, the besiegers were sorely afflicted with sickness; numbers of the sick and wounded Germans died for want of attendance. Touched with compassion at their sufferings, some charitable persons set up a military hospital at their own expense, where the sick were duly attended and furnished with proper medicines. Out of this charitable institution sprung up a third military Order, in imitation of the Hospitalers and Templars. It was much encouraged by the German officers of the crusade, and was soon after approved of by Pope Celestin III. under the title of Teutonic Knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem. They wore a white mantle with a black cross. Their numbers soon increased; in process of time they became possessed of rich commanderies, and bore great sway in Germany, till their grand master Albert professed himself a follower of Luther, dissolved the commanderies, and reduced the grandeur of the Order to a mere shadow.

SECT. XIII. *Philip Augustus and his Queen Ingelburga.*

PHILIP, at his return from the east, found himself a widower, A. D. 1197. by the death of his Queen Isabel. He wished to marry again, and for that purpose deputed Stephen, the bishop of Noyon, to Canute, King of Denmark, for his consent to marry his sister Ingelburga. His Danish majesty readily assented; the princess set off with a suitable train of attendants, and arrived at Amiens, where Philip was ready to receive her. On the very evening of her arrival the marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Rheims, and on the next day she was solemnly crowned Queen of France. During this ceremony the king, as if some magic spell had secretly operated upon his mind, on a sudden dropt his fond attachment for the princess, and conceived an utter aversion to her person. No reason could be assigned for so whimsical a change. In the princess nothing appeared which was not pleasing and amiable: she was fair and virtuous. The king's aversion however continued, and at the end of three months, measures

were concerted for a divorce. The proceedings were grounded on the usual plea of affinity within the prohibited degrees, which was supposed to exist between the Princess Ingelburga and Philip's first queen, Isabel of Hainault. A powerful prince seldom wants agents to second his inclinations. The archbishop of Rheims was the king's uncle, and the warlike bishop of Beauvais was his cousin-german; to these interested prelates the whole management of the business was committed. The archbishop declared the marriage null.

Ingelburga remained all this while ignorant of what was going on to her prejudice: for she did not understand French, and having sent back all her attendants, she was left alone among strangers, without support, without friends, and without advice. When informed by an interpreter of the sentence pronounced for her divorce, she stood blasted as it were with surprise, then bursting into tears, she exclaimed in bad French, "Male France, Male France, "Rome, Rome:" intimating thereby, as intelligibly as she could, that she appealed to Rome from the unjust sentence pronounced in France against her marriage. The king proposed sending her back to Denmark; she refused to go, upon which he confined her to a convent with a scanty allowance, hardly sufficient to provide her with the necessaries of life. By reading and her needle she beguiled the tedious hours of solitude: prayer, amidst her wants, was her solid consolation. Some time elapsed before her brother Canute was fully informed of the transactions that had passed in France against his sister. He seconded her appeal to Rome, and deputed agents with ample proofs to invalidate the plea of affinity, on which the archbishop of Rheims had grounded the sentence of divorce. Philip also on his part sent deputies to plead for the nullity of his marriage with the Danish princess. In suits of this nature the proceedings of Rome are ever cautious and slow. Three years passed, and nothing was decided. Philip, impatient of further delay, ventured to anticipate a decision which he rashly judged must be in his favour, and publicly married Agnes, the daughter of Bertold, Duke of Bohemia. King Canute now thought himself not only injured but insulted, by an act which seemed to set all justice and decorum at defiance; he sent new deputies to Rome, with orders to press for a decision. Celestine, the Pope, was far advanced in years, too inactive and infirm to accelerate the business by personal attendance: the same system of delay still held the matter in suspense, and nothing was concluded as long as that pontiff lived. But upon Celestine's death, in 1198, Cardinal Lothaire, a virtuous and learned prelate in the vigour of life, being chosen to succeed him, the cause was speedily dispatched, and a final decision given. No impediment of affinity being proved to exist between Philip of France, and Ingelburga of Denmark, his Holiness Innocent III. pronounced their marriage to be valid, and the subsequent contract with Agnes of Bohemia absolutely null. This definitive sentence he sent off to his legate in France, with orders to notify it in due form to the king, and to require his submission to it, under the penalty of a general interdict upon the whole kingdom, and of excommunication upon himself, if he refused.

Philip refused to part with his favourite Agnes; the sentence of

interdict was in consequence pronounced. Divine service ceased in all the churches throughout France; no sacrament was administered except baptism to infants, and penance to the sick. Far from relenting, the king grew more obstinate and more violent in defending the step he had taken. He seized upon the temporalities of the bishops, put the curates under an arrest, and committed Indelburga to prison. The people seeing themselves debarred from the exercise of public worship, made loud complaints; fear alone confined them within the bounds of duty. The king began to be alarmed; he moreover dreaded the sentence of excommunication, which he every day expected to hear pronounced against him. He applied again to Rome, requested, and in the end obtained the Pope's consent for a revision of the cause. As a preliminary article, the interdict which had lasted eight months was taken off on certain conditions. In a numerous assembly of divines and civilians, held at Soissons, in the presence of two cardinal deputies, the question of divorce was agitated with some degree of warmth on both sides. After a long and tedious examination, it was intimated to the king, that no solid grounds appeared for the divorce. His majesty from thence took the first opportunity of informing the assembly, that they might give themselves no further trouble on the subject, that he had dismissed Agnes of Bohemia, and should henceforward look upon Ingelburga as his queen and lawful wife.

So incontrovertible is the force of that divine injunction, which forbids man to put asunder what God has joined.* Justice and religion secured to the queen the validity of her marriage, but could not insure the smiles of her royal consort. He barbarously kept her confined for twelve years in one of his castles, before he suffered her to set foot within his palace.

The ecclesiastical writers of the twelfth century are St. Bernard, Peter the venerable abbot of Cluni, Hugh of St. Victor, Peter of Blois, Pope Innocent III. About the middle of the same century Gratian, an Italian Benedictine, published his laborious collection of canonical decrees, which is called the new code of canonical jurisprudence.

Matt. xix. 6.

Thirteenth Century.

SECTION I. *Constantinople taken by the Latins.*

THE mighty Saladin died the year after he had concluded a truce with Richard, King of England. His death was thought A. D. 1204. to open a fair opportunity for making a fresh attempt to recover the holy land. Pope Celestine announced to the Christian world a fourth crusade. For notwithstanding the ill success which had hitherto attended those Asiatic expeditions, the public spirit for that kind of enterprise was not yet extinct. Three numerous armies marched from Germany to join the Christians of the Levant. When they arrived at Acre they beheld such scenes of vice and immorality daily exhibited by the nobility and Knights Templars, as at once shocked their religion, and blasted all their hopes of success by the arms of such undeserving men. They found those degenerate Franks wallowing in luxuries of the east, solely bent on sensual delights, and thoughtless of the holy land, which they now considered as a barren and unprofitable country. The honest Germans would not associate with them, but under their own chiefs made some slight attempts at conquest without much credit to themselves, or advantage to the common cause. They were soon after called home to support an interest which more nearly concerned them. In the year 1197, upon the death of Henry VI. the son of Frederic Barbarossa, two rivals from the imperial sceptre, Philip, brother of the late emperor, and Otho, Duke of Saxony, split the Germanic empire into two parties. Thus perished the expectation which some had formed from the fourth crusade.

During this time war was carried on with keen animosity between the two kings of France and England. Philip had been the aggressor even before Richard's return from the holy land. Richard, after his long imprisonment in Austria, reached England in 1194. His short stay there was employed in raising men and money to avenge the injustices done him in his continental dominions. Success crowned his arms in the end. A decisive victory, which he gained in 1198, forced his adversary to make peace. Then it was, that he added to the arms of England the motto, *Dieu et mon droit*. In the course of the war a singular adventure is recorded of Philip de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais. This prelate, the grandson of Lewis the Big, being more attached to the appendages of high birth, than of his ecclesiastical profession, put on the accoutrements of war, and followed the French standard to the field of battle. By unlucky chance he fell into the hands of the English, as he was fighting at the head of his men. King Richard ordered him to be bound in chains and lodged in a prison. The bishop thinking himself too severely treated, made his complaint and request to Pope Celestine, that he would interpose his authority with the British monarch for his release. The Pope in answer told him, that since he had chosen to lay aside his episcopal character, and to act the soldier, he must

abide by the consequences ; that his release could not be insisted upon as a right, but could be only asked as a favour, which he would do for him. His Holiness accordingly wrote to the King of England a letter, in which he entreated his majesty to set free his beloved son the bishop of Beauvais. The king for answer sent to his Holiness the bishop's coat of mail, accompanied with the words of Jacob's sons to their father, "This we have found, see, whether it be the coat of thy son or no."* The bishop remained in prison till after Richard's death.

Celestine, worn out with age and infirmities, died on the eighth of June, 1198, and on the next morning was replaced by the election of Cardinal Lothaire. Some exception was at first taken against his age ; for he had not yet completed his thirty-seventh year. But the consideration of his known piety and learning silenced the objection as soon as made. He took the name of Innocent III. He began his pontificate by exhorting the Christian princes to unite their forces once more for the recovery of the holy land. None of the crowned heads engaged in this expedition, which was undertaken solely by some French and Italian nobles, under the command of Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, and of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders. They appointed Venice for the place of rendezvous, that republic having agreed to furnish ships for their conveyance to the holy land. They there assembled according to agreement in 1202. While they were waiting for the season to embark, arrived Alexis, the young prince of Constantinople, and gave an unexpected turn to their undertaking.

This Alexis was the son of Isaac the Greek emperor, whom an unnatural brother had lately deposed and imprisoned, after having put out his eyes. He came to solicit aid from the Latins against his uncle the usurper. He backed his solicitations with a solemn promise, that he would restore union between the Latin and Greek churches by the extinction of schism, and would contribute to the conquest of Palestine, by furnishing men and money, in case they placed him on the throne of Constantinople. The prince's offer was of too interesting a nature not to be accepted. The prince went on board the Venetian fleet, sailed down the Adriatic, and within six days anchored before the port of Constantinople. The cowardly usurper fled at the sight ; the Latins entered the imperial city by force, and caused the young Alexis to be crowned emperor on the first of August, 1203. The blind and degraded Isaac freely ratified all that was done both by his son and the Latins.

From these beginnings singular advantages were expected. But Alexis had too much of the Greek in him to be long sincere. He first broke his engagements, then quarrelled with his benefactors. A powerful opposition likewise soon showed itself against him as a creature of the Latins. A new competitor for his crown started up, by whom he was deposed, imprisoned, and strangled, before he had reigned seven months. The Venetian fleet lay all this while at anchor before Constantinople. The chiefs of the crusade assembled to deliberate on the measures to be taken in this sudden change of

* Gen. chap. xxxvii.

affairs. The result of their debate was, that they judged themselves authorized to avenge the death of Alexis, and to punish the usurper. Without loss of time they landed their troops, attacked the city by sea and land, and took it by assault on the seventeenth of April, 1204. The usurper fled, the conquerors pillaged the town without resistance and without pity. The churches, the convents, the streets, and houses, witnessed all those scenes of violence and sacrilege which lust and avarice usually inspire on such occasions. The booty collected and carried off by the Latins was immense. Nicetas, a Greek historian, who was present at the time, upbraids them with the commission of crimes detested and abhorred even by Mahometans.

When the first violent burst of sacrilege and rapine had spent itself in plundering the city of its most precious treasures, the establishment of a civil government began to engage the attention of the French and Venetian chiefs. Six of each nation met to elect a Latin emperor. The choice fell upon Baldwin, the ninth earl of Flanders. On the seventeenth of May that prince was solemnly crowned in the great church of St. Sophia, assuming the ornaments and the title of emperor of the East. In the following year a Latin patriarch was appointed by papal authority to the government of that church. In this manner began the empire of the Latins at Constantinople; it began by violence, it was carried on against the inclination of the Greek nation, so lasted not many years. A glimmering of hope had been entertained that a succession of Latin emperors would by degrees have worn out the natural antipathy of the Greeks against the Latins, and have united them again in one fold, under one supreme pastor. The means were not proportioned to the end. Far from being closed the breach became wider. The horrible outrages committed in the pillage of Constantinople impressed upon the Greeks so strong and so lasting an aversion for the Latins, that from that epoch we may fairly date the completion of the Greek schism.

SECTION II. *Cardinal de Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

RICHARD, King of England, died in the year 1199. Before his expedition to the holy land he had named his nephew A. D. 1207. Arthur to succeed him, but by a posterior will, after his return, he appointed his brother John, having no children of his own. Arthur was the son of Geoffrey, John's eldest brother, by Constantia, the heiress of Brittany. In consequence of Richard's second will the right of succession was contested. The barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, on the idea of lineal right, declared for Arthur, while the barons of England, Normandy, Poitou, and Guienne, acknowledged John, Sans terre. John immediately mounted the British throne, and was crowned by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. Philip Augustus, the King of France, and superior lord of the English transmarine provinces, patronized the cause of the young Duke of Brittany, then but twelve years of age. War commenced between the two monarchs. John at that time proved successful against France, and made a peace on honourable terms, in 1201. The peace was broken by the French in the following

year; war began again; John still was active, met his enemies in the field, gained a complete victory, and took his nephew Arthur prisoner, whom he soon after murdered, as a dangerous rival of his crown. From that time he fell into an effeminate inactivity of life, which blotted his public character, and lost him the affections of his subjects. Indolent by nature, and vicious by habit, he had neither the talents nor the disposition to support a kingly character. Void of decorum and of shame, he quitted his lawful wife, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, and contrived to marry Isabel of Angoulême, notwithstanding her being already betrothed to the Count de la Marche. The murder of his nephew Arthur rendered him universally odious. Constantia and the states of Brittany carried their complaints to Philip Augustus as their liege-lord, and demanded justice for the murdered prince. Philip received their application with singular satisfaction. John was cited before his tribunal, and as he did not appear, was pronounced guilty of felony and parricide; and all his seignories and fiefs in France were moreover declared to be forfeited to Philip, his superior lord.

The effeminate King of England made not a single effort to prevent the execution of the sentence. To take possession of the forfeited estates, Philip had little more to do than to lead his army into the disaffected provinces; the cities opened their gates and swore allegiance to him. Within the compass of about two years, and in less than six after his accession to the English throne, John Sans terre saw with indifference the vast extent of his transmarine dominions added to the crown of France. From that epoch sad domestic broils of a different nature began to perplex that unhappy monarch.

Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, died in July, 1205. Part of the chapter, consisting chiefly of the younger monks, made an attempt to raise Reginald their sub-prior to the primacy. They clandestinely assembled that very night, gave him an unanimous vote, introned, and sent him away before day-light, accompanied by some of his brethren, to procure the confirmation of his election at Rome, before it could possibly be known in England. Reginald, more vain than politic, divulged the secret, as soon as he landed in Flanders. The report was quickly echoed back to the English shore. The chapter of Canterbury, dreading the consequences, immediately made application for the king's leave to choose an archbishop. They made no mention of Reginald, or of his election. The king readily assented, and to their choice recommended Doctor John de Gray, bishop of Norwich. The chapter met; the royal recommendation was no sooner heard than complied with. The suffragan bishops, who claimed a right to choose their metropolitan, were offended at the chapter for having proceeded to the election without their concurrence. They assembled apart, and to please the king, elected the same Doctor de Gray.

Reginald in the interim arrived at Rome, and solicited the confirmation of his election, which the Pope prudently refused to grant till further information from England. Respecting the election of Doctor de Gray, a dispute arose between the suffragans and the chapter of Canterbury. The suffragans claimed a joint right of vot-

ing, the chapter denied it. Each party dispatched deputies to Rome to support their respective claim. Twelve Benedictine monks of the chapter of Canterbury went at the king's expense to maintain the election of Doctor John de Gray, and to disprove the claim of the suffragan bishops. This claim of the suffragans came under discussion in the first place, and was finally adjudged to be unfounded. The merits of the two elections were examined next; after due investigation it appeared, that both were uncanonical. But Innocent would not pronounce them null before he had concerted measures to insure a canonical one at Rome, having just reasons to apprehend that the freedom of election would meet with obstruction in England. His Holiness proposed to the chapter of Canterbury, that three more electors should be added to the twelve of their brethren already at Rome, and that to the fifteen, full powers should be given by the whole chapter to choose their archbishop at Rome. He gave the King of England timely notice of his proposal, and the measure was carried into execution.

Innocent having previously declared the two elections void, convened the fifteen Benedictine canons of Canterbury, to make a third in due form: he told them they were free to elect whom they should judge proper, provided he were an Englishman and a good subject. Stephen de Langton happened to be then at Rome; him his Holiness mentioned to the electors, as a prelate every way qualified for the primacy of the English Church. Stephen de Langton was a native of England, consequently a subject of King John, to whom he was well known, and had the honour of corresponding with him by letter; he held a prebend in the cathedral of York, and a doctor's degree in divinity, was chancellor of the University of Paris, and for his singular merit had lately been created cardinal. Out of the fifteen metropolitan electors, fourteen unanimously agreed in choosing him to be archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope declared him to be canonically chosen, consecrated him with his own hand at Viterbo, on the seventeenth of June, 1207, and immediately dispatched his letters of confirmation to the King of England and the chapter of Canterbury. Such is the simple and genuine narration of this interesting transaction, as the author of Pope Innocent's Acts informs us.

The matter is differently related by Matthew Paris, a learned monk of St. Alban's, whose authority our English historians fondly quote on this occasion, with their own sarcastical reflections against the holy Father. Matthew himself launched forth in violent invective against Innocent, accusing him of sordid avarice, and of an unbounded ambition, capable of attempting the blackest crimes to obtain his ends. Having thus prepared the mind of his readers, he gravely tells them, that Innocent carried the election of Cardinal Langton by menaces and the dint of authority. The credit due to these assertions must in great measure be determined by the character of the author who has advanced them. The rancour which Matthew Paris every where expresses against the holy See, has given him among the critics the general reputation of a prejudiced and partial writer. As long as the subject is indifferent to him, his narrative appears in the honest simplicity of naked truth. But, as it often

happens where the spirit of party heats his imagination, then, says a judicious critic, Matthew Paris is of all historians one among the last to be believed. Whenever he speaks of the transactions that passed between the court of England and that of Rome, his statement of facts is generally found to be incorrect, often slanderous, and never to be relied on, unless supported by other evidence better than his own. The account which he and his transcribers give of Cardinal Langton's election, is too grossly overstrained to gain much credit. Is it credible, or is it probable, that the discerning Innocent should be so far overseen as to commit his honour and authority in setting aside two elections as uncanonical, by a third equally uncanonical? For such it must have been, if effected, as it is pretended by violence and treats of excommunication. If that had really been the case, can we suppose that King John would not have objected it to the Pope in the angry letter which he wrote to his Holiness upon that occasion? His majesty complains of his being betrayed by the monks, who went to Rome at his expense, and had promised to support the election of Doctor Gray, he complains of his nomination not being attended to, he objects, in fine, to the promotion of Cardinal Langton, and mingles his objections with menaces of keen resentment, but gives not the least hint of any undue influence used by his Holiness in promoting him. We may therefore fairly conclude, that no such influence ever was used as Mr. Hume tries to make us believe, upon the treacherous authority of Matthew Paris, or of the editors of his history, Matthew Parker and William Watts, close followers of one another in the devious track of misrepresentation. The king moreover offered the Pope eleven thousand marks of silver to confirm the election of Doctor Gray, and at the same time denounced vengeance if he refused. A superior principle of justice alone then must have determined Innocent to act as he did, when he had so much to gain and lose by a decision different from what he gave. The disinterested conduct of Innocent throughout this whole affair, confirms the justness of that high repute he was in with all good men, for virtue, for integrity, and talents. The spirit of piety and religion that breathes in every page of his copious writings, is the truest index we can have of the chaste principles that animated this illustrious pontiff in discharging the arduous duties of his station. Hence, if his zeal for the preservation of discipline and religion sometimes led him beyond the precise line that separates the civil jurisdiction from the spiritual, candour must acknowledge that it was the obvious effect of a political system which time and custom had introduced; a system which kings themselves admitted, and often encouraged, by soliciting its deposing power against one another. Such was the political temper of those times. The system is no longer harboured in the cabinet or in the schools. It is not just to judge the dead by laws which did not exist in their days; more unjust must it still be deemed to condemn and brand their memory for having followed the jurisprudence of the age in which they lived.

SECTION III. *Disgrace of King John.*

KING JOHN thought himself grossly injured by what had passed at Rome. As soon as he heard that Cardinal Langton A. D. 1213. was elected, he flew into a violent rage against the Pope, against the new archbishop, and the monks, who had chosen him in preference to the bishop of Norwich. In his wrath he dispatched two knights of his train to Canterbury, with orders to expel the monks from their monastery, and to see them embarked for Flanders. The knights executed their orders with rude fidelity. The exiles were kindly received by their Benedictine brethren of St. Bertin, in the town of St. Omer. The Pope, in a long epistle, endeavoured to pacify the exasperated monarch. In a posterior letter he exhorted the bishops and nobles of England to exert all their influence, and to try, by advice and humble remonstrance, to prevail on their sovereign to receive the archbishop, and recall the monks of Canterbury. His holiness then intimated, that should the king refuse to accept those terms of peace, the good of religion would force him to employ severity, and to lay the kingdom under an interdict. The king would listen to no terms; a fatal quarrel ensued; the bishops of Ely, Worcester, and London, in obedience to the sovereign pontiff, published the sentence of interdict for the whole kingdom of England on the tenth of April, 1208.

Upon the promulgation of the interdict, John grew quite outrageous; he vented his utmost indignation against those who paid attention to it; he put all the monks of England under an arrest, and a short stint of diet within their monasteries; he banished the bishops with most of the parochial clergy, and confiscated their revenues to the profit of the crown. In consequence of these violences, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the king's person. The discontented populace showed symptoms of revolt; many of the nobility quitted the kingdom. John upon this began to relent, expressed a wish for peace, and consented to let two nuncios come from Rome for the purpose of composing the differences between him and his clergy. An interview took place at Northampton in 1211. The king consented to take the clergy back into favour, but as he refused to indemnify them for the losses they had sustained from the sequestration of their estates to the king's use, the conference abruptly ended, and both parties went off extremely dissatisfied with each other.

When the Pope was informed by his nuncio of the king's peremptory refusal to make restitution to the clergy for the sacrilegious seizure of their property, he convened his council to deliberate on what further measures it would be advisable to take in this important business. The exiled bishops of London and Ely, either of their own accord, or by the persuasion of Philip Augustus, repaired to Rome about the same time, and urged his Holiness to exert his utmost authority to stop the persecution which had brought the English Church nearly to the brink of ruin. They moreover assured his Holiness, that the king, by his tyrannic government, by his arbitrary exactions, by his rapacious avarice and lust, had so alienated the affections of his subjects, that they only waited for an

opportunity to shake off their allegiance. For these reasons the cardinals, the bishops, and other members of the council, unanimously agreed, that when pressing evils call for redress, the most efficacious means ought to be adopted. Guided by this principle, and unfortunately biassed by that current opinion of the age which attributed to the sovereign pontiff a presumptive power over the temporal rights of kings, they gave their advice, and upon that advice Innocent pronounced sentence of deposition against John, the King of England, declaring the throne vacant, and his former subjects no longer bound by any oath of allegiance to him. He notified this sentence to Philip Augustus by letter, in which he exhorts his Gallic majesty to avenge the insults done by John to religion, to drive the enemy of Christ out of England, and to unite that kingdom to the kingdom of France.

This disposal of kingdoms, which some bishops of Rome formerly ventured to exercise, upon the supposition of its being an appendage of their spiritual supremacy, has always been beheld with a jealous eye by those sovereigns who were not immediately in the way of being benefited by it; but by others, who had a present interest therein, it has at times been favourably received, as a help to their ambition. The French monarch precisely stood in this predicament. His ambition had often prompted him to take up arms against England. Innocent now furnished him with a mask to disguise his hostile intentions, under the cloak of religion. He collected an immense force both by sea and land, a mighty crusade for the conquest of England. John on his part was not slow in preparing for a vigorous defence. At the head of a powerful army he marched into Kent, with the determined resolution to oppose the landing of the French, who lay encamped upon the opposite shore. Conscious, however, of the provocations which he had given to the nobility of England, and knowing the discontents that raged among his troops, he was under the greatest apprehension lest in the day of trial they might not be as ready to fight against him as for him. Having forced the barons to deliver to him their sons or nephews, or some near relation, as hostages for their good behaviour, he had his fears and doubts, whether upon the enemy's approach they might not retaliate in their turn, and deliver him up to the French king. Amidst this distress of mind, behold, two Knights Templars arrived from France. They were secretly dispatched by Pandolf, the Pope's legate, who was on his way to England, with full powers to effect a solid reconciliation between the parties. Pandolf, it seems, was an advocate for peace, moderate in his disposition, and adverse to deeds of violence. At his departure from Rome he asked the Pope, whether in case some milder mode of accommodating matters with the King of England could be devised, it might not be adopted. The Pope replied, by all means, provided the king be serious in restoring peace and doing justice to the church and injured clergy. On this ground the legate sent the two Templars to assure his majesty of his pacific disposition, and to tell him that the dispute might still be amicably settled, notwithstanding what had passed at Rome.

The king was overjoyed at this welcome overture, sent back the knights without loss of time, and desired the legate to hasten his

journey to England as quick as possible. The legate no sooner landed at Dover, than the king went to meet him. They had their first interview on the thirteenth day of May, 1213, in a house of the Knights Templars, situated in the skirts of that town. Many of the nobility attended. The king having signified his desire of being reconciled to the holy See, and expressing a sincere readiness to give full satisfaction to the Pope upon all the articles for which he stood excommunicated, the legate explained to him the conditions on which his peace with Rome depended: 1st. That he should acknowledge Cardinal Langton for primate; 2d. That he should restore all the exiled clergy and laity who had been banished on account of the contest; 3d. That he should make them full restitution of their goods, and a compensation for all damages. All this the king promised upon oath to fulfil, and added, that if any difficulty should arise in the execution of his promise, he would submit it to the Pope's arbitration. Sixteen barons swore upon the king's soul, that they would see this treaty executed. Two days after, to wit, on the fifteenth of May, which was the eve of the Ascension, a more numerous assembly met in the same place. The king by his own free choice, and not at the requisition of Pandolf, as Mr. Hume says, had prepared an authentic charter, in which he solemnly declares, that not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the advice and consent of his barons, he had, for the remission of his sins, resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter, and St. Paul, to Pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair, and that he engaged himself and his successors to hold these dominions as feudatory of the Church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thousand marks, seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. This charter, duly signed and sealed with wax, he delivered to Pandolf, in the presence of his nobles, and then did homage to him, as the Pope's representative, with all the humiliating ceremonies which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege-lord and superior.*

If vain ambition, or the aggrandizement of his See, had actuated the proceedings of Innocent in this affair, the contest must have ended when he saw the royal vassal at his feet. But that was not the object which his Holiness had in view, as his letters testify. The last instructions that he gave to Pandolf, manifestly show that he never thought of forcing the king of England to become his vassal. The attempt would have been ridiculous. An ardent zeal for justice and religion seems solely to have regulated the holy Father's conduct through the whole negociation. He left the nation and the king, notwithstanding all his protestations, under the same censures, until the cause, for which they had been inflicted, was effectually removed—o little did he think that prince's word was to be relied on. John then revoked all the ordinances he had issued to the prejudice of religion; the exiled prelates returned with Cardinal Langton at their head; his majesty received them with great marks of kindness and of regret for having injured them; the cardinal absolved him from the sentence of excommunication on the twen-

* Epis. Innocen. M. Paris, Daniel, Hist. of France.

tieth of July; a new legate from Rome replaced Pandolf; the sums to be paid for the indemnification of the clergy were agreed on; the interdict, which had burdened the nation above five years, was taken off in the beginning of October; and the king in a new charter, sealed with gold, renewed his profession of fealty to the see of Rome. Philip Augustus in the interim, who considered John's crown more than his repentance, persisted in the design of invading England, till the total destruction of his fleet by the English put it out of his power.

Scarce was the unfortunate John liberated from one difficulty, when he fell into another. The people of England had long laboured under the pressure of a despotic government introduced by the Norman race. The angry barons claimed a confirmation of their ancient rights and privileges, which had been secured to them by St. Edward's laws. Every king since the conquest, at his accession to the throne, had never failed to promise that he would govern according to those laws, but no king since the conquest had yet fulfilled his promise. The promise in fact was incompatible with the feudal system, which the Norman princes were zealous to maintain. The barons drew up a list of grievances, and petitioned the king for redress. The king rejected their petition; they had recourse to arms. Their appearance in the field struck terror into their pusillanimous sovereign; he consented to treat with them; both parties lay encamped in a plain, called Runnemede, between Staines and Windsor. The barons stood firm in their demands for a free government; the debate lasted four days. On the nineteenth day of June, 1215, the king with seeming willingness signed and sealed the deed which was required of him. It is the famous deed of Magna Charta, which either grants or secures important privileges to every order of men in England, to the clergy, to the nobility, and the people. The reader must remember, that the whole English nation at that memorable period professed the Roman Catholic religion.

But the faithless John, whose temper was as capricious as his fortune, soon repented of what he had done. He recalled his grant, declared himself not bound to fulfil what force had extorted from him, and to show that he was in earnest, put himself at the head of his army, and with a vindictive hand began to spread terror and devastation through the country, as if it had been an hostile land. The barons, unable to resist, invited Lewis, the Dauphin of France, to come to their assistance, promising to make him their king, on condition that he promised to confirm their Great Charter. To an ambitious prince the offer was too tempting to be refused. Lewis landed in England with a respectable force. By one party of the English he was considered as an unjust invader, and by them publicly excommunicated, while by others he was extolled as the guardian of their liberties, and by the citizens of London he was received with loud acclamations of joy. With a view of collecting all his force before he risked a battle, John retired towards the north. He took his way through Norfolk, and passing along the coast, which was overflowed, between Lynne and Lincolnshire, he had the misfortune to lose his baggage, his treasure, and regalia. Vexation

and despondency at the loss occasioned a fever, which being increased by eating peaches and drinking new beer, put an end to his life, after a wicked and inglorious reign of seventeen years, in 1216. His infant son Henry III. succeeded him.

SECTION IV. *Fourth General Council of Lateran.*

AFTER the death of Henry VI. Emperor and King of Sicily, the Germanic empire became divided by the election of two competitors, Philip, brother of the late emperor, and Otho, duke of Saxony, as has been already mentioned. A. D. 1215. The German princes took different sides, and fiercely armed against each other; much blood was spilt, the usual horrors of civil war desolated the whole empire. Each party saw how much it was their interest to have the Pope's good will. For two years his Holiness rejected all their offers, and declined entering into their quarrels; happy perhaps had it been if, as the common Father of the Faithful, he had continued to act as the mediator of peace, not as a party of political contention. He declared for Otho. Adolphus, the elector and archbishop of Cologne, joined Philip, although he had crowned and sworn allegiance to Otho. Philip was every where victorious; he forced his rival to quit the field, and to seek protection from his feeble uncle John, the King of England. A plan of pacification was then proposed by Innocent, and adopted by the contending parties. In the middle of the negociation the hand of an assassin snatched Philip out of life, and left his antagonist sole master of the empire, in 1208.

In this sudden turn of affairs Otho's grand object was to extinguish all past animosities, and to re-unite the princes of Germany in one common interest. With this view he asked and obtained a dispensation to marry the daughter of his deceased rival Philip; for they were within the prohibited degrees. His next step was to strengthen his own power still more, by receiving the imperial crown. He marched into Italy with a strong army, entered Rome with a splendid train, and was solemnly crowned by Pope Innocent. On that occasion he bound himself by a public oath to protect the Church, that is, the ecclesiastical states, against all invasion. But no sooner did he quit Rome, than, regardless of his oath, he attacked the King of Sicily, and refused to restore the lands which the pious Countess Matilda had formerly bequeathed to the holy See. Innocent by his legates expostulated with the emperor on this perfidious behaviour, and not being able to obtain satisfaction, excommunicated him. Excommunication had no effect upon a man who was obstinately wrong. The Pope then declared that he had forfeited his title to the imperial crown, and forbid his subjects to acknowledge him any longer for their sovereign. Otho immediately sunk into contempt, was neglected and abandoned by all the world. The princes of Germany elected in his stead Frederic, the young King of Sicily, son of the late Emperor, Henry VI.

During the political struggles which divided the greatest part of Christendom, the southern provinces of France were overrun with a numerous sect of armed enthusiasts, not less hostile to civil so-

ciety than to religion. They are known by the name of Albigenses, or Albigeois, so called from the town of Albi. They were a viperous brood of Arnauld of Brescia, and of Peter de Bruis. With the ancient Manicheans they held two creators and two Christs: they denied the resurrection of the body, believed our souls to be demons confined within our bodies, in punishment of sins committed by them; they rejected the sacraments as useless ceremonies, disclaimed against the holy eucharist, proscribed baptism, declared marriage to be unlawful, banished, in fine, all subordination, and overthrew the whole hierarchy of the church. For the propagation of this irreligious and anarchial system they spread themselves in armed bodies through the country, drove away the bishops, priests, and monks, demolished the monasteries, plundered the churches, and left behind them, as they went, the most atrocious marks of their crimes and sacrileges. Yet these are the wretches whom Mr. Hume has the effrontery to pronounce the most innocent and inoffensive of mankind. The security of the public peace, and the preservation of right order, made it necessary for the Catholics to take up arms and to repel force by force. The vigorous measures which were then taken, for the suppression of a sect no less hostile to civil than to ecclesiastical government, have been invidiously represented by the jacobinical pens of modern writers, as the sanguinary result of a persecuting system, set on foot by the Roman Church for the general extirpation of heretics by fire and sword. The sounding assertions of such writers may impose on some; they excite pity in others, who are more authentically informed.

To provide a remedy for the general disorders that disgraced the Christian world, Innocent had issued a bull for the convocation of a general council ever since the year 1213. The frequent recourse which was had to ecclesiastical censures, to suspensions, excommunications, and interdicts, mark at once the disorders of those days, and the inefficacy of the remedies applied to cure them. By such censures a whole kingdom was punished for the transgression of an individual, the innocent were involved with the guilty in such a manner as to become the greatest sufferers; while the interdict lasted, all public worship ceased, guiltless Christians were deprived of the usual helps of the Church, the pulpits were silent, vice multiplied, devotion languished, religion itself fell into disrepute. On the eleventh day of November, 1215, upwards of four hundred bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors assembled in the patriarchal church of Lateran, according to summons. Innocent presided in person; most of the Catholic sovereigns were represented by their ambassadors.

Conformably to the established custom of their predecessors, the assembled fathers first began to treat the subject of faith, which the Albigenses, under the protection of the count of Toulouse had attacked in a most daring manner. In opposition to the errors of these innovators, the council explicitly defined the Catholic Church's constant belief concerning the Unity and the Trinity of God, the efficacy of the holy sacraments, and the real presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist. After the definition of faith and general condemnation of all heresies whatever, the council proceeded to

make regulations for the reformation of manners and observance of ecclesiastical discipline. In passing these regulations of public discipline, the civil powers concurred by their ambassadors, who were there present. The third regulation or penal canon is directed against the Albigenes, the heretical levelers of that age. The twenty-first canon imposes upon each one of the Faithful, who are come to the years of discretion, a strict obligation of confessing their sins to their proper pastor, at least once during the course of the year, and of receiving the holy communion at Easter, under pain of excommunication. The visible decay of public devotion gave occasion to this decree. The fourteenth canon enacts severe punishment upon all such of the clergy as shall be found to violate the general law of celibacy and perfect continence. This solemn decree evidently shows what little credit is to be given to those authors who so boldly assert that the Church of Rome sanctions a corruption of morals, or connives at the concubinage of her clergy, as long as they presume not to marry. The vices of particular persons prove the weakness of corrupt nature; but they sully not the character of the Roman Catholic Church, which in her doctrine, as well as in her faith, never ceases to be holy. Scandals will happen; but with her divine Founder she will denounce her woes against the authors of them.

SECTION V. *St. Dominick and St. Francis.*

AT a time when the face of Christendom was disfigured with vice, and a great relaxation of monastic discipline had crept A. D. 1216. into the first houses of the Benedictine Order, Divine Providence seems to have raised up two celebrated Orders of religious men, who by word and example renewed the practices of decayed piety. They are the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, so denominated from their respective founders. The institution of a religious Order is ridiculed by many as a superfluous and enthusiastic act of mistaken devotion; its pious practices are generally mentioned by certain writers as so many acts of blind superstition. The word superstition is thought to convey a pretty sound, though little understood. Superstition is nothing more nor less than a vain and false worship, either in its object or in its manner. No such idea can with propriety be annexed to the exercises of a religious life, which are directly levelled at the greater glory of God, and are performed in the manner which the Church of Christ approves. To every Christian, who attentively reads the Testament, it must appear that voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity, and obedience, are commended by our blessed Lord, and advised to such of his followers as wish to be perfect. This perfection is the aim of those who seriously embrace a religious life. By vow they engage to follow the advice of Him who is wisdom itself. Although the advice, holy as it is, may not suit the inclination of the major part of Christians, yet neither reason nor common sense will ever find any thing to condemn in the prudent few who adopt the surest means of providing for their most important and only lasting good, the salvation of their souls. This was the motive which in-

duced the two eminent servants of God, St. Dominick and St. Francis, to renounce all perishable pursuits, and to seek those perfect joys which shall last when all earthly enjoyments shall be no more.

Francis was born of a gentleman's family at Assisium, a small town in Italy, situated on a hill in Umbria, in the ecclesiastical state. His father having designed him for business in a mercantile line, he was furnished with no great stock of learning, though by no means destitute of talents. Free from vice, he passed his youth in the exercise of Christian virtues. Assisting one day at mass, according to his usual custom, he was particularly struck at the words he heard of our blessed Saviour to his Apostles, telling them,* not to possess gold nor silver, nor money, nor two coats, nor shoes; he took the words as addressed in a special manner to him, and instantly resolved to comply literally with the advice. He put off his worldly dress, even to his hat, to his shoes, and stockings, and contented himself with a coarse single tunic, which he tied round with a cord. His humility, his disinterestedness, his austerities, his love of solitude and prayer, soon caught the public notice, and drew many devout souls to copy his example. Their numbers, and their zeal for God's honour, gave him the thought of forming them into a religious body, and of writing a rule for their observance. The rule comprises little more than the evangelical counsels, with some particular directions for the uniformity of domestic discipline. The spirit of poverty is carried to a pitch beyond all former monastic institutions; it excludes not only personal but even conventual property; it admits no community foundations. The brethren beg for their subsistence, founded on the doctrine of the Apostle,† "If we have sown for you spiritual things, is it much that we reap your carnal things?" Francis presented his rule to Innocent III. who expressed his approbation of it in 1210, and Honorius his successor confirmed it by a formal bull in 1223. The holy founder died in 1226, the forty-fifth year of his age. The Franciscan Order had a rapid increase; in process of time it underwent various modifications, and is since divided into various congregations, differing from one another in dress, in name, and discipline, though all date their conventual pedigree from the same patriarch, St. Francis.

Another monastic Order, instituted about the same time, was that of the Friar Preachers. Their founder was called Dominick, of the illustrious house of Guzman, in Spain, born in 1170, eleven years before St. Francis. Dominick, from his earliest years, showed a happy inclination for piety and learning. Being sent to the public schools of Placentia, he became a great proficient in rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, and was well grounded in the writings of the Fathers and holy Scripture. At the age of twenty-eight he entered among the regular canons of St. Austin, and in that capacity was introduced by Azebedo, the pious bishop of Osma, into the chapter of that cathedral. Qualified with talents and with zeal for the functions of an apostle, he accompanied that prelate in the mission of Languedoc, where the Albigenses were at open war with the church and state. A military force was employed, and was suffi-

* Matt. x. 9.

† 1 Cor. ix. 11.

ent to restrain the outrages of a licentious mob ; but instruction was necessary to remove the errors of the understanding. Dominick took unwearied pains to bring these enthusiasts back to a sense of their Christian duty : by exhortation and by prayer he reclaimed many. The success he met with animated him with a desire of instituting a society of religious men, who should qualify themselves with virtue and learning to assist the bishops in preaching the word of God. Several other missionaries were employed with him in the conversion of the Albigenses. He communicated his plan to sixteen of his fellow labourers, who heartily approved and pressed its execution. For the regulation of monastic discipline amongst his followers, he adopted the rule of the canons of St. Austin, to which he added particular institutions of his own, calculated to form useful preachers for the Church. To solicit the Pope's approbation of his intended Order, he accompanied Fulco, the bishop of Toulouse, to the general council of Lateran. Innocent gave him a gracious reception, commended his religious design, but dying soon after, left it to be confirmed by his successor, Honorius III. The bulls of confirmation were published on the twentieth of December, 1216. The holy founder died five years after, illustrious for his sanctity and miracles.

SECTION VI. *Ransom of Captives.*

FROM the time that the African Moors invaded and conquered Spain in the eighth century, the ancient lustre of the Spanish Church lay eclipsed for some ages. The conquered natives were most cruelly oppressed by those fierce invaders ; they equally suffered in their morals and religion as in the loss of liberty : the Gospel was proscribed to make room for the Alcoran, and almost all Spain was overrun with Mahometism. The Christians, however, made a gallant stand both for their civil and religious claims ; from time to time they rallied round some daring chief of their own, and by small degrees recovered part of their country. As they conquered, they erected their conquests into kingdoms. The Saracens were still masters of a considerable part of the country ; war still continued, and many Christians were carried off into slavery, where they ran great risk of losing their faith. Then it was that God inspired two zealous men to provide succours for their relief ; for there is no charitable kind of work, either spiritual or corporal, which the Catholic Church does not encourage and embrace. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, two religious Orders of men received a sanction from the holy See for the ransom of Christian captives, under the appellation of the most holy Trinity and of the blessed Virgin Mary : St. John of Matha is the founder of the first, St. Peter Nolasco of the second.

John of Matha was born of pious and noble parents at Faucon, in Provence, in 1160. His father sent him at a proper age to Aix for his education. There he learned grammar, fencing, riding, and other fashionable exercises : but his chief study was to adorn his soul with Christian virtues. He ever manifested a tender compassion for the distressed poor, on whom he bestowed a consider-

able part of the money allowed him by his father for his amusement. Having finished this part of his education, he quitted his father's house, and retired to a neighbouring hermitage, with a view of passing his days in the solitary exercise of a contemplative and mortified life. But finding his devotions frequently disturbed by the importune visits of his friends, he requested and obtained his father's leave to enter upon a regular course of theology in the university of Paris. He went through those sublime studies with singular success, obtained a doctor's degree, and soon after entered into holy orders.

On the day he said his first mass, he felt an interior impulse, which he believed to come from God, calling upon him to succour the Christian slaves who were groaning under the Saracen yoke in Spain and Africa. Full of the thought, he once more retreated into solitude, and hid himself in a vast desert in the diocese of Meaux, where he might at leisure ruminate and digest his charitable plan. There he found an enlightened hermit, whose name was Felix de Valois, of the royal blood of France; him he chose for his companion and director in his spiritual concerns. Sitting one day together on the bank of a murmuring rivulet, and discoursing upon religious matters, John disclosed to Felix the design he had formed of devoting himself to the ransom of captives, and mentioned some singular circumstances that had happened to him when he said his first mass: there can be no doubt, said Felix, but the design is from God. They took further time to consider it: being at last convinced of the divine will, they went to Rome, and laid their plan before Innocent the Pope. Innocent was no stranger to their character; he received them graciously, lodged them in his palace, frequently conferred with them upon the proposed plan, and at last consented, by the advice of his cardinals, to erect them into a religious Order, under the title of the most holy Trinity, for the redemption of captives. He published a formal bull for its confirmation in 1209, and declared John of Matha the first general minister of the Order. Their rule is that of the regular canons of St. Austin; their chief obligations are to sing the divine office, to collect and carry alms for the ransom of captives, to which use one-third of their yearly revenue is religiously applied. This order formerly flourished in England, where it had forty-three convents, in Scotland nine, in Ireland fifty-two.

An institution similar to this was soon after set on foot by Peter Nolasco, a nobleman of Languedoc. At the age of twenty-five he accompanied Simon Montfort in his military expedition against the Albigenses. Simon, in the battle of Muret, defeated and slew Peter, the king of Arragon, who had marched an army for the support of those enthusiastic sectaries. He led his son James, a boy only six years old, along with him into the field of battle. The father fell, the son was taken prisoner. The generous conqueror did not consider the prince as an enemy, but as a royal orphan worthy of his particular attention. He put him under the tuition of Peter Nolasco, and sent them to Barcelona, the residence of the kings of Arragon. Peter, in undertaking the important charge, had neither riches, nor honours, nor any temporal interest in view. Whatever time he had to spare from the instruction of his royal pupil, he spent in retirement, in prayer, in meditation, and pious reading. The

sight of numerous Christians dragging out life in miserable bondage, and daily exposed to the danger of losing their faith and virtue under Mahometan masters, excited his compassion. He devised a plan for their relief. His plan was to collect a body of religious men, who, under the patronage of the Virgin Mary, should devote themselves to the execution of that charitable undertaking. He imparted his design to Raymond of Pennafort, a holy man of the Order of St. Dominick. Raymond highly approved the plan, and drew up certain rules for its execution, which Gregory IX. the successor of Honorius, sanctioned by his apostolical authority. To the three substantial vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the followers of this institute added a fourth, of remaining in the place of a slave among the infidels, if they could not procure his release any other way.

SECTION VII. *Jerusalem recovered.*

HONORIUS III. began his pontificate in 1216, by exhorting the Christian princes to unite their arms against the Asiatic A. D. 1228. infidels for the recovery of the holy land. The little success which had hitherto attended the crusades, had nearly extinguished all inclination for those useless and expensive expeditions. Andrew, King of Hungary, and Leopold, Duke of Austria, were the only two powers of note that came forward. They embarked with an army in 1217, and landed at Acre. They attempted no conquest; after a fruitless stay of three months, his Hungarian majesty returned home. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Honorius still continued to press the holy war; he relied much on Frederic, King of Sicily, and of the Romans. Frederic came to Rome in 1220, and was crowned Emperor by Honorius. He closed the ceremony of his coronation by taking the cross, and binding himself by solemn vow to lead an army to the holy land. He was slow to perform what he had vowed; he often renewed his promise, and as often failed; seven years elapsed, nothing was done. Honorius died; Gregory IX. succeeded him. This Pope, equally zealous for the recovery of the holy city, as his predecessor had been, resolved to act with more vigour in pressing the emperor to fulfil his engagement. Frederic fixed the time for his departure more than once, but never stirred. Weary of his nugatory excuses, Gregory excommunicated him. The emperor thought himself harshly treated; he laid his complaints before the kings of France and England, accompanied with strong invectives against the court of Rome. The frequent abuses committed by the papal agents, gave the world reason to believe, that there was just ground for the emperor's invective and complaints. Having at length completed his military preparations, he set sail for Palestine in June 1228, and landed at Acre in September. There he found the Christians so divided amongst themselves, that little aid was to be expected from them against the common enemy. Two Mahometan armies, the one commanded by the Sultan of Egypt, the other by the Sultan of Damascus, lay encamped within a day's march of Acre.

Under these disadvantageous circumstances, Frederic not being in sufficient force to wage offensive war, dispatched two nobles with

rich presents, and the offer of peace to the Sultan of Egypt. He told the Mussulman, that the motive of his coming into the east was not to make new conquests, but to recover the holy places, and the kingdom of Jerusalem, which by right of succession belonged to his son. The Sultan had no wish to spill human blood; though acquainted with the impotent state of the Christian army, he consented to deliver up Jerusalem to the emperor, with the sole reserve of the Temple, which had been converted into a Turkish mosque. The treaty consisted of nine articles, which were ratified and executed by both parties. The patriarch of Jerusalem, the Templars, and Hospitalers, condemned it as a dishonourable treaty, and hurtful to the Christian cause.

The emperor heeded not their condemnation. On the seventeenth of March, 1229, he took peaceable possession of the holy city, in virtue of the treaty; and on the following day, being vested in his royal robes, and accompanied by his Teutonic knights, and a numerous train of nobles, he went in procession to the church of the holy sepulchre to receive the royal crown: no bishop being present to present it to him, he took it from the altar and placed it on his head. He made but a short stay; on the first day of May he embarked at Acre for Sicily, where the public state of affairs required his presence.

In the following year he made peace with the holy See; but two hostile factions, known by the appellation of Guelphs and Gibelins, continued to drench Italy with blood and all the horrors of civil war. The cruelties and profanations committed by Frederic, drew upon him a new sentence of excommunication in 1236. The sentence only served to irritate and to hurry him into excesses still more violent and enormous. Gregory then recurred to the false politics of the age, which blended the spiritual and civil powers together in the sovereign pontiff, pronounced him fallen from the imperial throne, and offered his crown to Lewis IX. of France, in favour of his brother Robert. Such an offer, as we have related above, had been accepted by their grandfather Philip Augustus; it was now prudently rejected by his more moderate grand-sons. In 1240 the Pope published a bull for the convocation of a general council to settle some important matters concerning the Church. The emperor, conscious of the provocation he had given, well knew that his violences against the Church, if once laid before a general council, could not escape the severest censure; he therefore took measures to prevent its meeting. The English, French, and Spanish bishops, in obedience to the Pope's summons, had reached Genoa on their way to Rome, intending to make the rest of their journey by sea. They embarked; Frederic had notice of their sailing; he had a fleet under the command of Henry his natural son, whom he had created King of Sardinia, stationed upon the coast, with orders to intercept the Genoese ships. Henry executed his father's orders, and made all the bishops prisoners. By this stroke a stop was put to the council for some time. Gregory died the year after; his successor Celestine IV. followed him to the tomb sixteen days after his election. Frederic by his intrigues kept off the election of a new Pope for eighteen months, during all which time he never ceased to persecute

the Church with as much fury as when Gregory was alive. Innocent IV. his former friend, was at last unanimously chosen. Innocent's first concern was peace with the emperor; he held out honourable terms; Frederic accepted and solemnly promised to observe them. But Frederic was not sincere; he quickly forswore himself and commenced hostilities. Innocent dreaded his perfidy and his violence. Afraid to trust him, he quitted Rome in disguise, got safe to Genoa, and from thence to Lyons, where he resolved to hold the council which had been called by Gregory. A hundred and forty bishops assembled; the Pope presided; the first session was held on the twenty-eighth of June, 1245. Their deliberations chiefly ran upon temporal concerns, upon the emperor's outrages against the Church, and upon the means of procuring succours for the holy land. They decided no point of doctrine, they enacted no canons; so that the council of Lyons scarce seems to deserve the name of œcumenical. In the third and last session, on the seventeenth day of July, the Pope rose up, and having enumerated the heinous crimes of which the emperor Frederic II. was found guilty, read the sentence of his deposition from the imperial throne, declaring the throne to be vacant from that moment, and exhorting those to whom it belonged to elect a successor. The *Te Deum* was then sung, and the council dispersed. It is to be observed, that the Pope read the deposing sentence in the presence only, and not with the approbation of the council: the council did not sanction it.

SECTION VIII. *St. Edmond, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

AFTER the death of King John, the French interest in England rapidly declined. The valiant Earl of Pembroke took A. D. 1242. upon him the management of the kingdom, conveyed the young King Henry III. then but ten years old, to Gloucester, and there had him crowned. Equally politic and faithful in his allegiance, he caused the king to renew Magna Charta, and to comply with his father's disgraceful deed, by doing homage to the papal legate for his crown. By the first he gained the good will of his subjects, by the second he secured the protection of the Pope, whose authority bore great weight in England at that time, even in political matters. The barons crowded round the royal standard; the sentence of excommunication was repeated every Sunday in the churches against the dauphin and his adherents. This made a strong impression upon the public mind. Those barons who had invited Lewis to become their sovereign, now wished his absence, and watched every opportunity of returning to their allegiance. The battle of Lincoln decided the contest. Lewis saw the case was desperate: he sought for nothing more than how to escape with safety and with honour out of a country where every thing was hostile to him. Peace was concluded on these conditions; Lewis promised to restore the provinces, which his father Philip had unjustly ravished from King John, as soon as he should become King of France, if not restored by his father before that time. On the part of Henry, it was agreed that an amnesty should be granted to the English barons for all that was past.

In the year 1227 the king took the reins of government into his own feeble hands. If Henry had lived in less turbulent times, or had he found a regular form of government settled upon a solid basis, he might have reigned with honour to himself, and with advantage to his subjects. For Henry was a well disposed prince, he was free from vice, he was religious, benevolent and humane. But he had a boisterous and haughty nobility to deal with: it also was his misfortune to provoke their resentment by his partiality to strangers, on whom he imprudently lavished some of the first employments at court. The proceedings of the barons in many instances were equally hostile to the liberties of the people, and the prerogatives of the crown. It was an oppressive aristocracy, which in the heat of contention they set up and maintained for some years, till cool reason and a wise policy established a system, which happily combined the rights of the sovereign and the rights of the people together for the common good.

From Henry's partiality to foreigners sprung up another grievance, which disgraced his reign, and injured his subjects; it was the nomination of Italians and other strangers to ecclesiastical benefices, even to such as had the care of souls annexed to them. Through this abuse of power, which was sometimes exercised by a Roman legate, and sometimes by the king himself, the people were left without instruction, the donations of their ancestors were diverted from their original purposes, and the riches of England were carried off to a foreign land. Besides this, heavy contributions were frequently exacted by the court of Rome on various pretences, not only from the clergy, but likewise from the laity. Sometimes it was to defray the expenses of a crusade, sometimes to support the tottering throne of Constantinople, or to protect the papal dominions against the attacks of a hostile emperor.

The See of Canterbury had been vacant upwards of two years, when, in 1234, Edmund Rich, a canon and treasurer of the church of Salisbury, was called forth to fill it. Edmund possessed the talents of a scholar and the virtues of a saint. To fulfil the duties of the high station, to which he was raised in such circumstances, required both. The barons' wars had caused a general corruption of morals; ecclesiastical discipline had fallen into decay; flagrant abuses had crept into the English Church. On one hand the Roman agents exacted heavy contributions, often with the threat of excommunication, or of suspension, if not immediately granted; on the other hand, the distressed king kept the bishoprics, the abbeys, and other benefices, a long time vacant, and then filled them up with his own creatures, who were either strangers, or persons unqualified, to the disgrace and ruin of religion. These were evils which the zealous primate could not countenance with a sound conscience. To put a stop to these and the like abuses, he published what are called his Constitutions, in thirty-six canons; recorded by Spelman and Labbe in his edition of the Councils. He likewise applied to Pope Gregory IX. for an order that should empower him to fill up all vacant benefices after a lapse of six months, in case the king neglected to nominate within that term. The Pope first granted, and then, on the king's remonstrance, recalled the order.

Edmund upon this was greatly perplexed what to do. To act in opposition to the order he thought was to resist lawful authority ; to remain silent was to connive at abuses, which he could not approve. Under that anxiety he resolved to leave England, where he was not free to follow the dictates of conscience in a matter of such importance, and to become a voluntary exile. He first went to Paris, where St. Lewis, who knew his merit, gave him a gracious reception ; he then retired to Pontigni, a Cistercian abbey in Champagne, which had harboured two of his predecessors, St. Thomas, under Henry II. and Cardinal de Langton, under John Santerre. Edmund did not long survive ; spent with affliction and abstinence, he died in the odour of sanctity in 1240, and was canonized four years after by Innocent IV. He had for his successor Boniface of Savoy, whose only qualification was, that he was the queen's uncle.

To form an idea of the general state of Christendom, as it stood about the middle of the thirteenth century, we need but transcribe the neat remonstrance which the Cardinal John of Toledo, an Englishman by birth, made to Innocent IV. That Pope being told of the opposition made by King Henry among the Roman levies, grew mighty angry, and threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict. "Be moderate, holy Father," said the Cardinal, "be moderate : consider the times are bad. The holy land is in danger, the Greek Church is separated from us, the powerful Frederic is against us. We ourselves are driven from Italy ; Hungary and the neighbouring states are upon the brink of being ruined by the ravaging Tatars ; Germany is broken by civil war, Spain is oppressed by Infidels, the bishops there are ill-used, we have impoverished France, and France conspires against us ; England, at length, wearied out and exhausted by our demands, begins to complain, and to resist our pretensions."

SECTION IX. *Latin Empire of Constantinople extinguished.*

WHEN Innocent III. censured the crusaders for seizing on the imperial crown of Constantinople in 1204, they alleged in A. D. 1261. their justification, that in so doing they had no other view than to facilitate the conquest of Palestine, and to promote the union of the Greek Church. If such was their real intention, it is strange they never should have exhibited any fact to prove it. Baldwin was no sooner raised to the Greek throne, than he began to look out for new conquests. The Bulgarians had thrown off their allegiance to the Greek emperors ; Baldwin undertook to reduce them by force of arms. He had not strength to do it. His new subjects, the Greeks, turned against him. He was taken prisoner by the Bulgarian king, loaded with chains, and after languishing a year in prison, was put to a cruel death, by having his arms and legs hopped off, and his living trunk then cast into a pit to be devoured by birds of prey. He was succeeded by his brother Henry. The Grecian nobles in the mean time assembled at Nice, in Bithynia, and chose for their emperor Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law to Alexis Angelus, the usurper of the crown, when the Venetian fleet first entered the port of Constantinople in 1203. They also elected a

Greek Patriarch in opposition to the Latin one. These transactions afforded no favourable prospect of union either in the church or state. Lascaris and his successors resided partly at Adrianople, and partly at Nice, during the fifty-seven years that the throne of Constantinople was held by five successive Latin emperors.

The emperor Henry died in 1216, and as he died without issue, the Latin barons chose for his successor Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, and brother-in-law to the deceased emperor. This Peter de Courtenay was cousin german to Philip Augustus, King of France, both being grand-sons of Lewis the Big. Peter's father, the fifth son of Lewis the Big, married the heiress of Courtenay, so left to his son the title of Courtenay. Deputies from Constantinople arrived in France to inform him of his promotion to the throne of Constantine. Peter immediately repaired to Rome, and was crowned by Honorius III. though he never reached the capital of his empire. He took his way by Epirus; but scarce had he set his foot on shore, when Theodore Comnenus, a powerful and treacherous Greek, suddenly seized and cast him into prison, where he died soon after. His second son, Robert de Courtenay, succeeded him. Robert dying without issue in 1228, had for successor his brother Baldwin II. a child not ten years old. The barons appointed John de Brienne, the titular King of Jerusalem, to govern the empire during his minority, with the authority and title of emperor. These were but feeble props for the support of a government, which had been strangely introduced against the will of the people.

The Greek clergy, the senators, and citizens of Constantinople, who saw a prince of their own nation acknowledged emperor by the other provinces, could not view a Latin prince in the metropolis, vested with imperial robes, and surrounded with Latin guards, in any other light than that of an usurper, nor could it be expected, that they would submit to be governed by him any longer than there was a military force to compel them. The fourth council of Lateran, indeed, had passed a very favourable decree for the re-establishment of a perfect union between the two churches; but that decree had not the desired effect. The wounds of schism were not healed; the same jealousy, the same animosity, and the same antipathy continued to agitate the minds of prejudiced men. Nor was the conduct of the Latin clergy such as tended to remove the seeds of discord, and to encourage union. Upon the death of Thomas Morosini, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 1211, a violent contest began about the appointment of a successor. The contest lasted till the year 1215, when Pope Innocent, seeing they could not agree to make a canonical election, named Gervais, a native of Tuscany, to that patriarchal See. Two years before that his Holiness had sent Pelagius, the cardinal bishop of Ostia, in quality of legate, to settle their disputes. But the oppressive manner in which that haughty prelate exercised his legantine power, rather increased than silenced their quarrels. The Greek clergy had just reason to complain. The emperor Henry interposed his authority in their behalf. Such grievances never were forgotten; they left a sting upon the mind, and, gradually prepared the way for a counter revolution.

The Greek emperor, Theodore Lascaris, died in the year 1259,

leaving a son but eight years old, a devoted victim to the cruelty of an usurper. Michael Paleologus, an ambitious and intriguing statesman, procured for himself first the regency and then the sceptre, both which he promised to resign as soon as the young prince should be of an age to reign by himself. Michael watched every opportunity to gain possession of Constantinople. He knew the weakness of the Latin government, and that it would be no hard matter to take the city by surprise. By his order Cæsar Alexis led a detachment of Greek troops near the walls; he observed in how negligent a manner the guard was kept, he waited till the dusk of the evening, and then marched into the town without opposition. The alarm being given, Baldwin and Justinian, the Latin patriarch, made the best of their way to the port, threw themselves on board the first vessel they met with, and left Alexis master of the city. This happened in July 1261. Thus without violence, without a struggle, without so much as a single drop of blood being shed, the Latin empire of the east was completely overthrown, and in one night's time restored to the Greeks, their native sovereigns. Michael hastened to take possession; he immediately removed every thing that was Latin out of sight, placed Arsenius in the patriarchal chair, and caused himself to be crowned emperor. The patriarch at first refused to perform the ceremony, and only consented upon the emperor's renewing his oath, that he would give up the reins of government to the hereditary Prince Lascaris, when of age to hold them. But to frustrate the intention of his oath, and to show the world that no man should set limits to his power, or presume to fetter him in his ambitious project, the inhuman despot seared the prince's eye-balls with a hot iron, and shut him up for life in a strong tower, bereaving him at once of the light of day, of his liberty, and of the hope of ever mounting the throne of his ancestors.

SECTION X. *Last Crusades under St. Lewis, King of France.*

LEWIS IX. of that name among the kings of France, succeeded to the title when he was only eleven years of age, upon A. D. 1270. the death of his father Lewis VIII. the unsuccessful pretender to the crown of England. His mother, queen Blanche, the daughter of Alphonsus IX. King of Arragon, governed the kingdom during his minority with singular prudence and magnanimity. To her care and attention was her son indebted for that excellent education which in his person formed the character of an illustrious king, of a hero, of a scholar, and a saint. At the age of nineteen, in 1234, he married Margaret, the eldest daughter of the Count of Provence, and two years after took the reins of government into his own hands, without ceasing to pay a filial regard to his mother's counsels, which were always considerate and prudent. Since the addition of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, made by Philip Augustus his grandfather, to the French monarchy, the royal power had acquired a complete ascendancy over the counts and barons of France, who, from the time of Charlemagne, had maintained a sovereignty little short of independence: some of them in their connexions and extent of territory, were even more power-

ful than their liege sovereign himself. From such vassals no obedience could be enforced or expected against their will. No prince better understood or more skilfully improved the art of governing a great nation than St. Lewis did during the thirty-four years that he reigned alone. His capacity, his prudence, his moderation, his integrity, his conduct, raised him high in the opinion of Europe: to him the contemporary sovereigns looked up for advice, for aid and direction in their political concerns. England made him twice her umpire in the bloody contests between Henry and his barons; and happy for England had it been, if the barons had abided by his just and judicious arbitration. To him the emperor Frederic addressed his remonstrance in the disputes he had with the Roman pontiffs.

The progress of the Mahometan arms in Asia drew the attention of Lewis. Being apprehensive that the whole of that country would be finally lost to Christianity, he took the cross, raised a gallant army, and on the twenty-seventh day of August, 1248, set sail for Cyprus, where he had taken care to provide large military stores for his expedition. In Palestine and Syria the Christians were still possessed of four principalities, of Acre, Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch. Jerusalem was again fallen into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, who threatened to swallow up all the remains of the Christian possessions in that part of the globe. To divert the Infidel from that undertaking, St. Lewis thought it advisable to attack him in his own country. He accordingly sent him a formal declaration of war, and from Cyprus sailed for Egypt. His army consisted of 12,800 French, English, and Cyprian knights, besides 60,000 of chosen soldiers. Damietta, a strong fortress in an island formed by two mouths of the river Nile, was the object and the prize of his first attack. From Damietta he marched along the banks of the Nile towards Grand Cairo, till he came to the place which separates the two arms of the river near Massour, a fortified town in the midway between Damietta and Cairo. The Turkish army lay encamped on the opposite bank of the river, which Lewis resolved to cross and to give battle. Being shown to a ford, he passed through without loss, attacked and routed the enemy. Robert, the king's brother, pursued the advantage he had gained too eagerly, contrary to orders; the Infidels perceived his error; they rallied, surrounded, and cut him off from the main army. He perished with his troop. This turned the tide of fortune, and overwhelmed the Christians with a swell of subsequent misfortunes. Their numbers diminished every day by sickness and the want of provisions. Unable to make head against a fierce and insulting enemy, they attempted to retreat to Damietta. The Sultan attacked them on every side upon the march. Resistance was useless. The sick king and his army surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The Sultan, though master of his antagonist, made generous overtures for peace, which were accepted. The surrender of Damietta was the captive monarch's ransom; an immense sum of money redeemed the miserable remnants of his army. Of these Lewis sent home the greatest part, with the rest he embarked for Acre. His design in that was not to undertake any offensive operations against the Infidels, for his force was too insignificant, but to unite and animate the Christians, and to put their towns in a state of defence.

This done, he re-embarked and returned to France in 1254, after an absence of six years.

The overthrow of the Christian army in Egypt was in great measure owing to the abilities of Bondocdar, general of the Turkish troops. Success rendered him popular and insolent. He aimed at the Mahometan crown; he imbrued his hands in the blood of two Sultans to attain it. Implacable in his hatred against the Christian name, he was determined to extirpate all of that profession in the east. In the year 1266, he led a numerous army against the Latin settlements in Syria. In the course of five years he took and demolished the cities of Acre, Tripoli, Cæsaria, and Antioch. To complete the desolation of the country, he massacred all the inhabitants who refused to embrace Mahometanism. In Antioch alone he put seventeen thousand to the sword in cold blood, and carried away a hundred thousand into captivity. This was the final ruin of that ancient city. These public calamities excited the compassion and zeal of St. Lewis; he took the cross a second time, and embarked with a powerful army, on the first day of July, 1270. Prince Edward, afterwards King of England, sailed in the same fleet with a select force. All on board imagined they were going for Egypt or for Palestine, till they came near the island of Sardinia. There in common council it was declared, as had already been concerted between Lewis and his brother Charles, King of Sicily, that they should first attack Tunis, which they thought would yield an easy conquest, and open the way to Egypt. The French fleet accordingly steered for Africa. Tunis, a strong town, stands at the head of a gulf about eight miles distant from the site of Old Carthage. The French sailed up the gulph, and landed without opposition. The king of Sicily was not yet arrived; they resolved to undertake nothing without him. That delay proved the ruin of their enterprise. It was the feverish month of July; the excessive heat occasioned a malignant disorder, which carried off the troops by hundreds. The king himself fell sick, and after lingering some time, sunk at last under the disorder, on the twenty-fifth of August. Scarce had he expired, when the Sicilian fleet arrived. It was a melancholy rendezvous; no attack was made upon the town; peace on advantageous terms was concluded with the Moors, and thus the expedition ended.

Prince Edward of England passed the winter in Sicily, and in the following spring sailed to Acre, with a view of carrying succours to the holy land. But he found the Christians in the east so much reduced by the superior force of Bondocdar, that nothing could be done for them; after a short stay he re-embarked, having been in great danger of losing his life, by being stabbed with a poisoned dagger. Speed and some modern authors tell us, that he owed his safety to the affection of his wife Eleanor, who at the risk of her own life, sucked the poison out of the wound. But with more probability of truth, contemporary writers say, he owed his cure to the skill of his surgeon.

After Prince Edward's departure, the Sultan Sait, Bondocdar's son and successor completely finished the ruin of the Christians in the east, nor has any expedition since that time been undertaken for their re-establishment.

SECTION XI. *Greek Union.*

ABOUT twenty years after the Latins had possessed themselves of Constantinople, in 1204, a treaty of union between the A. D. 1274. Latin and Greek Churches was actually begun during the pontificate of Gregory IX. and though carried on against the inclination of the Greek nation at large seemed to promise a happy issue. The project was eagerly pursued by the succeeding Popes, Innocent IV. Alexander IV. Urban IV. Clement IV. and Gregory X. who at last brought it to bear. As far as facts enable us to judge, a disinterested and unfeigned zeal for God's honour guided the Latins through every stage of the negotiation. If the Greeks had been less influenced by political motives, or been more sincere in their declarations, more solid and more lasting probably would have been the union. The serious grounds of disunion were the supremacy of St. Peter's chair, and the divine procession of the Holy Ghost. These were two fundamental articles, which could not be abandoned consistently with the integrity of faith, and the unity of the Catholic Church. Every other point respecting discipline, ceremonies, rites, and usages, canonically established in the Greek Church, the Pope consented to leave as they were. The Greeks for nine hundred years had publicly professed the spiritual supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and by rejecting it became schismatics. By denying the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Son as well as from the Father, they erred in faith, and were become heretics. These were two errors which they were obliged explicitly to renounce before they could partake of the Catholic communion. Political reasons of state strongly urged them to take that step. To rescue the Grecian sceptre from the hand of a Latin intruder, and restore the fallen dignity of the oriental empire, must have been the natural wish of every Greek who aspired to any post of emolument or honour amongst his countrymen. For the attainment of so important an object, he could not but know that the most likely means was the Pope's influence with the Latin powers, and that influence they hoped to gain by acknowledging his supremacy. Paleologus had still more cogent motives for tying the bond of friendship with the west. That deep politician knew by what arts he had obtained the crown, he knew that a powerful party of the Greeks was leagued against him on account of his cruelty to Prince Lascaris, that Baldwin his Latin rival was still alive, that the King of Sicily was an hostile neighbour, that the spirit of crusading was not yet extinct, and might at any time turn as fiercely against a schismatic, as against a Saracen or a Turk.

Whether on these, or on more exalted motives, Michael planned and steadily pursued the project of an union between the Latin and Greek Churches, we will not venture to pronounce. By persuasive as well as by coercive measures, he strove to gain the Greek bishops; from some of them he experienced an obstinate resistance. At the head of these stood the patriarch Joseph, supported by a crowd of headstrong monks. This determined opposition from a prelate who had absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, which Arsenius had pronounced for his barbarous treatment of the young Prince Lascaris, gave him great uneasiness. He strove to gain him ;

but Joseph was inflexible. He even sent a formal declaration to the emperor, signifying that he had bound himself by an oath never to give his assent to an union with the Latins, but to resign his See, should an union ever take place. The most religious, however, and most learned of the bishops and secular clergy, approved the emperor's plan, and encouraged him to persist. Amongst these was the celebrated John Veccus, keeper of the archives.

To terminate an affair of such magnitude, Pope Gregory X. summoned a general council to meet at Lyons. Five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and a thousand other dignitaries, with the ambassadors of the kings of France, England, Sicily, and German princes, attended the Pope, who presided in person. They assembled for the first time on the seventh of May, 1274. Contrary winds prevented the Greeks from arriving in due time. They arrived on the twenty-fourth day of June, consisting of the emperor's ambassadors and two bishops, Germanus the former patriarch of Constantinople, and Theophanes the metropolitan of Nice. The Latin prelates, who composed the council, went out in procession to meet and conduct them into the Pope's presence. His Holiness received them standing, and gave them the kiss of peace.

In the fourth session, which was held on the sixth of July, were read the letters which the Greeks had brought from the Emperor Michael, from his son Andronicus, lately associated with his father in the empire, and from the Grecian prelates, to the number of thirty-six archbishops and metropolitans, with their respective suffragans. The emperor, in his letter to the blessed Gregory, styles him the first and supreme pontiff, the œcumenical Pope and common Father of all Christians. The Greek bishops in their letter qualify him with the title of great and excellent pontiff of the apostolic See. These letters being read, a noble Greek rose up, and in the name of the emperor solemnly abjured the schism, acknowledged the primacy of the Roman See, accepted the Catholic profession of faith, and promised never to depart from it. The Greek prelates likewise professed the same faith, and expressed great regret at their patriarch Joseph's refusing to join with them in the same act. The Pope then standing up, and without his mitre, intoned the *Te Deum*, while a gush of tears marked the joyful emotions of his heart on that happy occasion. After that he began the symbol of faith in Latin, which being done, the patriarch Germanus began it in Greek, and the words, "who proceedeth from the Father and the Son," were sung twice over. Thus ended the fourth session.

In the fifth session was settled the form of election for a new Pope, on the vacancy of the holy See. The sixth and last session was held on the seventeenth day of the same month of July. Every purpose being answered for which the council had been called, the Pope gave his blessing to the Fathers, and dismissed them.

SECTION XII. *View of the Thirteenth Century.*

As soon as the general council of Lyon was closed, the Greeks hastened back to Constantinople, well pleased with the honours they had received, and happy in their profession of the true, the holy, the Catholic, and orthodox faith, as taught by the Church of Rome. These are the very terms in which the emperor Michael Paleologus expressed himself to Pope Gregory. The patriarch Joseph persisting obstinately in his errors, was deposed, and John Veccus chosen in his place. Veccus, who from conviction had embraced the orthodox faith, took every step which he thought conducive to render the union lasting. For he knew that many of the bishops had not been sincere and hearty in the business, as the event showed upon the death of Paleologus in 1282. Scarce had the old emperor ceased to breathe, when his son Andronicus, who had ever been averse to the union, openly avowed his principles, and immediately undid all that had been done. He deposed Veccus, set Joseph again upon the patriarchal throne, and plunged the Greek Church a second time into heresy and schism. Veccus, the chief prop of the Catholic cause, was sent into banishment, where he died an illustrious confessor in 1298. Of the bishops who had signed and refused to retract the union, many were deposed; some signed against their conscience with apparent reluctance, others willingly went with the popular crowd.

From these distant scenes of Greece we now look back on what passed in the nearer provinces of Europe. The deposing sentence pronounced against Frederic II. in the year 1245, threw the affairs of Italy and Germany into strange confusion. Frederic looked upon himself to be no less emperor, after it was pronounced by the Pope, than he was before. The electors took the advantage of choosing a new king of the Romans; they chose William II. Count of Holland. After Frederic's death in 1250, different competitors were set up by different factions. Alphonso, King of Castile, and Richard, Duke of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. King of England, were in their turn elected King of the Romans, but never received the imperial crown. The throne remained vacant for three and twenty years, till 1273, when Rodolph, Count of Harpsburgh, was unanimously chosen to fill it. He was acknowledged by the Pope; he confirmed and promised to support all the territorial grants which his imperial predecessors had ever made to the holy See. Rodolph was a wise and valiant prince, he retrieved the fallen state of the empire, and by the conquests he made of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, and Carinthia, laid the foundation of that political grandeur which the house of Austria has since held among the princes of Europe.

The disgraced Frederic II. left a legitimate son, called Conrad, and a natural son, called Mainfred. Conrad died at the age of twenty-six, four years after his father, and left a son a minor, whose name was Conradin. Mainfred possessed himself of the regency of Naples and Sicily for his young nephew Conradin, and soon after took the title of King. That kingdom was a fief of the holy See. Urban IV. declared the title forfeited by Frederick and his son Conrad; on that ground he made a present of it to Charles of Anjou,

the brother of St. Lewis. Mainfred was not disposed tamely to submit. He took the field, and maintained a stubborn contest against his antagonist. Charles at last engaged him near Beventum in 1266, and defeated him with the loss of life, upon which the greatest part of the kingdom submitted to the conqueror. But Conradin came forward with an army from Germany to assert his claim to that kingdom, which he pretended to derive from his father by hereditary right. Charles of Anjou marched against him, defeated, took him prisoner, and in cold blood put him to death as a rebel. The French by their conduct rendered themselves very odious to the whole Sicilian nation. The leading men formed a plot to destroy every Frenchman in the island in one day. The day fixed upon was Easter Monday in 1282, and the signal for a general massacre is said to have been given by the bell that summoned the people to church for evening song, whence in history it is called the Sicilian Vespers. The bloody scene began at Palermo, and from thence spread over the whole island.

In the midst of this confusion arrived Peter III. King of Arragon. He came with a powerful army to make good his pretensions to the crown of Sicily. He was married to Constantia, the daughter and heiress of the late Mainfred, and on that spurious title he rested his whole claim. The Sicilians, out of hatred to the French, received him with open arms, and crowned him their king at Palermo. Charles of Anjou was obliged to fly. Martin IV. was then Pope; he considered the Spanish invasion as an attack upon the civil jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, the liege sovereign of Sicily. He excommunicated the invader with all his adherents, and laid the country under an interdict. The Arragonian paid no regard to the censure, when he had a crown in view.

Provoked at this public slight of his authority, Martin resolved to proceed against him in a more serious manner. He grounded his procedure on the voluntary surrender which Peter II. the present king's grandfather, had made of his independence to the Pope in 1204, when at his coronation in Rome he took an oath of fealty to Innocent III. and rendered his kingdom of Arragon tributary to the See of Rome. Martin, then in quality of liege sovereign of Arragon, deposed Peter, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and offered the crown to Philip the Hardy, King of France, to be settled upon Charles his second son. Philip, less prudent than his father St. Lewis, accepted the offer; his acceptance was an undoubted approbation of the deed and power of the giver, and consequently a tacit concession, that the same hand which gave night, on some capricious change of politics, dispose of again. Philip had a crown nominally bestowed upon him, but he was to gain possession as he could. He led an army across the Pyrenean mountains, and deluged Catalonia with blood, sacrilege, impurities, and every excess of licentious violence. The scourge of God overtook the French troops without waiting for the sword of Peter to destroy them. The sultry heats of June occasioned sickness; the putrid carcasses that lay unburied, tainted the air with pestilence. Philip gave orders for a retreat; he got back as far as Perpignan, and there died in 1285. His eldest son, Philip IV. surnamed the Fair,

succeeded him. Peter of Arragon survived but one month, leaving his eldest son Alphonso in peaceable possession of his Spanish crown, and his second son, James, in that of Sicily.

The chief ecclesiastical writers of the thirteenth century were Albertus Magnus, a Dominican, bishop of Ratisbon, his works fill twenty-one folio volumes; Alexander Hales, an English friar: St. Anthony of Padua, a Franciscan; St. Bonaventure, an Italian Franciscan, a doctor of Paris, bishop and cardinal; Robert of Sorbonne, founder of the college in Paris that bears his name; St. Thomas of Aquin, a Dominican, called the Angelical Doctor. Urban IV. instituted the annual feast of Corpus Christi, in 1264.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Fourteenth Century.

SECTION I. *Transactions of Boniface VIII. and Clement V. with Philip the Fair.*

AFTER the death of Gregory X. whom the public opinion of his sanctity has proclaimed a saint, although never canonized in form, Innocent V. Adrian V. and John XXI. ascended the pontifical chair in quick succession. Then succeeded Nicholas III. Martin IV. Honorius IV. and Nicholas IV. After the death of Nicholas IV. the holy See remained vacant upwards of two years. The cardinals at length met at Perousa, and unanimously chose a devout hermit, called Peter. An eminent degree of sanctity was the sole qualification which recommended him to their notice. For he had neither learning nor experience, nor the judgment requisite for that sublime station. He however consented to take upon him the arduous task, in submission to the will of God, intimated to him as he thought by the public voice; he took the name of Celestine. Four months scarce elapsed, when feeling his own incapacity, and the absolute impracticability of attending to his usual exercises of prayer and meditation, he determined within himself to go back to his former solitude. He accordingly abdicated the pontifical chair, and in the act expressed a more heartfelt satisfaction, than the most ambitious prince could have shewn in mounting the throne of the richest empire in the world.

The retreat of St. Celestine was a favourable event to the views of Cardinal Cajetan, who had long fixed his eye upon the tiara. Cajetan was an active politician, a scholar well versed in the canon and civil law, but extravagant in his pretensions to power, over the temporal rights of sovereign princes. A plurality of votes in the sacred college raised him to the papal throne in 1294, under the name of Boniface VIII. The Colonnas, a powerful family in Rome, and avowed enemies of the Popes, gave him great disturbance in the beginning of his reign: they publicly arraigned the legality of his election, and denied the validity of Celestine's abdication. Boniface excommunicated them, and so enforced his spiritual power by the word that he compelled them to fly for refuge into France. Fearing, however, lest Celestine might change his mind and cause a schism, he consigned the unambitious prelate to a close and scanty chamber in the castle of Fumone. "Nothing but a cell did I desire in this world," said the holy recluse, on that occasion, "and a cell they have given me." In that guarded cell he placidly enjoyed what his successor in the Vatican could never acquire, peace of mind. Too sanguine in his pursuits, Boniface sought to extinguish the flames of war that were kindled up between the princes of Europe; but the imperious tone he assumed in treating with Philip the Fair, King of France, involved him in a long and stubborn contest with that violent and warlike monarch. Cause of resentment was certainly

given on both sides. Boniface was undoubtedly wrong in pretending to make the temporal power dependent on the spiritual: but it must be remembered, that Boniface in that was not singly wrong; his pretensions tallied with the general opinion of the age, an opinion acknowledged even and encouraged, as we have seen, by the kings of France themselves, when suitable to their interest against a rival power. The opinion is universally rejected. The generality of French writers lose themselves in vilifying the character of Pope Boniface, whom they charge with the whole blame of that acrimonious quarrel which happened between him and their favorite monarch, Philip the Fair. The character of that Pope, says a judicious critic of that nation, is not to be gathered from such passionate invectives; if Boniface was blameable, as he seems to have been, in some points, Philip was not less so in others. The faults of Boniface disappear when put in competition with those of Philip.

The Bull *Clericis laicos*, published in the year 1296, gave great offence in England as well as in France. It was thought to contain an absolute prohibition, under pain of excommunication, for the clergy to contribute towards the support of the state without leave from the holy See. Strong remonstrances were made against it, and the Pope was under the necessity of explaining himself in a subsequent Bull, dated Orvieto, July 31st, 1297. In this Bull his Holiness declares, that his former prohibition extended only to forced exactions, not to free gifts and loans, nor to the feudal services, which the clergy owe to the laity in virtue of their fiefs. His Holiness moreover adds, that in case of necessity, when the defence of the state requires it, the king, according to his judgment, may demand and receive a subsidy from the clergy without consulting the Pope. This declaration and the canonization of St. Lewis in the same year, disarmed the wrath of Philip for a time; it soon broke out again with fresh violence.

The Pope, in virtue of his divine commission to feed the whole flock of Christ, thought it a duty incumbent on him to insist upon the correction of certain abuses committed in France against justice and religion. The king contended, that being possessed of an independent crown, he was not subject to the control of any mortal man in the government of his people: he ordered the Pope's Bull upon the subject to be publicly burnt, put a stop to all communication with the holy See, proclaimed the election of Boniface to have been uncanonical, accused him of simony, of heresy, and of other crimes, and finally concerted measures to get possession of his person, that he might procure his deposition in a council, which he proposed to assemble at Lyons. The Pope in return laid France under an interdict, and threatened the king with personal excommunication, if he persisted. With a view of preventing this formidable stroke of spiritual power, William de Nogaret, Lord of Cauvissou, and Sciarra Colonna, set off for Italy with the king's approbation, under the pretence of negotiating a peace with the holy Father. They took with them large sums of money, by which they engaged a powerful party in their service. The Pope at that time resided at Anagni, his native town. The French emissaries had bribed the townsmen to second their enterprise. Nogaret and Colonna suddenly entered

the place with an armed banditti, and took the Pope by surprise. Colonna loaded him with the grossest insult, struck him on the cheek with his gauntlet, and would have killed him upon the spot, if Nogaret had not interposed. They placed a strong guard to prevent his escape, and kept him three days without food; they dispatched a messenger to inform his Gallic majesty what they had done, and to receive his further orders. This gave the townsmen time to reflect upon their perfidious conduct; they were ashamed of themselves, rose in a mass upon the guards, and set the holy Father free. He repaired straight to Rome, where a fever, brought on by grief and hard treatment, put an end to all his troubles, in the beginning of the following month, 1303.

Benedict XI. a learned and virtuous cardinal of the Dominican Order, succeeded him. The King of France immediately sent deputies to congratulate him on his promotion, and to settle the subject of dispute which had subsisted between him and the late Pope. His majesty at the same time requested and obtained a release from all censures, into which the warmth of passion might have betrayed him. Perfect harmony was now restored between the mitre and the crown. But the death of Benedict, at the end of eight months, opened a door for new schemes and new cabals. Philip had conceived designs which he wished to execute, and therefore sought to place a creature of his own in St. Peter's chair. In Bertrand de Got, the archbishop of Bourdeaux, he discovered a genius suited to his purpose. He admitted him to a private conference, found him pliant, and disposed to act as his majesty should direct. The King then opened his mind to him, and engaged to make him Pope, on condition that he would promise to grant him six requests. Five of them he mentioned upon the spot; the sixth, he said, was of too important a nature to be communicated at that time. Bertrand seemed to hesitate at first, but the prospect of the tiara quickly removed his scruples, and he bound himself by oath to comply with the king's reserved request, whatever it might be.

The cardinals held the conclave at Perousa. In the late disputes between Pope Boniface and King Philip, some of the sacred college had sided with one, and some with the other. This difference of opinion now divided the conclave into two opposite interests, nearly equal, the one denominated the Italian, the other the French action. Near eleven months passed away in fruitless conferences, neither party been inclined to give way. It was at last agreed, that one party should name three candidates, and that the other party should elect one of the three. It fell to the lot of the Bonifacians to name the candidates, which they thought an advantage. They named the archbishop of Bourdeaux as their first man, fancying him still to be, as he had always professed himself, the friend of Boniface, and an enemy to Philip. Philip had contrived to let his party know what had passed between him and the archbishop; they consequently agreed with the Italian party to choose him Pope; which was accordingly done, and both parties came out of the conclave perfectly satisfied.

SECTION II. *Prosecution of the Knights Templars.*

THE Archbishop Bertrand was making the visitation of his diocese, when he received the news of his being chosen A. D. 1307. Pope. He repaired immediately to Lyons, where he intended to be crowned, and ordered the cardinals to attend him there. The Italians then saw too late, that they had been overreached by French artifice and French intrigue. The new Pope was solemnly crowned on the fourteenth of November, 1305, and took the name of Clement V. Soon after Philip communicated to him the secret article, which he had promised upon oath to execute when Pope; it was to condemn the memory of Pope Boniface, and to burn his bones, as the bones of a heretic. Clement was shocked at the proposal, for he knew Boniface to have been truly orthodox: he sincerely repented of his impious oath, but he durst not openly reject the king's demand. He dissembled, and deferred an answer. In 1307, the king appointed a conference with him at Poitiers; there he renewed his demand. The embarrassed pontiff had no other means of extricating himself out of the difficulty, than of saying, that a matter of such importance to the whole Church could not be transacted with propriety but in a general council, which he promised to call. The king was not satisfied with the answer, but was obliged to acquiesce for the present. He took that opportunity of mentioning to the Pope another subject of great import to the public concerning the Knights Templars. His majesty said the crimes of those knights had risen to such a magnitude, that nothing less than the abolition of their Order could expiate their guilt. The obsequious Clement listened, and at the king's solicitation consented to proceed against that military Order. The grounds on which the prosecution first began are differently related. The best account which Fleury, the ecclesiastical historian, has been able to collect, and which, in his opinion, looks most like truth, is as follows.

A burgess of Beziers, called Squin, and a profligate Templar, were confined together in the same prison for capital offences, which excluded all hopes of pardon. In those days it was no unusual thing for men at sea, or in extreme danger of death, and no priest being at hand, to tell their sins to each other. These two prisoners agreed to do it. Squin by that means became acquainted with the Templar's whole life. He gave notice to the king's officer that he was in possession of an important secret, which he could not communicate to any man living but to the king in person. The king ordered the prisoner to be brought before him in a private chamber. Being alone together, Squin related at full length a list of sins which the Templar, as he said, had confessed to him. This the king related to the Pope in their conference at Poitiers. The relation, whether founded in Squin's invention, or in the Templar's real confession, tended to criminate the whole Order. It stated, 1. That every novice at his admission into the Order was compelled to deny Jesus Christ, and contemptuously to spit upon a crucifix, in token of his disbelief; 2. That he kissed the person who received him in a manner too indecent to be specified; 3. That to recompense him for the prohibition of all criminal intercourse with the other sex, he

was allowed to indulge with his brethren in those detestable and unnatural practices which drew down fire from heaven for the destruction of Sodom. This triple charge tended to criminate every individual of the Order. A fourth charge was levelled at the principal officers only of the Order, and it stated, that when a general chapter met, a gilded head of wood, with a long beard, was produced and adored by all present.

Incredible as these allegations seemed, Clement entered into Philip's views, and expedited his orders through every state of Christendom where the Templars had any establishment, that juridical information might be taken of their lives and conduct. Philip avowed no other motive than that of religion for acting as he did. But resentment, more congenial to his public character is thought to have stimulated his revenge upon men who had taken a decided part against him in his disputes with the holy See. He could brook no contradiction where he had the power to retaliate. The annihilation of those ill-fated knights is by some considered as an appendage of that outrageous revenge which he was meditating against Pope Boniface. The Templars within the French dominions were all seized by the king's order upon the same day; it was the thirteenth of October, 1307. Their property was put under sequestration, criminal tribunals were erected in different provinces of France, and commissioners were appointed to cite the accused, to hear witnesses, and to commence a criminal process. The prisoners were strictly interrogated, chiefly upon the heads of accusation mentioned above. Many pleaded guilty, amongst whom was the Grand Master; they threw themselves upon the clemency of their judges, in consideration of the ingenuous confession they had made. Most of them declared themselves innocent; seventy-four of them signed and presented a request, that they might be allowed to speak by a pleader in defence of their Order, maintaining that the accusations brought against it were founded in pure calumny, and only admitted by weak or false brethren, under the impression of terror, or the promise of reward: that in their Order there were many of high birth, of strict honour, and religious principle, and that it was not credible that out of so many not one should have had the courage or the conscience to reveal those dark mysteries of iniquity, had they been real. The request was not attended to. Many, who had aspersed the Order by their confessions before their judges, retracted what they had said; of these some were selected for exemplary punishment; no fewer than fifty-four of them were burnt alive at one time before the gate of St. Anthony at Paris: they bore their torments with great fortitude, and persisted, amidst the flames, to justify the Order as long as they could speak. This unanimous protestation of so many dying men, made a deep impression upon the spectators, who beheld them with eyes of compassion, and pitied them as innocent victims, sacrificed to the avarice or revenge of their cruel prosecutors.

The cry against the Templars was not confined to France. In every other kingdom, where they had establishments, they were likewise put under an arrest, and courts of enquiry were erected by royal as well as by papal authority, to examine into the grounds of accu-

sation brought against them. In England nothing more than the bare report of crimes was proved against them, as Walsingham relates. In Castile, they were declared innocent. In Germany they appealed to a general council. In Italy some individuals were found guilty; the affair in general was referred to the Pope and council, which was soon to meet for a definitive decision. That the Templars had degenerated from their original institution, and that many individuals were guilty of enormous sins, cannot well be doubted. To drink and swear like a Templar was a common expression. But that the whole body of those renowned knights had been initiated in the horrid mysteries of infidelity and sodomy, exceeds the bounds of credibility.

SECTION III. *Fifteenth General Council of Vienne.*

THE convocation of a general council having been agreed upon between the Pope and the King of France, a Bull for that effect was published in 1308, and sent into all the states of Christendom. The reasons announced in the Bull for convoking a council, were to decide on certain points of doctrine, to terminate the affair of the Knights Templars, to provide for the reformation of manners, and the recovery of the holy land. No mention was made of the violent proceedings which the vindictive King of France carried on with implacable animosity against the late Pope Boniface, from the year 1303 to 1311, when he thought proper to leave the matter to the quiet decision of the Pope and council. The bishops were instructed to bring with them ample memorials for the information of the council, in making such regulations as the general good of the Church seemed to require.

From these memorials we are enabled to collect the chief abuses which at that time disfigured the fair features of religion in France, and other parts of the Christian world. It appears that the Sundays and principal feasts of the year were then strangely profaned by the dissipation of temporal employments and sinful amusements; that many of the ecclesiastical superiors in the country, thro' indolence and neglect, delegated their authority to improper persons, who made no other than a bad use of it; that in consequence of the nomination to ecclesiastical benefices by the court of Rome, the churches were not well served, that the parishes were either destitute of ministers, or supplied by strangers, who were often ignorant of the language of their parishioners; that as every thing went more by favour than by merit, little encouragement was given to learning, and that the studies were grievously neglected; that simony and incontinency disgraced the clerical Order; that from non-residence, and a plurality of livings, held by the same person, many disorders arose, and that the bishops were highly blameable in not enforcing the wise regulations which had been made to prevent these abuses.

Besides these disorders, that regarded discipline, erroneous doctrines were broached by a fanatical sect of men and women, commonly called Begards and Beguines. The sect sprung up in Germany, spread through the neighbouring provinces, and reached the interior parts of Italy. They pretended, that man is capable of

attaining such a degree of perfection in this life as to become impeccable, and to stand no longer in need of fasting and of prayer; that the sensual part of man is then in such sort subject to the spirit and to reason, that the body may freely and innocently be gratified in the indulgence of all its desires: that they who feel themselves possessed of this degree of perfection, and animated with this spirit of liberty, owe no submission to the commands of men or of the church; because where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Under this pretext they abandoned themselves to the most shameful disorders that depraved nature can suggest.

In obedience to the Bull of convocation, upwards of three hundred bishops from France, Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Italy, met at Vienne, in Dauphine, on the first day of October, 1311. The first session of the council was held on the sixteenth of the same month; the Pope presided in person. The different subjects upon which the council was to decide being publicly read, the session ended. The rest of the year was spent in private conferences. The cause of the Knights Templars, which Clement had already decided in his own mind, according to Philip's desire, engaged the chief attention of the bishops. Whether it was that they thought the informations laid before them were not satisfactory, or that the misdemeanours of individuals were not a sufficient reason for abolishing the whole Order, they certainly seemed not inclined to pronounce. The question was simply this, Whether the military Order of Knights Templars should be suppressed? To ascertain the sentiments of the bishops beforehand, the Pope privately asked the opinion of each one apart. Except one Italian and three archbishops of France, the collective opinion was, That the knights ought to be heard in their defence. This was not done. The knights were never cited, nor put upon their trial.

On the twenty-second day of March, in the following year, 1312, Clement called his cardinals and many of the bishops to a private consistory, and in their presence declared, that the military Order of Knights Templars was suppressed and provisionally abolished from that moment. On the third of April he published their suppression, in the second session of the council, which was held on that day, and at which the king assisted in person. The Bull of suppression was expedited on the sixth of May, when in a third session an end was put to the council. It is worthy of remark, that the Pope pronounces the abolition of the Order by a provisional decree only, not by a definitive and juridical decision upon the reality of the crimes of the accused. His Holiness ordained that the innocent should be honourably provided for out of the revenues of their late Order, that the penitent should be kindly treated, and that those who had retracted their confession of guilt, should be rigorously punished. The estates of the suppressed knights were given to the Hospitalers, then called by a new title, the Knights of Rhodes, on account of their gallant defence of that island against the Turks. Out of this general grant were excepted the estates that lay within the kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon; these were reserved for the defence of those countries against the Moors, who still were masters of the kingdom of Grenada. The Pope in thus dis-

posing of the confiscated estates of the Templars, greatly disappointed the French king in his expectation of succeeding to all the forfeited property of the suppressed Order within his dominions.* But since he had agreed to let the Pope act in this matter as he might think fit, he was obliged to acquiesce.

Nor was this the only disappointment which Philip then met with. The spirit of revenge had for eight years put him upon the search after proofs to procure the condemnation of Boniface VIII. for heresy, simony, and perjury. He had not been able to succeed. The question was brought on in the session at which the king was present. The slanders which had been raised against that injured pontiff were so fully refuted, and the accusations so satisfactorily done away, that Philip and his party, as John Villani the historian relates, remained silent and abashed. The council declared, that Pope Boniface had been truly orthodox, and had done nothing to incur the guilt of heresy. But to content the king, Clement passed a decree, importing that no one should hereafter reproach his majesty nor his successors with what he had done against Boniface, or against the Church.

The question of doctrine, which had been laid before the council for a final decision, was terminated by a solemn condemnation of the errors it contained. They were the errors of the Begards and Beguines. Several constitutions, regarding ecclesiastical discipline, the manners and conduct of the secular and regular Clergy, were also enacted by this council. For the recovery of the holy land nothing could be devised with any prospect of success: so desperate was the undertaking thought to be at that time. Since the fall of Acre, in 1291, the Latin power in Asia was totally at an end.

During the barons' wars, that divided England into two contending parties through the whole reign of Henry III. religion experienced many difficulties and many losses. Although Henry in himself was a prince of unblemished morals, and possessed a natural fund of religious piety, of which the stately structure of Westminster Abbey, built by him, is a standing monument to this day, yet the fickleness of his temper, the deficiency of his judgment, the incapacity of his ministers, and his fond partiality to foreigners, led him and his people into a labyrinth of misfortunes and errors. His virtues were of a private nature, too confined to supply the want of those manly qualifications which should characterise the king of a great nation. His reign, though sullied with many blots, was illustrated by the eminent virtues of three holy prelates, St. Edmund of Canterbury, St. Richard of Chichester, and St. Thomas of Hereford. The spiritual wants of the Faithful, occasioned by the appointment of improper ministers, were in a great measure relieved by the zealous labours of the Dominican and Franciscan friars. The reputation which these religious men had acquired by their learning and exemplary virtues, piqued, it seems, the jealous monk of St. Albans, Matthew Paris, who has not failed to bespatter them with the most illiberal abuse. Henry, after a weak and inglorious reign of fifty-six years, made a pious end in 1272, when Edward I. his

* Walsingham.

son and successor, was not yet returned from his expedition to the holy land.

Edward, from the tallness of his stature, and the celerity of his motions, surnamed Longshanks, mounted the British throne with the good will of all his subjects. This active prince, by the vigour of his counsels, and the success of his arms in the field, retrieved the national character from the dishonour which it had incurred under the two last reigns, by intestine broils, as well as by foreign losses. Equally conscious and tenacious of his royal prerogative, he would suffer no encroachment to be made upon it, either by his barons or his clergy. While he acknowledged the Pope to be supreme in spiritual matters, he knew how to assert his own supremacy in the temporal concerns of his crown, without confounding the two powers. To prevent an undue accumulation of wealth in the Church, he enacted the statute of Mortmain in 1279, which debars the Church in future from acquiring any new landed property, either by gift or purchase. His continual wars with Scotland and France demanded large sums of money, for the raising of which he often had recourse to measures very arbitrary and oppressive to his subjects. Besides the ordinary taxes to supply his wants, he at one time seized to his own profit all the wool and leather in the kingdom; at another time he stript the churches and religious houses of their plate and furniture, plundered the Jews, and put the whole Catholic clergy out of the protection of the law, that he might extort from them the sums he stood in need of. These grievances were but ill requited by the success which generally accompanied his arms. Crowned with military glory, Edward at length finished his earthly career in the seventieth year of his age, 1307. His son Edward II. inherited his crown, but not his abilities.

Edward, surnamed Carnarvon, from the town he was born in, was a weak prince, and little qualified to govern a powerful and spirited people. His imprudent conduct, from the very day he began to reign, gave general disgust to the nation; the high honours he bestowed upon Gaveston, an insolent Gasconian knight, exasperated the nobility. So impolitic is it for a king to cherish an unpopular favourite. The angry barons could not brook the affront; they complained of grievances, and took up arms. His Queen Isabel, the intriguing daughter of Philip the Fair, conspired with the rebels. This lewd princess was connected with Roger Mortimer, an ambitious Welsh baron, to whose infamous proposals she sacrificed her honour and allegiance. At his instigation she headed the revolt against the king, her husband, whom she defeated, imprisoned, and compelled to resign his crown to their minor son, Edward III. The dethroned monarch was first confined in the castle of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and from thence removed to Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, where, by the orders of Mortimer, he was privately murdered in a manner too horrid to relate, after an inglorious reign of twenty years.

SECTION IV. *Molé, Grand Master of the Templars, burnt at Paris.*

AT the time that the persecution of the Knights Templars began A. D. 1314. in France, their Grand Master was in the island of Cyprus, fighting valiantly for the defence of Christianity against the Infidels. The Pope sent him an order to repair to France. He obeyed, and the moment he arrived was thrown into prison. When interrogated about the crimes of which his Order was accused, he pleaded guilty, under a delusive notion that by making such a confession, dishonourable as it was, he should recover his liberty, though with the loss of his reputation. Then finding himself disappointed, and being moreover stung with remorse, he retracted his confession, declaring it to have been false and slanderous, and his brethren not guilty of the odious crimes laid to their charge. The king's court of justice pronounced him a perjured criminal, and sentenced him to be burnt alive. On the eleventh day of March, 1314, the sentence was executed upon him with shocking cruelty; he bore the tortures of protracted death with heroic fortitude, and by his solemn protestations persuaded the crowd that he was innocent. The report is current, that in his last moments of agonizing life he cited the Pope and the king to appear before the tribunal of God, the searcher of hearts, within the year. However questionable that report may be thought by many, certain it is, that the event corresponded. Clement died forty days after, and Philip in November following. Philip left behind him three sons, Lewis, Philip, and Charles, who reigned in succession after him; but all dying without male issue, the crown then went to a collateral branch of the royal family.

Clement's character shines not in the page of ecclesiastical history. He never saw Rome after he was made Pope, but fixed his residence at Avignon. After his death, which happened suddenly upon the road as he was going to Bourdeaux, the holy See remained vacant upwards of two years. King Lewis grew uneasy at it; he contrived to draw twenty-three cardinals to the city of Lyons, with a view of effecting an election. These cardinals assembled in the Dominican convent. A strong guard was immediately placed, with positive orders to let no one come out of the convent till a Pope was chosen. The cardinals took forty days to deliberate, at the end of which they unanimously agreed to elect the cardinal bishop of Porto, a Frenchman of no great family, but of distinguished merit. He took the name of John, and continued to reside at Avignon, as his predecessor had done, deeming it unsafe to appear in Rome, where civil discord had thrown every thing into confusion. Two hostile factions, under the appellation of Guelphs and Gibellines, had armed almost all Italy against itself. A new system of politics had crept into Rome, and was gaining ground every day. Many of the nobility and the people, being exasperated at the Pope's not residing amongst them, were strongly inclined to throw off his temporal authority, and to put themselves under the government of a lay prince. The Guelphs supported the papal interest, the Gibellines opposed it. —Germany was no less divided by two contending parties. Upon

the death of the emperor Henry VII. in 1313, the imperial throne stood vacant for fourteen months, when two princes, Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, and Frederic, Duke of Austria, declared themselves candidates. The electors were divided; both competitors assumed the crown; a civil war ensued. Frederic was a just and religious prince; the Pope, hoping that virtue in the end would triumph over irreligion, espoused his cause. By the permission of divine Providence it turned out otherwise. Lewis proved too powerful for his antagonist in the field. He overthrew him in a decisive battle, took him prisoner, and, for the recovery of his liberty, forced him to renounce his pretensions to the empire in 1322. War in the interim was carried on with fierce animosity in Italy, between the Guelphs and Gibellines, the petty tyrants of Etruria. The latter, unable to resist the force of Robert, King of Naples, who was the Pope's ally, invited Lewis to come to their assistance. The invitation was readily complied with, as it afforded him a fair opportunity of gratifying at once his ambition and revenge. He led an army into Italy, and advanced without opposition to the very gates of Rome. The Pope had tried to disarm him by the censures of excommunication; excommunication made no impression upon a prince wholly void, as he seemed, of every religious sentiment. The discontented Romans, who were quarrelling among themselves, under the two opposite interests of the Orsini and Colonnas, appeared ready to receive him. The Pope's friends, who had long endeavoured to persuade his Holiness to quit Avignon, now plainly told him, that unless he speedily repaired to Rome, the sovereignty of the ecclesiastical state must unavoidably pass into other hands. His Holiness did not choose to risk his life, and remained where he was.

The Bavarian entered Rome on the seventh day of January, 1328, went four days after to the capitol, and by the mob was saluted King of the Romans. On the seventeenth he was solemnly crowned emperor in St. Peter's church, by the excommunicated Cardinal de Prato. The ambition of Lewis was now satisfied, by his assumption of the imperial title, which he retained to his dying day. Revenge then prompted him to the most outrageous proceedings against the Pope's person. He published an order for the citizens to assemble before St. Peter's on the eighteenth of April. Upon the uppermost of the high steps leading into the church, a magnificent throne was erected. The emperor came vested in his purple robes, a golden sceptre in his right hand, a globe in his left, and a rich crown upon his head; then sitting himself down so as to be seen by all, he commanded silence to be made: an Austin friar advanced, and in a loud voice thrice called out, if any one was present to defend the priest James of Cahors, who called himself Pope John XXII.: and as no one answered, a long list of accusations against his Holiness was then read, and sentence of deposition pronounced in the emperor's name, and by his sole authority: not satisfied with this, the vindictive Lewis declared John and his protector, Robert, King of Naples, guilty of death, and accordingly condemned them both to be burnt alive.

The next furious step taken by the emperor was to create a Pope

of his own. To fill this important office, he chose one Peter Corbario, a Franciscan friar. Upon the feast of the Ascension, the twelfth of May, Lewis appeared in public again upon his throne, before the church of St. Peter, arrayed with all the same splendid pomp of imperial majesty, and accompanied moreover, by the eminent Peter Corbario, the friar, sitting on his right hand. An innumerable crowd of people stood wondering round. Silence being proclaimed, they thrice were asked, if they chose to have brother Peter de Corbario for Pope? Awed by fear, they faintly assented. The emperor then rose up, and the decree of election being read, he saluted his new Pope by the name of Nicholas V. gave him the ring, and vested him with a pontifical dress. They went off in solemn ceremony into the church, heard mass, and then dined sociably together. The last public act of this sacrilegious farce was reserved for Pentecost Sunday. On that day they met again in the church of St. Peter. The friar was then consecrated bishop and crowned. Lewis himself set the tiara upon his head, and in turn received from him the imperial crown: this he did, that he might have it in his power to say, that his election was confirmed by a Pope.

The Romans soon grew tired of their new sovereign and antipope. Lewis found that it was not safe for him to remain in Rome, he quit-
ted it in August, and retreated to Pisa, where he passed the winter. There he took leave of Nicholas, who was become an useless and expensive burden to him, telling him that he must hereafter provide for himself the best he could. Such is the friendship of a deceitful world. Lewis first retired into Lombardy, and from thence into Germany. The rest of his days were embittered with troubles, and ended in an untimely death in 1347. He fell from his horse in the pursuit of a bear, and died upon the spot. After his retreat out of Italy, Rome returned under the Pope's obedience, and was relieved from the interdict she had incurred. Corbario, the antipope, being then deprived of his protector, sunk into contempt and distress. Sensible of his folly and wickedness, he sought by repentance a reconciliation with God and the Church. He made a public recantation of his errors, flung himself at the Pope's feet, humbly implored forgiveness, and obtained it. He lived three years in retirement, wholly secluded from the world, and died a sincere penitent in 1333. One of Corbario's chief misfortunes was the connexion he had formed with Michael Cesena, the schismatical and deposed general of the Franciscan Order.

An unhappy difference of opinion upon certain points of religious discipline had broken that fraternal harmony which animated the first disciples of St. Francis. Several deluded brethren, under a notion of practising the rule with greater perfection, withdrew from the body, and formed a separate party. Others joined them, and a formal schism ensued. Such was the state of the Franciscan Order when Michael Cesena was chosen superior in 1317. The breach had been considerably widened by a warm dispute that arose upon the nature of their vow of poverty. The question was, whether their poverty was the poverty of Jesus Christ? Or in other words, whether Jesus Christ and his Apostles possessed any property in common or in particular? In the year 1322, a general chapter of

the friars was held at Prouse; Michael Cesena presided; the question was proposed and decided in the negative. Pope John condemned the decision. Michael refused to submit, and appealed from the sentence to a future council. His disobedience brought him to disgrace: he was deposed from the office of superior general, and abandoned by almost all his friends of the Order. Still that did not bring him back to his senses. He defended the usurpations of Corbario the antipope, and sheltered himself under the protection of Lewis of Bavaria. He afterwards retired into Germany, and is said to have died penitent at Munich in 1343.

John XXII. was a scholar of refined talents and extensive knowledge. Wandering in the mazes of speculative theology, he had attached himself to a plausible opinion, as it seemed, relative to the state in which he conceived the Faithful to be after their departure out of this life. Though fond of his opinion, he did not pretend to teach or to define it as a certain truth. But as a private divine, he ventured to assert in his sermons, that he thought the souls of the just after death, although free from every stain of sin, were not admitted to the full enjoyment of the beatific vision before the last day. He wished to see the opinion adopted in the pulpit and the schools. But the cry against it was universal; he therefore ceased to urge it any longer; and when he found that all ranks of men, the bishops and divines, were scandalized at it, he assembled the cardinals who were with him at Avignon, and read to them a Bull which he had prepared upon the subject. In that Bull he expressly says: "We profess and believe, that the souls, separated from their bodies and purified from sin, are in heaven with Jesus Christ and his angels, that they see God and his divine essence clearly, and face to face; and if we have preached, said, or written any thing to the contrary, we now expressly recall it." He died piously on the following day, December the fourth, 1334. Of the twenty-five cardinals he created during his pontificate, twenty-one were Frenchmen, which gave France a decided majority in the sacred college. To this circumstance we are to attribute the election of five successive Popes of that nation, who were all chosen and resided at Avignon, viz. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. and Gregory XI.

SECTION V. *Edward III. King of England.*

PHILIP the Long, King of France, died without issue in 1322; Charles the Fair, his brother and his heir, mounted the throne. A. D. 1327. Eight years before that event, in 1314, Charles had detected his wife in the act of adultery; he shut her up in one of his castles, with a full determination never to take her back. On his becoming king, and having no issue, it was represented to him that he ought, in justice to himself and his subjects, to sue for a divorce. He did so; but pleaded not the act of adultery. The plea of adultery is a good one for the grant of a separation from bed and board, but not for a dissolution of the matrimonial tie. That tie, once validly made, is for life, and by no power on earth can ever be dissolved. This the king and his divines well knew. He therefore pleaded, that a valid contract had never existed between

him and his reputed wife, since it had been made within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity and spiritual affinity without a proper dispensation; for although a dispensation had been asked and obtained, yet upon examination it was found to be essentially defective, and consequently null. The case thus stated was laid before the Pope for his decision. After an investigation the most minute, his Holiness declared the marriage to have been null from the beginning, and that the king was at liberty to marry another woman. He married Mary of Luxembourg, daughter of the emperor Charles VII. She brought him no son; he died in 1328, and was succeeded in the throne by his cousin german, Philip of Valois, the son of Charles, a younger brother of Philip the Fair. Edward III. King of England, then in the eighteenth year of his age, let himself be persuaded that he had a nearer claim to the crown of France through his mother Isabel, the daughter of Philip the Fair.

Edward, from the time of his father's death, had been kept in a disagreeable state of subjection under his mother, the haughty Isabel, and her favourite Mortimer. They lived with great scandal and without shame together in one of his castles. The nation grew indignant, and the prince impatient of restraint. The prince resolved to take the reins of government into his own hands, by removing the queen dowager, and putting the insolent Mortimer out of the way. A plan for this effect was concerted between him and the lords Montacute, Molins, and Clifford. The plan was no sooner laid than executed. Mortimer was suddenly seized, dragged from his castle, and hung upon a gibbet without judge or jury. The queen was reduced to a moderate income, and though she continued to live on amicable terms with her son, she never recovered any influence at court.

Edward having attained the twenty-seventh year of his age, began to form mighty schemes. Nothing less than the entire conquest of France occupied his ambitious mind. Without the least appearance of justice he assumed the title and the arms of King of France, treated Philip of Valois as an usurper, and made formidable preparations to dethrone him. The plea which he set forth to justify his undertaking, destroyed itself. For by claiming a right which was solely founded in a female title accruing to him through his mother, he established a prior claim in the king of Navarre, that excluded his. The King of Navarre's mother was the daughter of that very king to whom Edward's mother was sister. But by custom, or by law, a principle was established in the French government, that no female was capable of inheriting the crown, or of transmitting to her issue a title which she herself could not have. Impartial men will from hence conclude, that the war which King Edward made on France, can no otherwise be considered than as the dictate of ambition or of pique, not of justice or of national defence. The effusion of human blood, the waste of public money, oppressive taxes, plundered towns and provinces, without any profit to England, were the result of that pretended claim, which no success in the field, however splendid, can justify at the bar of reason or of religion. The celebrated victories of Crecy and Poitiers, the first gained by Edward in person, the second by his incomparable son the Black

Prince, have secured them a lasting reputation in English history, and inserted their names in the list of illustrious heroes. France was nearly ruined by the bloody contest ; England reaped no other advantage than the conquest of the single town of Calais.

More to the dignity of his crown, as well as to the profit of his exchequer, he exonerated the realm from that heavy tribute which King John had engaged to pay, when he made himself and his successors, as far as lay in him, tributary to the Roman See. The payment had been irregularly made, and always with reluctance ; Edward III. absolutely refused it. The Pope threatened to cite him before a Roman court ; Edward laid the matter before his parliament. The parliament decided that it never was in the power of King John to subject his successors and the nation against their consent to any foreign power whatever, that no obligation of paying a feudal tribute to Rome could now exist, and that henceforward no such payment should be made. Every Englishman should blame the weakness of King John in resigning his temporal independence to the Pope : but can he in reason quarrel with the Pope for accepting an offer so flattering and so advantageous to his See ? The moment it was reclaimed by King Edward and the nation, his Holiness, Urban V. who then sat in St. Peter's chair, quietly gave it up.

Edward, during forty years of his reign, had enjoyed a longer and a brighter run of good fortune than usually falls to the lot of any one man. The blaze of his former achievements vanished like a vapour in the last ten years of his life. Disappointments and severe losses succeeded one upon another, both at home and abroad. Indolence, the general effect of age, had enervated that vigour and activity of mind which once so successfully carried him through the glittering and noisy scenes of warlike enterprize. He had now outlived the affection of his ministers and of the nation ; he abandoned himself, his honour, and his conscience to the caresses of a wretched concubine, who hung round his bed the whole time of his last sickness, till seeing him in the agony of death, she stripped the rings from his fingers, and left him to expire without those salutary helps which the church affords to dying Christians. He died in 1377, and was succeeded by his grandson Richard II.

The quarrel that existed between John XXII. and Lewis of Bavaria was never made up, though several attempts had been made both by Benedict XII. and Clement VI. the successors of John. The princes of the empire were consequently divided into two parties ; the electors at length agreed to choose Charles of Luxembourg King of the Romans in 1346 : Lewis contested the election ; but his death in the following year put an end to the contest. Avignon and its adjacent territory was a fief of the empire, but belonged to Jane, the Countess of Provence. She being in want of money, sold it for a certain sum to Clement in 1348 ; thus the bishops of Rome from that time became, with the emperor's concurrence, the proprietors in fee of the town and territory of Avignon. The experience of near seventy years had now shown, how detrimental it was to the service of religion that the Roman Pontiff should reside there at such a distance from the capital of the Christian world. Urban V. being promoted to St. Peter's chair in 1362, took the resolution to

reside in Rome: his design was generally approved, France alone opposed it. His Holiness however kept his promise, left Avignon on the last day of April, 1367, and arrived at Rome in October, to the universal joy of that city, which had not seen a Pope within her walls since the year 1304. He found every thing in great disorder, the churches out of repair, the public buildings crumbling into ruin, the ecclesiastical domains dismembered and usurped by petty tyrants of the country. He invited the emperor Charles IV. to come and restore right order. The emperor, in compliance with his request, led a powerful army into Italy, dispossessed the usurpers of church lands, established due subordination to the laws, and by a golden Bull confirmed all the privileges and donations which the emperors, his predecessors, had ever granted to the ecclesiastical state.

A ruinous war all that time was carried on between the kings of England and France. With a view of reconciling the two monarchs, Urban resolved to return to Avignon. In effect he quitted Rome in April, 1370, and arrived at Avignon in September. A severe sickness attacked him soon after, and brought him to the grave in December. His eminent virtues had gained him the esteem of all good men. Nineteen cardinals, who were present at Avignon, immediately entered the conclave, and within ten days elected the Cardinal de Beaufort en Valée for his successor, who took the name of Gregory XI. Two years of this Pope's pontificate were elapsed, when a solemn deputation, in the name of the Roman people, came to invite him to Rome. The invitation was expressed in modest language, but concluded with an unequivocal declaration, that their request must be complied with to prevent a schism. His Holiness in consequence took the resolution of fixing his residence in Rome. His intention was no sooner known, than the French cardinals and the king did all they could to dissuade him from it. But Gregory was decided. He quitted Avignon in September, 1376, embarked at Marseilles, and sailed to Genoa. He seemed in no haste to get to his journey's end; he reached not Rome before January of the following year. His entry was magnificent; he traversed the whole city in procession on horseback, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, and alighted towards evening at St. Peter's church, which was grandly illuminated with eight thousand lamps. It was not long before he discovered a strong disposition in the people to lawless tumult and sedition. He grew disgusted, and determined within himself to set off for Avignon in September, 1378, if the city should not be in a more quiet state before that time. Providence disposed otherwise; he fell sick, and died in March.

SECTION VI. *Great Schism of the West.*

AT the demise of Gregory, the sacred college of cardinals, comprised in all twenty-three members, of whom sixteen A. D. 1378. were in Rome, four Italians, one Spaniard, and eleven French. By these sixteen the new Pope was to be elected. The civil magistrates of Rome took the liberty of representing to them the serious detriment which the long absence of the Popes had been to the city, and concluded a very pathetic remonstrance, by an hum-

ble request that they would elect, if not a Roman, at least an Italian, who could have no motive for fixing his residence at Avignon. The cardinals calmly replied in general terms, that when the appointment of a supreme pastor was in agitation, conscience alone, and the common interest of religion, were to be consulted, as it became them, and to be attended to. Before entering the conclave, which was to be in the palace of the Vatican, they conferred among themselves about the object of their choice. The French were numerous enough to carry the election for one of their own party, had they been united. They were divided into Limousins and others from the different provinces of France; these were resolved to choose an Italian rather than a Limousin. Upon this the Limousins privately agreed among themselves to propose an Italian, who was not a member of the sacred college. They cast their eye upon the archbishop of Bari, who was then in Rome.

In this temper the sixteen cardinals entered the conclave on Wednesday evening, the seventh of April, 1378. They were enclosed within their cells, and well secured against any violence that the populace might be inclined to offer. Next morning they met in the chapel to commence the election. Mass being said, the Cardinal of Limoge, after some short consultation, rose up and declared aloud, that he freely and unfeignedly chose for Pope the Right Reverend Bartholomew, the archbishop of Bari. The rest unanimously joined in giving the same vote. The archbishop was not in the palace; they sent for him with some other prelates to avoid suspicion. They came, and after dinner the cardinals reiterated the election, to show that it was free and uncompelled; but being made in favour of a Neapolitan, against the will of the people, who with loud vociferations were calling for a Roman, they did not choose to make it public, through fear of being insulted by the mob. Under this apprehension fifteen of them secretly made their escape out of the conclave, and retired for safety in separate parties, five to their own houses in the city, six to the castle of St. Angelo, and four into the country. A crowd of people rushed into the deserted conclave; they found the Cardinal of St. Peter alone, whom they took by his dress to be the Pope elect. He said to them, "I am not Pope, nor will I be an antipope: by a better choice the Archbishop of Bari is the Pope elect." The people seemed satisfied, and offered no violence. The new Pope and the Cardinal there passed the night. In the morning, every thing being quiet, the civil magistrates, and soon after them the five cardinals from the city, came to congratulate the archbishop upon his election; the other six from the castle joined them not long after. For greater caution against the tongues of evil men, they reiterated the election a second time, and required of the elected that he would give his explicit consent to it. He did so; he was immediately enthroned by them, and then publicly proclaimed Pope, by the name of Urban VI. On the following day, the tenth of April, his Holiness went, attended by the same twelve cardinals, to St. Peter's Church, where being seated in the papal chair, before the high altar, he received the usual homage of the chapter. *Te Deum* was sung, at the end of which he gave his pontifical blessing to the assistants. Easter Sunday, the eighteenth of the same month, was

fixed for the ceremony of his coronation. The four cardinals, whom fear had driven into the country after the election, came back during the course of holy week, and assisted with the other twelve at the solemn coronation of Urban VI. whom all present acknowledged for true Pope and visible head of Christ's Church. They continued to attend and honour him as such for near three months, during all which time no complaint was heard, and no objection started against any uncanonical proceedings in his election.

That no such objection could in truth be made, these very cardinals have furnished us with an authentic proof. In a letter to their six cardinal colleagues at Avignon, dated Rome, the nineteenth of April, and signed by them all, they expressly say: "To the end that you may know the truth of what has passed here, and not give credit to those who have reported the matter otherwise, you must know, that after the death of Gregory XI. we entered the conclave on the seventh of this month, and on the following day, about nine in the morning, we have freely and unanimously chosen for Pope, Barthomew, the archbishop of Bari, and have declared this election in the presence of a great concourse of people. On the ninth the elected was publicly enthroned, and has taken the name of Urban: on Easter-day he was solemnly crowned." The six, in a letter from Avignon, made answer, that they acknowledged Urban for Pope. The cardinal of Amiens, upon his return to Rome, from Tuscany, on the twenty-fifth, was received as legate in a public consistory, according to custom, and saluted Urban as Pope. Thus Urban VI. was expressly acknowledged for a lawful Pope by the whole college of cardinals. I have been more particular in relating these circumstances, which accompanied the election of Urban, and which may be seen more at large in Papebroch * and Fleury, † that the reader, by knowing the true statement of what went before, may see what judgment he has to form of what followed.

Urban VI. was a Neapolitan by birth, famed for his knowledge of the canon law, devout, humble, and disinterested; an enemy to simony, zealous for justice and purity of morals; virtuous and learned himself, he encouraged virtue and learning in others. The abuses committed by the agents and officers of the court of Rome, had long been a subject of complaint. A laudable zeal for effecting a reform carried the religious pontiff to a degree of severity which was thought imprudent. In his exhortations and reprimands he spared not the cardinals themselves. They felt the justness of his animadversions, but rather than curtail these luxuries of life, they chose to throw the whole church into confusion. About the end of June, the twelve cardinals, of whom one was a Spaniard, the others French, applied for leave to quit Rome, under the pretext of avoiding the summer heats. The Pope, having no suspicion of their wicked design, gave his consent; they retired to Anagni. There they threw off the mask, and avowed their intention to the world. On the ninth of August, 1378, they published a declaration, in which they pretended that the election of Urban was null by reason of the fear of violence, which extorted it, as they said, from the electors against

* De Rom. Pont.

† L. 97.

their will. It should have been juridically proved and declared so, before any new election could canonically be made. Their declaration was undoubtedly meant as a previous justification of the unwarrantable step they were about to take; but unless it was for the purpose of imposing upon the ignorant, nothing could be more clumsily calculated. For from the facts as stated above, and admitted by themselves, it is evinced that no fear of violence from the populace was entertained by the electors, till after the election was over. Their fears arose in consequence of the freedom they had exercised, by voting in direct opposition to the popular cry. This declaration being moreover contradictory to the many, which they had made before, both in word and deed, it is clear from their own acts that they must have been either perjured hypocrites in the first instance, or avowed schismatics in the second.

On the twenty-seventh of August the discontented cardinals removed from Anagni to Fondi, in the Neapolitan territory. Thither, under false pretences, they drew three of the Italian cardinals from Rome. They were now fifteen in number. On the twentieth of September they all assembled in the governor's palace, and pretending that the holy See was vacant, they chose for Pope, Robert of Geneva, one of their number; he took the name of Clement. The three Italians immediately quitted the town; the election of Clement was published the next day. Clement in the vigour of life was very active in taking every measure which could any way conduce towards establishing his authority in the different courts of Europe. With some he succeeded, he failed with others. He gained Charles the King of France; mutual interest engaged him to abandon Italy, and to fix his residence at Avignon, which he did in June, 1379. The influence of France, and the abilities of Cardinal de Luna, who went in the capacity of legate to the kings of Arragon and Castile, brought those kingdoms over to his obedience. Scotland also, the political friend of France, Piedmont, and some dissevered provinces, followed the example of Spain. On the other side the greatest part of Italy, all Germany, Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Portugal, Flanders, and England, acknowledged Urban; and time, the slow but sure discoverer of truth, has since shewn they were right. Urban was steady in maintaining his own and the Church's cause; the quiet possession of Rome gave him a preponderating weight. He created six and twenty new cardinals: declared those who had deserted him excommunicated schismatics. Clement retorted in the same style, though with less effect. He presided over his party till the year 1394, when he was suddenly snatched out of life by an apoplectic stroke. His adherents elected for his successor the political Cardinal of Arragon, Peter de Luna, who, under the name of Benedict carried on the schism for thirty years longer.

The evils that arose from this fatal disunion of the Faithful among themselves were deplorable. For although the papal supremacy was equally acknowledged by both parties, yet being tenaciously claimed by two competitors, it appeared some time doubtful to which of the two it canonically belonged. Hence a door was opened to innumerable abuses, to simony, to sacrilege, to rapacity, and a general corruption of morals, without that check which indisputable authority can only give.

SECTION VII. *Heresy of John Wickliff.*

BESIDES the disorders of schism, the church was assailed by a new heresy, which had lately started up in England. A. D. 1383. John Wickliff, who had received a liberal education in the University of Oxford, and had there given lessons of divinity with applause, obtained the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. This he considered a recompense much too small for a man of his learning and abilities: he expected the bishopric of Worcester. He had also been disappointed in an appeal that he had made to the holy See, about an honourable appointment to one of the colleges which had been taken from him. His pride was hurt, and his temper soured. Towards the end of Edward the Third's reign he commenced reformer. In conversation, in his sermons, and in writing, he had the presumption, or as Mr. Hume expresses it, "he had the honour of being the first to call in question the doctrines which had universally passed as certain and undisputed for so many ages. They were nearly the same with those propagated in the sixteenth century." When Mr. Hume penned these lines, he probably did not perceive the rude reflection they contain upon his favourite doctrines of the reformation. These he styles new doctrines, opposite to the universal and undisputed doctrines of ages. The universal doctrines of ages are the Catholic doctrines of Christ's Church, which admits no new dogma, and no article of belief which is not coeval with herself.

The doctrines advanced by Wickliff are, That a bishop or priest in mortal sin cannot ordain, consecrate, or baptize; that the substance of the bread and wine remains in the sacrament after consecration, and that Christ is not really present therein; that there is no foundation in the gospel to believe that Christ instituted the Mass; that the Pope, if he be a wicked man, has no authority over the Faithful, and has no commission but from the emperor; that the clergy ought to have no temporal possessions; that auricular confession, in fine, is superfluous and unnecessary. To these propositions, which directly militate against the primitive and universal belief of the Christian Church, Wickliff subjoined many others, equally subversive of civil order and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To procure himself notice and credit with the crowd, he put on the embroidered mantle of hypocrisy, and effected a rigid austerity of manners; a circumstance, as Mr. Hume justly observes, common to almost all those who dogmatise in a new way. His novelties escaped not the vigilance of the bishops; they assembled in a synod, and summoned the dogmatizer to appear before them. Being questioned about his faith, he began so to shuffle in his answers, as to make every one conceive that he was not inclined to renounce his errors, nor yet disposed to run the risk of suffering for them. He allowed that his expressions were incorrect, and he attempted to explain them in an orthodox sense, in which he wished to be understood: his positions, as they stood, were formally condemned; he, on making fair promises not to disturb the public peace, was suffered to depart without further censure. Wickliff owed his escape to the strength of his party; for he had many proselytes; he had a powerful protector in the Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, surnamed John of Gaunt,

a mortal enemy of the clergy, and regent of the kingdom during his nephew's minority. Under the protection of this puissant prince, Wickliff continued to disseminate his pestilential doctrines with impunity, till a paralytic seizure suddenly hurried him out of life in 1385. His followers are known by the name of Lollards.

The effects of Wickliff's principles soon appeared in a most destructive shape. A levelling spirit of independence sprung up among the lower class of people, which carried them to the most outrageous excesses against all law and order. Their cry was liberty, and the abolition of slavery. One John Ball, an itinerant preacher, too successfully entertained his audience with a description of the primitive state of mankind from one common stock, their equality and natural right to a like share in every kind of property. These doctrines, so flattering to the populace, quickly moved the springs of riot and sedition. With the idea of reducing all men to the same level, these Lollards plundered the goods and burnt down the houses of the rich. No fewer than a hundred thousand insurgents, collected from the rabble of London, and the adjacent country, appeared at one time in arms under their democratic heroes, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and Tom Millar. The king for once in his life behaved in a gallant manner, went out to meet the rebels, and by his presence of mind prevented the threatened mischief. The nobility, the gentry, and all who had property to preserve, saw it was their interest to join the king's standard, and to support government. The shrewd Duke of Lancaster seems to have countenanced Wickliff, and his followers, no farther than he judged sufficient to render himself popular, and the clergy odious. Awed by the measures of government, sedition ceased, the insurgents dispersed, democracy died away.

The weak King Richard II. had more to fear from the intrigues of his own family, than from any undisciplined multitude. His uncle the Duke of Lancaster had his eye upon the crown, but lived not long enough to realise his plan: Henry his son completed it. Richard II. son of the Black Prince, and grandson of Edward III. had the misfortune to be deprived of them both before he had attained the twelfth year of his age. Their death bereaved him of the benefit of a good education, nor had he abilities to supply that defect; the weakness of his understanding exposed him to the flattery of false sycophants, and to the traitorous designs of ambitious statesmen; those led him into unpopular acts, while these undermined his throne. His cousin Henry of Lancaster, who had been justly banished by him, knew how to reap popularity from disgrace; that intriguing duke had influence enough in both houses of Parliament to carry a vote of deposition against his sovereign for tyranny and misconduct. The deposed monarch signed his own disgrace; he was conveyed to the Castle of Pontefract, and there famished to death, as it is said, in 1399, after a weak reign of twenty-two years. Henry, without further struggle, stepped into the vacant throne, and thus laid the foundation of those civil wars which were waged afterwards between the two houses of York and Lancaster, and deluged the nation with the blood of its best subjects.

SECTION VIII. *Measures for extinguishing the Schism.*

POPE URBAN VI. died in 1389. Fourteen cardinals of his obedience, entered the conclave at Rome, and elected Boniface IX. for his successor. In the year 1395, a national council was held at Paris, to deliberate on the most effectual means of putting an end to the schism. The university was consulted; the opinion of other universities in Germany, in England, and Spain, was taken upon the same subject. Their general answer was, that the only way to a solid union was for the competitors in possession to abdicate at the same time, and to abide by a new election. They both refused, Boniface died in 1404, and had for successor Innocent VII. Before his election, Innocent made a solemn promise with the rest of the Urbanist cardinals, to concur with all his power towards a solid union between the two parties, even by abdicating the pontificate, should it be found necessary. He gave public notice of his promotion to the pontificate, and signified his intention of calling a general council to meet in the following year, for the purpose of ending all disputes. Unforeseen accidents defeated the design. Innocent died in 1406, and Cardinal Angelus Corrario, a Venetian, succeeded him, by the name of Gregory XII. a man of approved virtue, and sincerely desirous of peace and holy concord. Immediately after his coronation he wrote in a candid and friendly style to Benedict, the head of the Clementine party, expressing his ardent wish for peace, and inviting him to join in the most efficacious measures for procuring so desirable an event. Benedict answered in a flattering manner, and gave him promising assurances of his concurrence to the same effect. But Benedict was not sincere. In 1408, he publicly recalled his promise, reprobated the scheme of abdication, and denounced excommunication against all those who presumed not to think as he did. His partisans were displeased; France rejected him as a schismatic, yet not choosing to acknowledge Gregory, remained in a state of neutrality. All hopes of an abdication now vanished; the call of a general council was next proposed. The cardinals of both parties united for that purpose. Both competitors claimed an exclusive right to call the council: that claim was out of season, and subversive of all union, as neither could expect obedience from any other party than his own: the schism must consequently be perpetual. The cardinals on the other hand contended, that however well founded might be the papal claim of summoning a general council, when only one Pope appeared, the exercise of that claim in a case like the present, must either cease or devolve on the cardinals, the representatives of the whole church.

The cardinals on that ground called a council: it met at Pisa on the 25th of March, 1409; it was composed of twenty-three cardinals, three hundred bishops, many doctors of theology, and the ambassadors of all the Christian princes in Europe. The council began by debating the question, whether they were legally assembled; this depended on the legality of the power that called them together. After having discussed the point, they decreed, that the two colleges of cardinals had very properly united, and that in consequence

they were vested with due authority to call the church to a general council, which in a divided state never could be done. They next proceeded to take juridical information of the case, as it stood in relation to the two papal claimants. The allegations against them were drawn up in due form, and publicly read. The accused were cited to give in their answer, and as neither appeared in person or by proxy, judgment was given. The titular patriarch of Alexandria sitting between those of Antioch and Jerusalem, read the sentence, which in substance was to the following effect: The sacred council representing the universal Church, to whom belongs the cognizance and decision of this cause, after mature discussion and deliberation pronounces Peter de Luna, and Angelus Corario, hitherto called Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. unworthy to preside over the Church, and therefore deprives them of all pre-eminence, forbidding both the one and the other henceforth to act as Pope, or to assume the title. This act passed on the fifth of June, 1409. Ten days after the cardinals entered the conclave for a new election; they elected Peter, the cardinal archbishop of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V.

Alexander was a Greek, born in the island of Candia, of parents so obscure in life, that he never knew them. Being abandoned by them in his infancy, he lived by begging. The modesty of his manner in asking an alms attracted the notice of an Italian Franciscan. The friar taught him Latin, and procured him admission into the Order. For the benefit of his education the young man was sent by his superiors first into England and then into France; he studied in the Universities of Oxford and Paris. His merit raised him by successive gradations to the Popedom. His election being proclaimed and recognized, he was enthroned and crowned as the lawful successor of St. Peter. His name stands in the genuine list of Popes. In that capacity he presided in the four last sessions of the council, and by his apostolical authority confirmed all that had been done in it for the extinction of schism. When he dismissed it, he gave notice for another to meet within four years. Alexander survived only ten months: he died at Bologna in January, 1410. Balthassar Cossa, a Neapolitan, succeeded him, under the name of John XXIII.

The council of Pisa had done every thing within its reach for an universal union. Schism was stunned by the blow which it there received, but was not yet overthrown. The friends of the deposed pontiffs advised them quietly to submit, as they both had promised at their election. Far from that, each assembled his own council apart, Angelus Corario at Aquilea, and Peter de Luna at Perpignan, from whence they lanced their ineffectual excommunications against each other, and all their common opponents. After the election of John XXIII. Corario was deserted by almost all the world, Peter de Luna was acknowledged only in Scotland, and his native country Spain; but instead of two there were now three, who carried themselves as lawful Popes.

Affairs remained in this state till the general Council of Constance met, on the fifth of November, 1414. John XXIII. presided as sovereign pontiff. On Christmas eve the emperor Sigismund arrived

at Constance ; four days after, he began to concert measures with the Pope and cardinals for an universal pacification in the Church, which could not be had while three individually pretended to be the head of it : he assured them that he had gained the concurrence of Gregory and Benedict, and therefore begged that the council would wait the arrival of their ambassadors. The ambassadors came, and were well received. Those of Gregory seemed to speak openly, and to act with candour ; those of Benedict were upon the reserve. The first frankly declared, that Gregory, who had been acknowledged lawful Pope, was ready to abdicate, if his two competitors would do the same. John had expected no such proposal, and warmly objected to it. The proposal was laid before the council, and laid in such a manner that it was sure of being carried. Of the bishops who composed the council, nearly half were Italians, supposed to be in the Pope's interest. In order to preserve a just balance, it had been so regulated, that the whole council was divided into five nations, the Italian, the German, the Spanish, the French, and the English, and in the public sessions the suffrages were collected not from individuals, but from these nations. The mode of proceeding was this. Of each nation a certain number was chosen, with a president, to deliberate apart on each question that was brought forward ; the result of their deliberations was communicated to a common meeting of deputies from each of the five nations, and if their opinion was found to be unanimous, it was sealed up to receive the sanction of the whole council in the next public session.

The plan of abdication was adopted ; Sigismond engaged to support it with all his authority ; the council concluded not to separate till a substantial union was obtained. Every inducement was then urged to persuade John into a voluntary resignation, on which so much good depended. That political pontiff, less attached to spiritual than to worldly interests, would not understand how he could be obliged in conscience to resign a station, to which he had been legally raised, and which he had never promised to relinquish. By specious answers he sought to amuse and baffle the fathers, till some opportunity offered of making his escape from Constance. They were not ignorant of his design. The English nation proposed having a guard placed over him to secure his person. The proposal was rejected ; John made his escape, disguised as a postillion, on the twentieth of March, 1415, to Shaffhausen. From thence he wrote to the emperor and the council, stating to them the motives of his flight. A deputation of cardinals went to prevail on him to return. He refused to come. A juridical process was then commenced for his suspension and deposition ; it was notified to him in due form. He humbly acquiesced, and promised to ratify any act that the council should pass, in his regard, for the sake of peace. The act for his deposition passed on the twenty-ninth of May, 1415, which he freely signed.

The greatest obstacle to peace was now surmounted. Gregory had no excuse to make for holding back any longer. But to save his honour, he presented a singular request, which the council granted ; it was, that considering the council, as he did, destitute

of one of its canonical requisites, on account of its being called by a rival whom he never acknowledged to be lawful Pope, he might be allowed to call it anew, and that the emperor should preside for that day to receive his abdication. It was done accordingly on the fourth of July. The conduct of Peter de Luna was more like that of a bedlamite than of a rational man. Obstinate and intractable, and fancying himself vested with every pontifical prerogative, he hurled his paper thunderbolts of excommunication against the whole world; for he was left alone with a few attendants in the castle of Paniscola. On the twenty-second of July, 1416, the fathers pronounced sentence over him, which the emperor published to all mankind. The miserable man persisted in his delusion, and died a schismatic in 1424, at the age of ninety.

The holy See remained vacant upwards of two years, before every thing was adjusted for a canonical election. Twenty-three cardinals, to whom the council added thirty other electors, six from every nation, for Spain had now acceded, entered the conclave on the eighth of November, 1417. On the eleventh a plurality of suffrages united in favour of the cardinal Otho Colonna, a prelate well versed in the canon law, highly commended for his prudence, for his sweetness of temper, for his love of justice, and experience in public business. The election of such a Pope must have given universal joy to Christendom at all times, but more particularly then, when accompanied with the extinction of schism, which had lasted near forty years. He is known by the name of Martin V.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Fifteenth Century.

SECTION I. *Council of Constance.*

THE convocation of the general Council which met at Constance, A. D. 1414. had two important objects in view, the extinction of schism, and the suppression of heresy. Some Bohemian students having passed into England for the advantage of an education in the University of Oxford, carried back to Prague the errors of John Wickliff. The writings of this heresiarch fell into the hands of John Hus, rector of the University of Prague. Hus was a man of obscure birth, but of distinguished talents. He was pleased with the novelties of Wickliff; he adopted them, he preached them from the pulpit, and added to them many errors of his own. The eloquent and persuasive manner in which he addressed his audience, gained him many admirers, and many followers of his heterodox opinions. A professor of divinity, known by the name of Jerom of Prague, stood at the head of his disciples. Jerom possessed a good share of ready wit, was of a warm temper, and keen in his turn to satire; in knowledge and the management of an argument he is thought to have been superior to Hus himself. The doctrines of Hus soon became the subject of public conversation and dispute: though commended by some, they were severely censured by others. He was denounced to the Council then sitting at Constance, as an innovator and false teacher. The council summoned him to appear before them. He received the summons with all the assurance of apparent innocence. For the security of his person he procured a passport from the emperor. The passport contained nothing more than a recommendation from the emperor to the magistrates and commanders of those towns and places through which Master John Hus had to pass in his way from Bohemia to Constance, that they would let him pass unmolested, and gratuitously provide him with every thing necessary for his journey both in going and returning. With this pass Hus set off, in company with many of his proselytes, and copies of a declaration in his pocket, which he stuck up in every town he came to, publicly avowing that he went joyfully to the council, ready to refute the slanders of his accusers, or to abjure any error they could convict him of. When he came to Constance he began to dogmatize, and to disturb the peace, by disseminating his errors. There was no other way of silencing him than by putting him under arrest. He was sent to the Dominican convent, where he had every indulgence he could wish, except that of preaching sedition. His friends, however loudly complained of his confinement, as a violation of public faith, and made remonstrances upon it both to the emperor and the council: neither took any notice of them. Hus by his conduct had brought the arrest upon himself. Three commissaries were named to digest and specify the errors of which he stood accused. He was

served with a copy of them, and time allowed him to prepare his answer.

Hus having imbibed his opinions chiefly from the errors of Wickliff and the Albigenses, the council held a particular session to renew the condemnation of those errors. Forty-five propositions, contained in Wickliff's writings, are specifically condemned, and an order given, that his bones, as the bones of a notorious heretic, should be dug up and thrown aside, as unworthy of Christian burial. Every thing being ready for the decision of John Hus's cause, the fifth of June, 1415, was the day fixed for his appearing before the council, and entering upon his defence. He came—his writings were produced—he owned them, and said he would retract any error that should therein appear to have been advanced and defended by him. Thirty-nine propositions, containing as many errors, which he maintained in his writings, were presented to him for his retractation. He was sullen, he would retract nothing. Exhortation, argument, entreaty, made not the least impression; he persisted in his obstinacy. In that humour he went back to prison, from whence he was brought forth again on the sixth of July to receive sentence. The sentence was, That John Hus being clearly convicted of heresy, which he has publicly taught and obstinately defended against former decisions of the Church, shall be degraded from the order of priesthood, and delivered over to the secular arm to be disposed of as the laws of the empire direct. The ceremony of his degradation was immediately performed upon the spot; the council had now done with him: the elector Palatine took his body into custody by the emperor's order, and committed it to the civil magistrates of Constance. Burning alive was the punishment which the Germanic law at that time, inflicted upon a criminal, juridically convicted of obstinate error against faith, and to that punishment the magistrates of Constance sentenced John Hus. The sixteenth of July was the day appointed for his execution. In the interim every thing was tried to bring the miserable man to a sense of his Christian duty. His life was offered him, if he would only retract. "But know," says he, in his letter to the University of Prague, the day before he suffered, "I have neither revoked nor abjured any one article." In those sentiments he persisted to the very last; he even refused the offered attendance of a priest at the place of execution, alleging that he felt not his conscience burdened with any mortal sin, that he had nothing to confess, and nothing to repent of. He was tied to the stake; the wind blew strong, the faggots were so placed, that as soon as lighted, a thick smoke suffocated the criminal, and in an instant put him out of the state of suffering from the blaze. His ashes were gathered up and thrown into the Rhine.

Writers of the reformed religion represent the execution of John Hus as an act of treachery and of cruelty in the council; "It proves this melancholy truth," says Mr. Hume,* "that toleration is none of the virtues of priests in any form of ecclesiastical government." This intemperate sarcasm, borrowed from Voltaire, the sneering enemy of all religion, is here not less injudiciously than indecently

* Vol. II, chap. 19.

applied. The council did nothing more than decide on the doctrines that were brought before its tribunal. It found them erroneous, and proscribed them. Their author being a priest, it degraded and turned him over to the civil power. With his passport and his execution the council had no concern. The safeguard which Hus at his own request received from the emperor alone, only secured to him a free passage to Constance, and free liberty to plead his cause before the council. Those two privileges he enjoyed in their full extent. No indemnity, should he be found guilty, was asked or granted. He promised to submit to any punishment in case of conviction; he was convicted of heresy, he received the punishment enacted by the imperial law, and he received it from the hand of the civil magistrate.

SECTION II. *Council of Constance concluded.*

BOHEMIA soon experienced the lamentable effects of Hus's doctrines; some of his positions militated no less against the tranquility of the state than of the church. The same levelling system, and the same spirit of anarchy, which had animated the Albigenses in France, and the Wickliffites in England, now armed the Hussites in Bohemia. Zisca, a man of good family in the country, but an enthusiastic Hussite, sought to establish his master's principle by force of arms, and commenced an unprovoked rebellion against his lawful sovereign. The ferocity of his temper drove him to commit the most atrocious cruelties. To perpetuate his spirit among the Bohemian boors, he directed in his will, that after his death a drum should be covered with his skin, and used as an instrument to rouse them to arms against the Catholic princes. Jerom of Prague was still alive, and in confinement. His seditious conduct had caused him to be arrested and sent to Constance. Being denounced to the council as an abettor and propagator of heresy, he was summoned to answer the charge. He acknowledged and retracted his errors, but soon relapsed and abjured his retraction. He openly professed before the council the errors that he had abjured, and as he obstinately persisted in that heterodox profession, he stood convicted by his own confession, and was consequently excommunicated by the council, and condemned for a formal heretic. The civil magistrates took possession of his body, and upon the first of June, 1416, executed the law upon him in the same place, and after the same manner, as had been done upon his master, John Hus, eleven months before.

Amidst the general confusion into which the Hussites had thrown the town of Prague, some of the innovating clergy introduced among the laity the practice of receiving the communion in both kinds after supper at night. The sacrilegious abuse was laid before the council of Constance. The fathers formed a decree upon it, in which they state, That although Jesus Christ originally instituted and administered that holy sacrament to his apostles, under the two forms of bread and wine at his last supper, the Church for solid reasons has approved the custom of not celebrating this august sacrament after supper, and of not allowing it to be given otherwise

than under the single form of bread to the laity, being fasting from midnight, certain cases excepted: and since the custom for none to communicate under both forms, excepting priests when they say mass, has been introduced with the approbation of the Church, and under the sanction of her canons has passed into a law, in order to prevent certain inconveniencies and abuses, the council declares, that this established custom or law for the laity to communicate under the form of bread only, is to be retained and inviolably observed; nor does this observance deprive them of the least spiritual advantage; for it is an undoubted article of Catholic belief, that the whole body and blood of Jesus Christ, with his soul and divinity, are really contained under the one sacramental form of bread.

To discuss and decide the questions of doctrine, nothing more was requisite than to state the new opinions in dispute, and to see whether they accorded with the ancient and primitive tenets of Catholic belief. But to heal the wounds of schism, and to cement a lasting union of the Faithful under one head, was a work of difficulty only to be effected, as it was thought, by a free and voluntary cession of the three competitors, Baltazar Cossa under the name of John XXIII., Angelus Corario under the name of Gregory XII., and Peter de Luna under the name of Benedict XIII. For this effect John, who had called the council of Constance with a view of terminating the schism, bound himself by a solemn oath, in the second session, to resign the papacy according to the resolve of the present council, if his two competitors would effectually consent to renounce their pretensions to the papacy in like manner. But repenting almost immediately of his promise, he altered his mind, and went off from Constance by night in disguise. This unexpected event alarmed the fathers of the council, but did not disconcert their plan of putting an end to schism. They unanimously resolved upon taking the most vigorous measures, such as the exigency of the present moment seemed to require; and in the fourth and fifth sessions decreed, "That this holysynod of Constance being lawfully assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost, for the extirpation of schism, making a general council, and representing the Catholic Church militant, has, directly from Christ, a power, which every one of whatever state or dignity, even papal, is obliged to obey in those things which regard faith and the extirpation of the said schism." They then used their best endeavours to bring him back; but finding all persuasive means to be ineffectual, they commenced a criminal process against him, suspended him from his office, and in the twelfth session formally deposed him. John received the sentence in good temper, and to prevent all future trouble, spontaneously abdicated the pontificate on the twenty-eighth of May, 1415. A few days after, Gregory, a good and pious man, gave in his resignation also for the general peace of the Church, to the great joy of the council.

Peter de Luna, with his adherents, was now the only remaining obstacle to a solid union. No pains were spared, and no means untried, to gain him. He would hear no reason; he was obstinate, his former supporters left him, the council deposed and excommunicated him. Nothing then remained that could hinder the free elec-

tion of one supreme pastor, who should unite the whole flock of Christ in one and the same fold. On the eighth day of November, 1417, the cardinals, with thirty others, entered the conclave, and chose the cardinal Otho Colonna for Pope, who took the name of Martin V. and presided in the four sessions that were held after his election.

The council had now sat near four years ; the purpose for which it had been summoned was completed ; Martin had the satisfaction to see himself universally acknowledged for lawful Pope. Upon the twenty-second day of April, 1418, he held the forty-fifth and last session, in which he took leave of the bishops, and put an end to the council. By his pontifical authority he confirmed and ratified all the decrees of this council in matters of faith against the errors of Wickliff, and Hus, Jerom of Prague, and Matthew of Dresden : and those are the only decrees which received the sanction of the holy See, and are to be held by all. The general question, "Whether the council's authority be superior to that of the Pope," was never discussed, and never brought forward to be decided on ; nor have the conclusions of the fourth and fifth sessions, which by some Gallican divines have been illogically strained for the purpose of lessening the papal prerogative, ever been sanctioned by any Pope ; but on the contrary have been plainly reprobated in the councils of Florence and Lateran, as may be seen.*

SECTION III. *Schismatical Council of Basil.*

WHILE the council of Constance was still sitting, a proposal was A. D. 1431. made for restoring the vigour of ecclesiastical discipline against certain abuses that were become common, and the Greek emperor had sent a solemn embassy, expressing a desire of being reconciled again with the Latin Church. The consideration of these two important concerns was put off to a future council, which the Pope appointed to meet at the expiration of five years, in the town of Pavia. Thither his Holiness sent three legates at the fixed time, in May, 1423. Some symptoms of the plague having made their appearance there, Sienna was appointed for the place of rendezvous. Few bishops came, and the Pope perceiving that little good was to be expected from them, dissolved the council, and called another to meet in 1431, at Basil, in Switzerland. But he died before it met, being suddenly carried off at Rome by an apoplectic fit, in February of that year. All writers of the time bestow the highest encomiums on this accomplished pontiff, to whom the Church is indebted for its union, Italy for its repose, and Rome for its civil re-establishment. Fourteen cardinals entered the conclave to give him a successor ; they unanimously chose the nephew of Gregory XII. His charity, his piety, his zeal for God's honour, eminently qualified him for the pastoral charge to which he was called. He took the name of Eugenius IV.

Martin V. before his death had published a Bull, in which he regulated every thing for the meeting of a general council, and gave

* Conc. Gen. Labbe.

the necessary powers to Cardinal Julian, his legate á latere, in Germany, to preside in his name. Eugenius confirmed those regulations of his predecessor. The council was opened on the twenty-third of May, 1431. Its object was to effect an union with the Greeks, and a reformation of abuses in the head and members of the church. Cardinal Julian, a complete politician, presided ; few bishops attended. The Greeks represented to the Pope, that it was extremely inconvenient for them to attend at Basil, and requested to have the council held in some more convenient place. Eugenius thought it a reasonable request, and notified to Julian his intention of complying with it. Julian had other views, which he foresaw would be baffled, should the council be translated to any other place for the accommodation of the Greeks. He therefore strongly objected to the Pope's intention, and to impede the execution of it gave official notice to the emperor, and a few bishops of Basil, that the first session would be held on the fourteenth of December, 1431. It was held accordingly. In the following February was held the second session. In this session the spirit of schism began to show itself ; here an attempt was first made to separate the head from the body, and to place the body uppermost. The bishops there present set off by declaring, 1st. That they were a synod assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost. As they had been called together by the visible and undoubted vicar of Jesus Christ, the Pope. Their declaration so far was true. 2d. That the synod, thus assembled, composed the general council, and represented the church militant. As long as the council was united with its head, actually chosen, or to be chosen, their declaration was likewise true. 3d. That the council has its power immediately from Jesus Christ. Cardinal Julian, the substituted president of the council at Basil, received his powers immediately from the Vicar of Jesus Christ, Eugenius, as his Bull testifies. The declaration then, as far as it refers to a council, in opposition to a lawful and visible head, is absolutely false. 4th. That the council is superior to and above the Pope. Inasmuch, as it supposes a council can be general without a Pope, or can command universal submission without the Pope's sanction, the declaration is false and absurd. How the members of a body in the state of separation from the head can make a whole body, or how they can any way exalt themselves above the head, seems a paradox. Christ laid the foundation of his Church upon Peter, the Rock ; * take away the Rock, and the centre of unity that instant fails : the ecclesiastical hierarchy tumbles into ruin, The theoric system, as it was then devised, and has been since defended, manifestly tends to weaken or to break the vital tie which subsists between the head and the other component members of the Roman Catholic Church.

Eugenius foreseeing the anarchy that was likely to ensue, published a Bull for the dissolution of the council at Basil. The council opposed its own self-created authority to his, and set the Bull aside. Cardinal Julian, and his episcopal adherents, continued to hold their sessions ; and that they might magnify their credit in the public eye, they put themselves under the protection of the emperor and

* Matt. xvi. 18.

the kings of France and England. The contest was carried on for six years before it came to a rupture absolutely schismatical. During the contest a deputation from the Hussites of Bohemia arrived at Basil to treat of an union with the Catholic Church. The conditions they proposed were at first comprised in four articles, which they at last reduced to the single privilege of being permitted to receive the Holy Eucharist under both kinds. This extraordinary privilege, which the council of Constance had refused by a solemn decree, the synod of Basil granted.

In the year 1437, Eugenius published a new Bull, by which he dissolved the synod of Basil, and summoned a general council to meet at Ferrara. Upon this the exasperated Basilians, whose numbers amounted not to forty, and exhibited no more than the mere skeleton of a general council, cited the sovereign pontiff to appear before them, and to give an account of his conduct. The pontiff took no notice of their insolent citation. They construed his silence into contumacy; they first suspended, then deposed him, and finally declared the holy See vacant. They looked round for some dignified character to fill it. They cast their eye upon Amadeus, the Duke of Savoy, whom they proposed to make their mock Pope, and the tool of schism. Amadeus had divested himself of his temporal honours, and put on the uncouth garb of an hermit, and fixed his dwelling in the priory of Ripailles, near the lake of Geneva. There he passed his time in religious solitude, from the year 1434 to 1439, when the Cardinal Archbishop of Arles, who had taken the place of Julian, waited upon him for his consent to assume the style and office of Pope. The simple hermit, after a faint resistance, weakly yielded, and assumed the name of Felix V. When Eugenius was informed of the transaction, he publicly excommunicated Felix and his schismatics, and rescinded all that had been done at Basil against him and the holy See. Censures had no effect on deluded men. They continued their sessions, as if vested with legal authority: and though desertion and the plague had reduced their numbers to a state of insignificancy, and forced them to retreat from Basil to Lausanne, they protracted a contemptible existence till the year 1449, when Amadeus wisely resigned his assumed dignity, and returned to Ripailles.

SECTION IV. *Last re-union of the Greeks in the General Council of Florence.*

THE Greeks, after their separation from the Catholic Church, had A. D. 1439. often sought and obtained a re-union, as we have seen; but their re-union had never been of long duration. The last, which was made under Michael Paleologus in 1274, ended with his life in 1282. His son, Andronicus II. a bigotted enemy of the union he had signed, threw the empire back into schism. His grandson Andronicus III. whom he had made his associate in government, being disgusted with his harsh and unsteady temper, shoved him from the throne into a monastery, where he ended his days in 1332. Andronicus III. survived him only nine years, when he was succeeded by his son John Paleologus VI. an indolent and

weak prince. John stretched his ignoble reign to the year 1391. His son Manuel then mounted the throne, which he held to the year 1425. The Turkish Sultans took advantage of the exhausted powers of the Greek emperors, and declared war against them. Okan, the son of Ottoman, the first emperor of the Turks, and after him Amurat I. broke into the Greek provinces both in Asia and Europe, made gradual advances towards Constantinople, subdued Bulgaria, Servia, the Lower Mysia, Bithynia, and Romania, fixing their seat of empire first at Nice, and then at Adrianople. Bazajet I. who succeeded his father Amurat in 1389, extended his views of conquest still farther. His ambition was to establish his empire over all the lesser powers in Asia, Mussulmans as well as Christians. His insolence drew upon him the vengeance of Tamerlan, the celebrated emperor of Tartary.

Tamerlan had subjugated all the territory of ancient Persia, and India, as far as the Ganges: then turning to the west, he overran and plundered Mesopotamia, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to the rich city of Cairo, from whence he carried off an immense booty. In this career of savage victory he received a haughty challenge from Bazajet. The two rival warriors engaged in a bloody and obstinate battle near Ancyra in Phrygia. Bajazet was routed and taken prisoner. "What had I to expect from you," said Tamerlan to him, "if fortune had placed me in your hands as you are in mine?" "I would have shut thee up in an iron cage," replied the Turk. "That then shall be thy fate," answered the Tartar; "thou hast no right to complain." In that ignominious prison Bajazet died in 1402. His successors, Mahomet I. and Amuret II. revenged his disgrace upon the feeble Greeks. The emperor John Paleologus VII. who succeeded his father Manuel in 1425, began now to fear that the Christian empire of the east was verging to an end. Under that apprehension he addressed himself to Pope Eugenius for an union with the Roman Catholic Church, as his only hope. Eugenius encouraged his laudable design, and invited him to a general council.

With a view of providing for the greater convenience of the Greeks, his Holiness resolved to remove the council that was sitting at Basil in Switzerland, to some town in Italy. He fixed on Ferrara. In a Bull he published for that effect in 1437, he summoned the bishops to meet him there on the eighth day of the following January, the arrival of the Greeks being expected about that time. Cardinal Julian, who till then had presided in the synod of Basil, quitted his schismatical friends, and arrived at Ferrara for the opening of the council. Eugenius came about the end of the month, and presided at the second session, which was held on the fifteenth of February, seventy bishops being present. John Paleologus, emperor of the Greeks, accompanied by Joseph, the aged patriarch of Constantinople, and twenty-one other bishops, arrived not long after. They landed at Venice, and were received with great honour, and magnificently conducted to Ferrara. The ninth of April, 1438, was the day appointed for the commencement of that important work, a solid union between the Latin and Greek churches. To prevent confusion, care was taken to arrange the order of session in such a

manner, as to place every one according to his ecclesiastical rank, and to leave no room for jealousy or complaint. On the appointed day the bishops assembled in the great church of St. George; the Pope presided; Mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated, each one seated himself in the place that had been assigned himself: in the middle of the church, before the high altar, was placed the holy scripture.

In this session little more was done besides passing a declaration, that the oecumenical council was lawfully assembled and opened at Ferrara, for the purpose of effecting an union between the western and eastern churches; that the Pope should dispatch letters of invitation to all the Latin princes, and that four months at least should be allowed them to come before the holding of the next session. To the synod, still sitting at Basil, deputies were sent to invite them to Ferrara. But the thoughts of those schismatics, as we have seen, were not the thoughts of peace. The bishops and divines at Ferrara, in the interim, assembled in private congregations, and conferred together upon the controverted articles that were to be publicly discussed in the ensuing session. The articles to be discussed were five in number, and stood in the following order: 1st. The procession of the Holy Ghost. 2d. The addition of the word *Filioque*, inserted in the Symbol. 3d. The state of souls departed out of this life before the general judgment. 4th. The use of leaven bread in the holy Eucharist. 5th. The primacy and authority of the Roman See. On the eighth of October commenced the session, in which the discussion of these controverted points began. The first and most important, as it regarded faith, was the procession of the Holy Ghost. Six divines on each side were chosen to propose and to answer the arguments which each party had to produce. The disputants sat facing one another before the high altar; of these, the two who took the lead among the Greeks, were Mark, the metropolitan of Ephesus; and Bessarion, the metropolitan of Nice: of the Latins, the chief champions were Cardinal Julian, and John, provincial of the Dominicans. The dispute was carried on in good order, with moderation and candour on both sides, if we except some few sallies of acrimony and ill-humour thrown out at times by Mark of Ephesus, who, as it afterwards appeared, had taken his determination to oppose the union, though unable to refute the arguments for it. In this manner the disputes continued through fifteen sessions at Ferrara, till January of the following year, 1349, when the Pope made a proposal for removing the council to Florence. The Greeks readily acceded to the proposal.

At Florence the disputes were taken up in the same orderly form as had been observed at Ferrara. They had hitherto run upon the two articles concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the insertion of the word *Filioque* in the Symbol. The decision of this last question turned upon the single point, whether the word *Filioque* was an addition of any new article of belief, or only a simple explication of the truth already defined, though in terms less clear and less explicit. The council had come to no conclusion yet upon any one article. In the second session, held at Florence on the second of March, 1439, it was agreed, that John the Dominican should

begin by positive proofs to establish the Catholic truth concerning the Holy Ghost, being now master of all the objections that the Greeks had to produce against it. Mark of Ephesus undertook to answer him. The subject took up seven long sessions, and was argued with spirit on both sides. John adduced his proofs from the texts of scripture, from the universal sense in which those texts had been always understood and explained, from the primitive belief of the Greek church itself, as the writings of their doctors and holy fathers testify ; and in conclusion wound up his argument with such perspicuity and strength of reasoning, that the metropolitan of Ephesus had nothing to reply. The Greeks frankly owned, that the Latins had proved their point. The cry of union resounded from every side. Thus ended the ninth session, on the twenty-fourth of March. The venerable patriarch Joseph gave singular marks of the consolation he felt at the triumph of truth ; and, as if he had some foreknowledge of his approaching dissolution, desired to have the decree of union expedited as soon as possible, that he might sign it before he died. His friends represented to him, that the decree could not be duly formed till the other points of dispute were finally settled. This required time, and he lived not to see it. He however penned down his Catholic profession of faith, and suddenly expired at the Dominican convent, on the tenth of June. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son being admitted by the Greeks as an undoubted article of Catholic faith, the insertion of the word *Filioque* in the Symbol, suffered little difficulty. In the private conferences there was much altercation about the other three articles : every thing in the end was amicably settled ; Greeks and Latins unanimously agreed ; the decree of union was drawn up in terms which all approved ; on the sixth of July they assembled in the cathedral church of Florence, for the last time, in a tenth session ; Cardinal Julian first read the decree in Latin, Bessarion then read it in Greek, and the council solemnly sanctioned it with one unanimous accord. The substance of the decree is in the following words.

“ In the name of the holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the approbation of this sacred and œcumenical council assembled at Florence, we define : 1st. That the truth of this faith be believed, received, and professed by all Christians, that the Holy Ghost eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle, and by one simple spiration.”

2d. “ That the term *Filioque* has been rationally, lawfully, and necessarily added to the Symbol, in order to explain and elucidate the truth.”

3d. “ That the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is truly consecrated in wheaten bread, whether leaven or unleaven.”

4th. “ That the souls of such as die sincerely penitent in a state of grace, before they have done worthy fruits of penance for the full expiation of their sins, are purified after death by the pains of purgatory ; and that they are comforted in their pains by the suffrages of the living Faithful, by the sacrifice of the Mass, by alms-deeds, and other works of piety ; that the souls of those who depart this life after baptism, in a state of innocence, or after having fully

expiated the sins committed by them, enter immediately into heaven, and enjoy the beatific vision, some in a more and some in a less extensive manner, according to the degree of each one's merit; that the souls of those who die under the guilt of mortal sin, descend into hell, to be punished according to their deserts."

5th. We define, "That in the apostolic See and the Roman pontiff resides the primacy over the whole earth, that the Roman pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, and the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the father and teacher of all Christians, and that to him, in the person of St. Peter, was given by Jesus Christ the full power to feed, to direct, and govern the universal Church, as is contained in the acts of the œcumenical councils, and in the sacred canons."

This memorable decree, which again united the churches of Rome and Constantinople into one fold, under one supreme pastor, was first signed by the Pope and Latin fathers, and then by the Greek emperor and all his bishops, except Mark, the stubborn metropolitan of Ephesus. Remarkable is the circumstance, that this decree of union should be thus finally settled at Florence, at the very time that the schismatics at Basil had the audacity to pronounce sentence of deposition against Eugenius, whom the east and west acknowledged to be the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the father and teacher of all Christians.

SECTION V. *Other Dissenters reconciled with the Church of Rome.*

THE emperor John Paleologus having happily concluded the great A. D. 1442. work that brought him to Italy, began to prepare for his return to Constantinople. On the twenty-sixth of August he left Florence, though he did not arrive at his capital before February of the year following. Notwithstanding the departure of the Greeks and many of the Latin prelates, Eugenius went on with the council at Florence. In the first session he anathematized the insult which the conventicle of Basil had offered to the Christian Church in their schismatical attempt to depose him. On the twenty-second of November he held another session, in which he passed a decree of union with the Armenians. Deputies from Constantine their patriarch, requesting a reconciliation with the Catholic Church, arrived at Florence about the time that the Greeks left it. The Armenians, the Bulgarians, the Syrians, and other oriental Christians, had at different times proposed and professed an union with the See of Rome; but as their view seem to have been more political than religious, their union generally no longer lasted than was conducive to their temporal interest. The decree which Eugenius passed on this occasion, contains: 1st. The Symbol of Constantinople, with the addition Filioque. 2d. The definition of two natures in the single person of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the council of Chalcedon. 3d. The doctrine of two wills and of two operations in Jesus Christ, conformably to the definition of the sixth general council. 4th. A declaration of the number and nature of the seven sacraments, instituted by our Lord in the evangelical law: and as the Armenians acknowledged only the three first general councils,

the decree required, that they should receive all the rest, which had been called and sanctioned by the lawful authority of the sovereign pontiff. This decree the Armenian deputies subscribed in the name of their whole nation.

In a third session, on the twenty-third of March, 1440, Eugenius pronounced sentence of excommunication against Amadeus the anti-pope, and his adherents, if within fifty days they did not submit. During the course of that year came the abbot Andrew, deputed by John, patriarch of the Jacobites, desiring to be admitted into communion with the Catholic Church. These oriental Jacobites take their name from one Jacobus Bardai, a Syrian by birth, in religion an Eutychean. Jacobus lived in the beginning of the sixth century, and by the pains he took to explain and propagate the doctrines of his master Eutyches, he put an end to the disputes which had split the Eutychean sect into various congregations. In the seventh century they consequently agreed to coalesce into one body, under one patriarch, who fixed his residence in Mesopotamia, and styled himself patriarch of Antioch. Their sect extended wide through Armenia, Syria, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia. The Cophtes, or Egyptians formed their main body. Under the Saracen government their influence so far prevailed over every other denomination of Christians in the east, that they became almost sole masters of the patriarchal See of Alexandria. They admitted but one nature in Christ; an error peculiar to themselves; their other errors were common with the schismatical Greeks. On the fifth of February, 1441, Eugenius held a fourth session for the public reception of the Eutychean Jacobites into his communion. In a solemn decree, the errors that had been broached by ancient heretics against the Unity and Trinity of God, and the Incarnation of our Saviour, are enumerated and condemned anew; the Catholic doctrine in opposition to them is then precisely defined. This decree being publicly read, both in Latin and Arabic, was first signed by Eugenius and twelve cardinals, and then by the abbot Andrew, in the name of his patriarch and all the Jacobites. This was a day of triumph for religion; the orientals had abjured their errors; the Greeks had embraced the Catholic communion; the schismatics of Basil were sinking into contempt. The council continued still sitting at Florence till the twenty-sixth of April, 1442, when in a fifth session Eugenius adjourned it to the fifteenth day after his arrival at Rome, to meet in the Lateran Church.

The transactions at Florence which had ended so well, gave good grounds to hope that the orthodox faith was about to diffuse its rays once more over the countries of the east. But those unsteady people, it seems, were not worthy of so bright a grace. The schismatical citizens of Constantinople received their emperor and the Catholic prelates, at their return from Florence, in a very mobbish manner, the sure prognostic of meditated mischief. The generality of the clergy, the numerous monks, and people, loaded them with every approbrious appellation, and insulted them as the betrayers and enemies of religion; while on the other hand they lavished the highest praises upon Mark of Ephesus, whom they styled the hero and champion of the Greek Church. Their loud declamations against the union, and their threatening cries against all who ap-

proved it, struck terror into the most courageous. The violent metropolitan of Ephesus put himself at their head, and by the virulent slanders which he industriously spread abroad, worked them up to a state of absolute phrenzy. Several of the bishops retracted their signature; the emperor himself began to fear; and what rendered the situation of affairs the more critical, there was no patriarch. The emperor gave orders for one to be chosen. The choice fell upon Metrophanes, the metropolitan of Cyzicus, a prelate of steady principle and undaunted zeal in the cause of God. Under the emperor's protection he exerted his utmost endeavours to convince his countrymen of the Catholic truths which he had signed at Florence. But the emperor seconded not his zeal with that active vigour which the cause required. Instead of imposing silence upon the seditious Mark, as he might and ought to have done, he suffered him to dogmatize in favour of schism, and, as if no union had been made, he appointed a public dispute to be had between Mark of Ephesus and Bartholomew of Florence, a bishop and eminent divine of the order of St. Dominick. Both parties, as usual, claimed the victory. But Mark was conscious he had no title to it. Stung with grief and vexation that he had not answered his opponent's arguments to his satisfaction, he fell sick and died within a few days. In his last moments he insisted, that no one who had consented to the union should pray to God for him, or assist at his funeral.

The death of Mark put no stop to the evil. In 1443, the three Greek patriarchs of Alexandria, of Antioch, and Jerusalem, assembled in synod, and declared against the union; they pointed their shafts against Metrophanes, and threatened to excommunicate all who should presume to unite with the Latin Church. The name of those patriarchs had great weight among the oriental Christians; their authority drew almost the whole east, with the Russians, back again into heresy and schism. Paleologus having no control over them, could not hinder the evil; but as an antidote against it, Metrophanes advised him to summon a synod to meet at Constantinople, and to enforce the decree of union. The death of that good patriarch prevented its execution. Gregory, the emperor's confessor, and a steady Catholic, was chosen to succeed him. John Paleologus died two years after in 1445, and was succeeded by his brother Constantine Paleologus, a zealous defender of the union. But the spirit of schism had now acquired such strength, that the united powers of the imperial and patriarchal authority were too weak to restrain its insolence. In the year 1452, a general revolt threw every thing into anarchy and confusion. The monks, the clergy, part of the senate, and the people, rose tumultuously at once, proclaimed the union at an end, and from that moment renounced all communion for ever with the Latin Church.

SECTION VI. *Fall of Constantinople.*

THIS last infidelity of the Greeks seems to have filled the measure A. D. 1453. of their public crimes. Constantinople, like the perfidious Jerusalem, from the time of her foundation had shone among the illustrious cities of the earth; for upwards of eleven centuries she had been the seat of empire under the Christian em-

perors of the east ; the rival of ancient Rome ; and while in communion with the holy See, the nursery of saints, the seminary of sacred learning, and ornament of religion. But the grandeur of her earthly empire elated her heart with pride, and inspired her with pretensions above the rank she held in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Her fondness for new doctrines led her often into various errors ; her obstinacy in maintaining them, made her at times a bloody persecutor of truth ; her mortal enmity to the Latins hurried her into schism, and a final separation from her mother church. Heresies in various shapes had been fostered and protected by her emperors and patriarchs. Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutycheans, Monothelites, Iconoclasts, and Photians, in succession, had invaded and taken possession of the sanctuary. For the punishment of her infidelity and ingratitude, the dreadful hour of her visitation was now at hand : little of her once extensive empire remained ; the victorious Turk had swallowed up the rest ; Mahomet II. was hovering round her walls ready to put the finishing stroke to her destruction.

The late progress of the Turkish arms towards the frontier of Europe had been very rapid. Wise would have been the policy, if the Christian powers had in time united in a federate alliance with the Greeks ; their joint forces might have kept the formidable foe at a distance from Europe. Mahomet was apprehensive of such a coalition, and to prevent it, artfully encouraged the Greeks to break the union they had made with the Latin Church. The Greeks became the dupes and victims of the Infidel's advice. But such was the state of the Christian powers at that time, that Mahomet had little to fear from them. Italy was fighting with itself, the empire was disunited, Bohemia in a state of rebellion, Poland and Hungary exhausted by the bloody struggles which they had to sustain against Amurat, the second Turkish Sultan of that name ; Spain had its indigenous Moors to contend with ; France and England had wasted their strength against each other.

Henry IV. of the Lancastrian line, had usurped the crown of England, as we mentioned above, in prejudice of the house of York, which was the elder branch. That prince began and ended his reign without any military exertion of honour or of service to the nation. But after his death, in 1413, a new scene soon opened. His active and ambitious son, Henry V. taking advantage of the weak state France was in, renewed the former pretensions of Edward, his predecessor, to the Gallic crown. Periodical fits of frenzy had rendered the French monarch Charles VI. incapable of holding the reins of government, and made the appointment of a regent absolutely necessary for the administration of public business. Two competitors offered themselves for that important trust, Lewis, Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and John his first cousin, Duke of Burgundy. John, being determined to carry his point, procured the assassination of his rival. He publicly avowed, and his partizans loudly extolled the bloody deed ; the kingdom on that account was divided into two opposite factions. The British monarch seized the opportunity of making such demands on France as he knew would not be granted. The refusal he received was followed by a declar-

ation of war. Henry landed with a small but gallant army in Normandy, in 1415; the Duke of Burgundy favoured his design. The French had an army numerous enough to trample him down, if it had been skilfully conducted; but Henry so chose his ground, and so arranged his little army, that he gave his enemies a fatal overthrow in the memorable battle of Agincourt. His subsequent campaigns contain little more than the attack and surrender of towns and cities to the British arms. The distractions of the whole kingdom gave him a rapid and easy conquest. In 1420 he compelled the infirm King of France to appoint him regent, to give him his daughter, the princess Catharine, in marriage, and to declare him his heir, in exclusion of the dauphin's hereditary right to the crown.

Henry enjoyed the fruits of his ambition only two years, when a fistula, little known to the surgeons at that time, reduced him to the grave in the full vigour of his age. Before he expired he committed the regency of France to his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester; and the care of his infant son, Henry VI. not quite nine months old, to the earl of Warwick.

Six weeks after the death of Henry, died Charles VI. of France. His son Charles VII. notwithstanding his exclusion from the throne, put in his claim, was proclaimed and crowned King of France at Poitiers. War continued between the two rival kings; the superiority of power seemed to be on the side of Henry, under the Duke of Bedford; but Charles possessed personal advantages, which made him victorious in the end. He was the undoubted heir of the monarchy; every Frenchman, who knew how to prize the honour and independence of his country, must naturally prefer a native prince to a foreigner and an enemy. The English had invested the town of Orleans. An extraordinary female, Jane of Arc, the celebrated Maid of Orleans, whether an inspired heroine or a deluded sorceress, as she is differently represented, led on the French troops, and forced the English to raise the siege in 1429. From that epoch the good fortune of Charles prevailed, till the English were driven from every inch of ground they possessed in France, except the town of Calais. Henry, who had been crowned king of two mighty nations, was now stript of the crown of France, and in danger of being forced to surrender that of England to the Duke of York, a more rightful claimant. The duke was lineally descended from Lionel, the second son of Edward III. whereas Henry descended only from the third son. The flame of civil war was then kindled between the kindred houses of York and Lancaster, and England severely bled for having transferred the succession from the elder to the younger branch.

From this short view of the Christian states of Europe, it appears that Mahomet had nothing to apprehend from them. Bent upon the conquest of Constantinople and the whole eastern empire, this enterprising Sultan had drawn together a force of three hundred thousand men. The late invention of gunpowder was a mighty help to his undertaking; a Christian engineer from Hungary provided him with a prodigious train of heavy artillery, which no fortification of art could resist: with these he hoped soon to lay the

proud walls of Constantine level with the ground. The Greeks beheld these vast preparations made for their destruction with an eye of indifference. The emperor Constantine Paleologus, though destitute of resources, and of troops to be relied on, generously resolved to fight it out, to repel the Infidels, or to perish in the attempt. The Turkish canon carried terror and destruction into the very centre of the city; the walls in many places were battered into heaps of ruins. The sultan gave orders for a general assault; it was on the twenty-ninth day of May, 1453. The Mahometans rushed forward like a torrent through the breaches which the cannon had opened. Feeble Greeks stood ready to receive them, but were quickly overwhelmed with numbers; the emperor fought and fell among the foremost of the slain. Resistance was at an end. The furious Turks instantly filled the streets, and for three days committed all the horrors that enthusiastic enmity, added to the insolence of victory, usually inspires. The slaughter was immense, thousands escaped by flight, and left the imperial city almost a desert.

But Mahomet did not wish to destroy a city which he destined for his seat of empire. Those Greeks who had fled from the scene of plunder and bloodshed, he invited to return and live peaceably under his protection. For their encouragement, he assigned them certain churches for the free exercise of religion: he moreover authorized them to choose a patriarch: for by the resignation and retreat of Gregory to Rome, the patriarchal See was become vacant. The choice of his successor fell upon George Scolarius, a celebrated senator, who had assisted at the council of Florence, and was zealous for the union; he took the name of Gennadius. The sultan installed him with the usual ceremony, and gave orders to have him honourably conducted to his new cathedral: for the great church of St. Sophia he had destined to his own superstitious uses, stripped of all its ornaments, and converted into a gloomy mosque. Gennadius spent five years in useless endeavours to bring back his strayed flock into the fold of Christ; when seeing no hopes of doing any good amongst them, he resigned his pastoral charge, and retired into a monastery in Macedonia, where he passed the remainder of his days.

SECTION VII. *Expulsion of the Moors from Spain.*

UPON the death of Eugenius IV. in 1447, the cardinal electors, after some division in the conclave, unanimously agreed A. D. 1492. in placing the virtuous Cardinal Thomas de Sarzan in St. Peter's chair. The choice as soon as known gave universal satisfaction to the Christian world. He took the name of Nicholas V. The first undertaking of this learned and pious pontiff, was to bind up the wounds which Amadeus, the duke, the hermit, and the anti-pope, had inflicted on the church, and to unite the jarring princes of Europe in the bonds of peace. The bitter grief he felt at the fatal catastrophe of Constantinople, added to the relapse of the oriental churches into schism, weighed so heavy upon his spirits, and so keenly preyed upon his health, that it put an end to his life in the year 1455. But the active generosity of his mind would not suffer him to waste the decline of life in unprofitable moans. The

calamities that accompanied the melancholy fate of Constantinople, afforded him the opportunity of displaying a magnanimity of soul, which has acquired him immortal fame. In opening an asylum to the learned fugitives of Greece, and in redeeming the valuable wrecks of ancient industry and science from the hands of Infidels, his merit, as Mr. Gibbon observes, was greater than his fame. Bessarion, the learned metropolitan of Nice, who had taken refuge at Rome, and had been honoured with the purple in reward of his zeal for the Greek union, was proposed in the conclave to succeed Nicholas in the pontificate. Alphonsus Borgia, of Valentia, in Spain, was preferred before him; he took the name of Callistus. Callistus having been a subject of the King of Arragon, his majesty directed his ambassador at Rome to ask him on what terms he wished to be with his former sovereign. "Let his majesty govern the state," replied the Pope, "and leave to me the government of the Church." Virtue, science, and a disinterested ambition of doing good, adorn the character of Callistus III. He died in 1458.

Pius II., known before by the name of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, a polite scholar, and well versed in the sciences and Belles Letters, succeeded him. This discerning pontiff seeing the danger to which the western states of Christendom were exposed by the fall of Constantinople, invited the Christian princes to meet him either by deputy or in person, at Mantua, that they might unite in one common league against the encroaching Infidel, and adopt such measures as might seem expedient either to repel the present, or to prevent the future progress of his arms. The deputies met in 1459, great promises were made, but as was foreseen, nothing done. His Holiness, however, took that opportunity of letting the world know what he thought of appeals. In a Bull, which he then published, he condemns all appeals from the sovereign pontiff to a future council, as subversive of right order and ecclesiastical discipline. This Bull was followed by another, containing his retractions. Pius had taken an active part in the synod of Basil against Eugenius; he now saw how he had been deluded; fearing that his conduct had been a subject of scandal to the world, he publicly retracted in his second Bull all he had said, done, and written in that iniquitous resistance to lawful authority. He acknowledges his error, which party zeal hindered him from perceiving at the time, and bitterly laments his misfortune in having been misled by false reasoning and by false appearances: he humbly confesses with St. Paul, that even while he meant well, he had been hurried away by a blind zeal into acts of violence, and had persecuted the church in the person of Eugenius.

In the year 1438 a state of ordinance, called the Pragmatic Sanction, had been formed by the king's council in France, containing twenty-three articles of civil and ecclesiastical discipline. The articles were grounded on the disorderly decisions of the synod at Basil, and tended to restrain the Pope's spiritual powers in the government of the church. By jealous enemies of the holy See, King Charles VII. was advised to have them sanctioned by some public act of the realm: an assembly of bishops and nobles was ordered to meet at Bourges, in Berri, for that purpose. The king presided in person. The articles were proposed for form's sake, and ratified.

They were then sent to the Archbishop of Arles, who presided in the synod of Basil, and readily adopted. In the following year this Pragmatic Sanction, as it is called, passed into a law of the realm. Eugenius rejected it, as dishonourable and injurious to the holy See. His two successors, Nicholas V. and Callistus III. endeavoured in vain to procure its repeal. Pius was more successful in his application to Lewis XI. the son and successor of Charles VII. That prince consented to set the obnoxious law aside, but did not repeal it. By an agreement afterwards made between Leo X. and Francis I. it was finally consigned to oblivion. As far as the spiritual prerogatives of the Roman See were concerned, Pius II. was strenuous in maintaining its rights; but in the temporal disputes of kings he was careful to take no part. In England a civil war between the two royal houses of York and Lancaster had been carried on with cruel animosity for some years; the nuncio imprudently declared against Henry, the reigning prince. Pius recalled and imprisoned him for his indiscretion.

In that calamitous contest for a crown, England was divided into two parties, nearly equal; the blood of her nobility flowed in streams from one extremity of the island to the other; there was scarce a family of note which was not in tears for the untimely death of some one slain either in the field of battle, or at the place of public execution. The political Earl of Warwick, surnamed the King-maker, acted the most conspicuous part of these tragical events. Edward and Henry were the dignified tools of his ambition; they alternately mounted and descended from the throne as he directed. Fortune's scale in the end turned for Edward; Henry, who had never coveted any other enjoyment than that of a quiet life, ended his days in the Tower of London, by the murderous hand of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in 1471. Edward IV. a weak and lustful prince, reigned twelve years, without honour to himself or to his subjects. He left behind him two infant sons, Edward and Richard, through whose blood, Richard, his uncle, waded to the throne. Richard enjoyed his ill-gotten crown no more than two years. By the murder of these two princes the usurper thought to have seated himself firmly upon the British throne. But, contrary to expectation, he found a powerful and successful rival in Henry, Earl of Richmond, a descendant on his father's side from Owen Tudor, a gentleman of ancient pedigree in Wales, and on his mother's side from a spurious daughter of Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster. On this ground, such as it was, Richmond built his claim to the crown. The old supporters of the Lancasterian branch flocked to his standard. An obstinate and decisive battle was fought near Bosworth, in Leicestershire, in 1485. Richard fell in the field; Richmond, known by the name of Henry VII. seized the sceptre, and founded the royal house of Tudor. This revolution put an end to the civil wars, which, in the space of thirty years, had carried off eighty princes of the blood, and near a hundred thousand of the people and nobility.

The glory of Spain had lain eclipsed under the oppression of the Moors for near six hundred years; it now burst from the cloud, and began to shine with superior lustre among the nations of Europe.

Considerable numbers of the old inhabitants of Spain had never bowed their necks to the Mahometan yoke; they secured to themselves places of retreat and safety, as we have already observed, among the mountains, from whence they kept up an obstinate struggle for superiority. From time to time they openly opposed force to force, attacked their oppressors, and defeated them in the field. By gradual conquests they recovered their ancient possessions, and at last left nothing to the Moors besides the sole kingdom of Grenada. In the year 1479, Ferdinand V. succeeded his father in the kingdom of Arragon; he had married Isabella, the heiress of Castille, and now reigned jointly with her over all that extent of country which reaches from the Pyrenees to the ocean. By this vast accession of power he thought himself strong enough to expel the whole tribe of Moors from the Spanish dominions. The only king that remained of the Mahometan race in Spain, reigned in the flourishing city of Grenada. The event of war threw that whole kingdom into the hands of Ferdinand. This important conquest enabled him to impose such conditions as he judged expedient for the safety of his native subjects, and the service of religion. The conditions he imposed were, that as many of the Moors as chose to become Christians might remain in Spain, and live secure under the protection of the law, but that the rest should be conveyed in ships to Africa, their mother country. On this occasion Pope Alexander VI. bestowed upon him and his successors the title of Catholic.

About the same time a much larger field was opened for European enterprise, by the discovery of both the Indies. In 1491, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese of bold and extensive views, sailed from Spain in quest of a western continent. He succeeded, but slander at his return robbed him of the recompence justly due to the risks and labours which he had happily surmounted in the arduous undertaking. In 1499, Americo Vespuccius, a gentleman of Florence, and a skilful navigator, embarked in Spain on a second expedition of the like nature. He sailed with great advantage under the direction of Columbus's narrative, shaped his course by the observations he there met with, visited the late discovered islands, and made some farther discoveries of his own. He raised his fame on the superior merit of Columbus; and after his return to Spain, having powerful friends at court, which Columbus had not, he had the address or the pride to impose his name on the fourth part of the terraqueous globe, as if he had been the first who descried it.

Two years prior to the western voyage of America, Emmanuel, King of Portugal, fitted out a squadron, the command of which he gave to the enterprising Vasquez of Gama, with a view of making new discoveries towards the east, and of finding out a quicker passage to the rich regions of India. Upon a boisterous and unexplored element, short and timid are the first advances towards great discoveries. The Portuguese mariners had not yet ventured out into the wide ocean, but by coasting along the western bounds of Africa, had found that an extended tract of land stretched far away to the south, and might possibly join the Asiatic continent. More cautious than eager in their pursuits, they employed near fifty years in creeping along the coast, before they reached Cape Verde. Thirty years

more elapsed, before they crossed the torrid zone, and came within sight of the Cape of Good Hope. Vasquez set sail in January, 1497, with orders to explore the vast and unknown tracks of the Atlantic ocean. With the spirit of bold enterprise he launched forth over the boundless deep, steered directly south, traversed the torrid zone, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, then bearing away in a north-easterly direction, made the coast of Malabar. A way by sea from Europe to India was then ascertained : Vasquez had faithfully executed his commission, he tacked about and returned safe to Lisbon in 1499.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Sixteenth Century.

SECTION I. *Miscellaneous Events.*

THE flattering attention which Mahomet affected to exhibit towards his new subjects of Constantinople, was no more than a political feint to gain and deceive them. The design of his proclamation was to entice back the numerous fugitives, lest the city should suffer from the want of inhabitants; his pompous installation of a patriarch was to make the credulous believe that he meant to respect their religion, while he laughed at his own. His subsequent conduct soon convinced them, that his sole intention was to make them all slaves or Mussulmen. No Christian was allowed to enjoy the common comforts of life, but by dint of money. The patriarchate itself became venal; upon the brow of that Greek who offered the highest price, the Sultan set the precarious mitre. The tyrant made no secret of his intention at last; it was nothing less than to extirpate the Christian name. Greece, and all the remaining territory of the eastern empire, yielded to his arms; Transylvania, Hungary, and Italy, bled under the edge of his exterminating sword. The Popes, who stood watch for the safety of the Christian world, never ceased one after another to represent to the European princes the necessity of joining in one general effort against the encroaching Infidel. Those princes, who by their situation were at a distance from the danger of invasion, contented themselves with fair but ineffectual promises; they interrupted not their own narrow schemes of avarice and ambition, but left their friends upon the Turkish frontier, to defend themselves as well as they could against the mighty Mahomet II. the bloody scourge of Asia and Europe.

In the year 1460, deputies from the three oriental patriarchs appeared in the Vatican to profess their submission to the holy See. Whether a political or a religious motive brought them thither, we will not venture to hazard an opinion, knowing how violent their schismatical declaration had been sixteen years before. Pius II. received them kindly; history says no more of them. Pius died two years after, full of virtues, and had for successor Paul II. a Venetian. This Pope is said to have been fond of show; he ornamented his mitre with a triple crown; the ornament being once fixed has not been removed. An apoplectic stroke, not the hand of an injured husband, as a slanderous pen has written without foundation, put a sudden end to the life of this immaculate Pope, in 1471. Here Platina finishes his history of the Popes. Sixtus IV. was chosen to fill the vacant See: he had been general of the Franciscan Order; learned and devout he lived in a close habit of friendship with the Greek Cardinal Bessarion. He wrote a treatise upon the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and in her honour commanded the eighth day of December to be kept Holy. He governed the church

thirteen years. His successor, Innocent VIII. after a reign of eight years, made room for the infamous Cardinal Borgia, who reigned eleven years under the name of Alexander VI. To this Pope the two Kings of Spain and Portugal, Ferdinand and Emmanuel, applied for a grant to hold all the lands they might discover and conquer in any part of the globe not yet explored. By such an application it is not to be presumed, that those monarchs pretended to acknowledge a right in the sovereign pontiff to dispose of earthly kingdoms. But they were apprehensive lest other Christian powers might claim a share in their discoveries, or wrest from them their new possessions, acquired with so much labour and expense. They knew the papal grant would be respected, and would give them a coloured title, which would not be disputed. Alexander, in a pompous Bull, authorized the two royal petitioners to hold all the territory which they might gain possession of in the new world, with a view of propagating the Christian religion among the savages, by the ministry of the Gospel.

Alexander died in 1503 ; Pius III. succeeded, and survived him only six and twenty days. Julius II. was then elected. No sooner had he taken possession, than two petitions were presented to him in the name of Henry VII. King of England. The first requested a dispensation for prince Henry to marry Catharine of Arragon, the widow of prince Arthur, his eldest brother ; the second solicited the canonization of King Henry VI. The dispensation was asked in the joint names of prince Henry of England and the princess Catharine of Arragon. It was the dispensation from a law purely ecclesiastical, which imposed a matrimonial impediment between the two parties : it therefore was within the Pope's power to grant it. But as such dispensations are not granted unless on good reasons, Julius appointed a congregation of cardinals and divines to consider the point in question, and to discuss the arguments that might be adduced both for and against it. After an impartial discussion, the reasons for granting a dispensation were judged to be well founded ; the Pope in consequence exercised the power which his pastoral office gave him, and in a Bull, dated the twenty-sixth of December, 1503, removed the prohibition which, before that, prevented the parties from marrying. The prohibition being thus legally removed, there was nothing to hinder their subsequent marriage from being valid ; and a valid marriage no power upon earth can in any case dissolve. The levitical law is quite out of the question ; because being at an end, as the Acts of the Apostle testify,* it can impose no obligation under the evangelical law. From these circumstantial facts, relative to the dispensation granted for a marriage between prince Henry of England and the princess Catharine of Arragon, it appears how far it exceeded the bounds of all human power to make that marriage void, after it was fully completed. Its dissolution, however, was afterwards insisted on by the lustful Henry, as we shall see, and the Pope's virtuous refusal to concur in the iniquitous divorce was the first cause of that king's quarrel with the holy See.

The petition for the canonization of Henry VI. furnished matter

* Chap. xv. 28.

of surprise rather than of any serious consideration to the Pope. For although the life of Henry was not stained with vice, yet it did not shine with any distinctive marks of heroic virtue. Julius flattered himself, that by making objections and delays he should tire out the king's patience, and at last prevail upon him to drop his suit. But the English ambassador at Rome so warmly pressed the business, that the Pope could no longer remain inactive without giving offence to his Britannic Majesty. He named a committee of cardinals to take the necessary informations. Those informations, as his Holiness foresaw, were not such as to justify the process of a canonization. The cardinals in their report declared, that according to the informations before them, the life of Henry VI. exhibited stronger marks of simplicity and weakness, than of virtue, in any heroical degree. His death, though violent, entitled him not to the honour of martyrdom. Henry saw how insufficient the grounds were for persisting in his petition; he stopped all further proceedings on that account, and not on the account of expense, as Rapin asserts, in his English History.

At that period the great potentates of Europe, the emperor, the Venetians, the kings of England, France, and Spain, were busily engaged in forming treaties offensive and defensive, and entering into leagues to promote their own private views. Julius was unfortunately a politician, and blended politics with religion. He quarrelled with Lewis XII. King of France, about the restitution of certain towns in Italy, to which he laid a claim. The king rejected his claim and was excommunicated for it. The angry monarch sought revenge at the expense of religion. A few discontented cardinals, and some bishops, in the French interest, had presumed to call a council, under the pretence of reforming the church in its head and members. Lewis took the schismatics under his protection. They named Pisa for the place, and September, 1511, for the time of rendezvous. On the first of that month four cardinals and fifteen French bishops accordingly met. They went through all the forms of a legal council, invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost, chose a president, and called themselves the legal representatives of the whole church, whom all are bound to obey. They held three sessions at Pisa, and then adjourned to Milan, where two more cardinals and six French bishops joined them. To this disorderly assembly, Lewis made an appeal against the pretensions of Pope Julius. They cited Julius to appear and answer to the charge, which he refusing to do, they pronounced sentence of suspension over him. The Faithful began to be alarmed at these unwarrantable proceedings of a few factious prelates. The schismatical acts of Basil against Eugenius, were not yet forgotten; a repetition of the same scenes was apprehended. Dreading what might happen, and doubtful how to act, Julius experienced the greatest agitation of mind. He consulted the most prudent and the best informed of those about his court, and, conformably to their advice, he adopted such measures as appeared most likely to crush the evil in its infant state, before it had time to gain more strength. He laid the kingdom of France under an interdict, excommunicated all the members of that daring conventicle, and declared them schismatics, deprived the revolted

cardinals of their benefices and of their rank in the church, and, in order to heal the breach they had made, called a general council, to assemble in the Lateran Church at Rome, on the nineteenth day of April, 1512. This is the fifth general council held in that church.

SECTION II. *Church of St. Peter at Rome re-built by Leo X.*

ON the third of May, 1512, Julius, in his pontifical robes, repaired to the Church of St. John Lateran, and opened the general council, which he had appointed to meet. A. D. 1517. He was attended by fifteen cardinals, and near eighty archbishops and bishops. The first session was held upon the tenth day of that month, at which the ambassadors of the Catholic king, and of the two republics, Venice and Florence, assisted. Julius presided, and in an eloquent discourse exhorted the fathers of the council to regulate, with great care, whatever concerned the state and welfare of the church, the reformation of manners, the extinction of schism, and restoration of peace amongst all Christian princes. Four sessions were held during the course of that year; the fifth was fixed for the sixteenth day of February, 1513, and was held accordingly; but the Pope's infirm state of health would not permit him to assist in person. Worn out with sickness, age, and worldly solicitude, he died on the twentieth day of the same month, 1513. Twenty-four cardinals immediately entered the conclave, and on the eleventh of March unanimously elected the Cardinal de Medicis for his successor, well known by the name of Leo X. In Leo, the literati found a warm friend and steady patron, the arts and sciences a munificent encourager and protector. From his pontificate the republic of letters dates a new æra. Upon his election the expiring sparks of schism gradually diminished; its abettors repented of their folly, and humbly submitted to his and the council of Lateran's authority.

The council had held five sessions when Julius died; Leo declared his intention of continuing the sessions in the same order, and of presiding in person till every point was settled for which the council had been called. He accordingly presided in the sixth session, which was held on the twenty-seventh of April, 1513: two other sessions were likewise held in the course of that year. The ninth session was held in May of the following year: the tenth was put off for a whole twelvemonth. In these sessions many wholesome regulations were enacted for the reformation of manners, as well as for the correction of abuses in the court of Rome. In 1515, Francis I. who succeeded Lewis XII. in the throne of France, passed into Italy, and had an interview with the Pope at Bologna, when the king consented to abolish the obnoxious Pragmatic Sanction, and to ratify an amicable Concordatum in its stead.

This famous Pragmatic Sanction was enacted in 1438, as we have seen, under Charles VII. and confirmed in an assembly of the bishops and nobles of France convened at Bourges. Its contents were copied from the acephalous synod of Basil, which continued to sit and to form decrees in despite of Eugenius, the indisputable Head of the whole Catholic Church, who had issued a Bull for its translation from hence to Ferrara. It expressly maintained the superiority of the

council over the Pope, and denied him the power of removing it to any other place without its own consent. To annihilate these rash pretensions of the synod of Basil, and of the assembly of Bourges, the œcumenical council of Lateran, in the eleventh session, held on the nineteenth day of December, 1516, solemnly condemned and annulled the Pragmatic Sanction, as detrimental to religion, and highly injurious to the holy See. Secondly, it declared all that passed in the synod of Basil, after Eugenius's Bull for its translation, to be absolutely null, and of no force. Thirdly, it pronounced, that the said synod of Basil, from the date of its translation, deserves not to be called a council, but rather a conventicle, or a headless convocation.* Fourthly, it ascertained a plenitude of power in the Roman pontiff over all councils, with a full right to call, to transfer, and dissolve them according to ancient custom, confirmed by the canons, and acknowledged by many councils. The Concordatum, in fine, as agreed upon between his Holiness and his most Christian Majesty, was in the same session read and sanctioned by the whole council. In this memorable Concordatum there are certain regulations concerning ecclesiastical elections, and the collation of benefices, transcribed word for word from the acts formed at Basil; and these are the only acts of that assembly which have ever received the sanction of the holy See in any shape whatever. The twelfth and last session was held on the sixteenth day of the following March, 1517, when all that had been decreed in the foregoing sessions, was solemnly ratified, and an end put to the council.

After this Leo turned his mind to the execution of a work, the most worthy of a sovereign pontiff's attention. The lapse of twelve centuries had materially impaired the Basilic of St. Peter, which Constantine the Great first erected on the Vatican hill. The old fabric was found to be in so decayed a state, that it was judged expedient to take it down, and to build a new one. A plan for that effect, drawn by Bramante upon a scale much more bold and noble than the former, was laid before the celebrated Michael Angelo, from whom it received some alterations and improvements. The boldness of the design suited the lofty genius of Leo, and animated his exertions to complete the work, which Julius his predecessor had begun. The sums in his treasury not being equal to the expense, he was advised to solicit the pious generosity of the Faithful at large. It was an eleemosynary aid which his Holiness asked for the house of God. By a similar aid Moses had been enabled to erect and finish the Tabernacle, in the sumptuous manner that God directed. For the encouragement of those who were inclined to contribute towards a work solely destined for the divine worship, Leo opened the spiritual treasures of the church, and annexed the gratuitous grant of an indulgence to their religious contributions. Leo at the same time held out a grant of other indulgences to those who should engage in a crusade against the Turks. Before we speak of the effects which resulted from the publication of these indulgences, it will be proper to say, in few words, what Catholics understand by an indulgence, which Protestants in general know so little of, and

* Conciliabulum seu Conventicula. Gen. Coun. T. 34.

so grossly misrepresent. Some of their writers, from ignorance we hope, rather than from an intention to deceive, boldly assert that a papal indulgence is an absolute leave to commit sin, or an anticipated pardon for sins not yet committed. The assertion has no foundation in truth: no Roman Catholic who knows his religion, believes the Pope to be invested with any such power. It would be the height of absurdity to suppose it.

An indulgence, in the Catholic sense of the word, is no more than a relaxation of the temporal punishment still due to many sins, after their guilt has been remitted by the sacrament of Penance. This relaxation is obtained by the application of the superabounding merits of Christ and his Saints, which form the spiritual treasure of the Church. The application is made by that supreme Pastor to whom Christ gave the keys of that treasure,* and the efficacy of it depends upon a faithful compliance with those conditions which are specified in the grant, such as prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, and other pious works, with a sincere sorrow and detestation of all sin. This last condition is so essential, that no indulgence can be of any avail without it. A heavy debt of temporal punishment often remains due for certain sins, even after their guilt or everlasting punishment is remitted. Nathan,† on the part of God, declared to the penitent David, that his sin was forgiven him, but that painful satisfaction was still to be paid, on account of the scandal which his sin had given to the enemies of God. Under this persuasion of a two-fold punishment, the one eternal, the other only temporal, as the scripture testifies over and over again, the church enacted her penitential canons. The penances enjoined by them, were rigorous and of long duration. The pastors of the church sometimes mitigated or shortened these canonical penances, when there appeared good reason for it. St. Paul showed this indulgence to the incestuous Corinthian, in consideration of the singular marks he gave of sincere sorrow. Similar indulgences were shewn to other sinners, at the request of those who were going to shed their blood for Christ, as St. Cyprian witnesses. In process of time experience showed, that the rigour of a long course of penance deterred men from the practice of repentance more than from the commission of sin; the church then, like a tender mother, sought the conversion of her sinful children by means less painful to the body, yet equally beneficial to the soul. A mitigation in the penitential macerations of the body, or the exchange of one good work for another, in satisfaction for sins committed, became more frequent. But the means of obtaining forgiveness from the guilt of sin still remain the same, as established by our blessed Saviour. Those means comprise a full confession of the crime, a sincere sorrow, and a firm purpose of amendment, with the priest's absolution at the tribunal of penance. This is the plain and simple truth which the Catholic Church professes and teaches on the subject of indulgences.

In contradiction to this truth, various and shameful misrepresentations daily creep into the publications of Protestant writers, who miserably deceive their readers whenever they presume to decide

* Matt. xvi. 19.

† 2 Kings xii. 13, 14.

upon a religious subject which they know nothing of. Through ignorance or malice superficial writers often sport the most absurd doctrines, either of their own fabrication, or borrowed from the stores of some interested dealer in religious calumny, and pass them off for genuine articles of Catholic belief. Amongst the numerous writers of this stamp, we cannot but notice the romancing Mr. Guthrie, against whose barefaced impositions, on the subject of indulgences, it is a duty to forewarn the easy credulousness of youth. This geographical grammarian has foisted into his account of Italy, a ridiculous list of fancied indulgences, taken, as he pretends, from a book printed by the Pope's authority, under the title of *Rome, a great custom-house for sin*. Absurd indeed must have been the credulity of William Guthrie, Esq. if he believed what he wrote, that in the Pope's chancery every sin has its fixed price; and insolent above expression must have been his assurance, to suppose that such an absurdity could be believed by any man of common understanding.

Yet Mr. Hume, without respect for himself or his readers, gravely tells us,* that the enterprising Leo adopted a general sale of indulgences, which had often served in former times to draw money by a pious fraud from the Christian world. In an accusation of so grievous and simoniacal a nature, the accuser, for his own reputation, should have adduced some appearance of a proof, or some unexceptionable voucher for his assertion. His proof is no other than his own ipse dixit; his vouchers are a Sleiden and a Fra Paulo, two virulent declaimers against the holy See, the first a Zuinglian and a Lutheran by turns; the second a protestant in disguise, under the habit of a Venetian monk. But in fact does Leo's conduct give any ground for the simoniacal charge brought against him by the Scotch historian? Pope Leo, the sovereign pastor of the Faithful, published a Bull in which he exhorts all to relinquish the ways of sin and to return to God by a sincere repentance. He advises them to redeem the punishment due to their sins, by alms deeds; it is the very advice which the prophet Daniel† once gave to Nebuchodonosor, King of Babylon. He points out to them the specific object of their religious offerings; it is to erect a becoming temple to the living God in the capital of the Christian world. For the encouragement of their bounty, and increase of their spiritual advantage, he unlocks the spiritual treasures of the Church, the keys of which he received from Christ, through a regular succession of Roman pontiffs from St. Peter. For the preservation of right order, he directed that men of character should be appointed to receive the voluntary offerings of the Faithful, that they might be duly applied to the use intended. If, in the execution, any fraud or abuse was committed, the crime must solely fall on those who committed it. The traffic, or the sale of a spiritual thing for a temporal consideration, would have been no less a crime in Leo the Pope, than in Simon the magician; nor had it existed, could it possibly have escaped the notice and censure of the Church.

* Chap. iii. of Henry VIII.

† Chap. iv. 24.

SECTION III. *Martin Luther.*

FOR the publication of the indulgences, granted by Leo, preachers were nominated in every state of Europe to explain A. D. 1517. their nature and their spiritual effect, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. In Germany the nomination was given to Albert, the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Saxony lay within his jurisdiction. On similar occasions, when a crusade was set on foot, the Austin Friars had been usually appointed to announce it from the pulpit. For this once they were disappointed, and had the mortification to see the Dominicans preferred before them. They thought their consequence with the people much diminished, and the reputation of their Order severely injured by the nomination of a rival fraternity. Warm with resentment or with zeal for the honour of their body, the most popular preachers amongst them mounted the pulpit, and exerted all the oratory they were masters of to do away the disgrace which they fancied to have been thrown upon them. Of these the most conspicuous was Martin Luther, doctor and professor of divinity in the new University of Wittemberg, then in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twelfth of his religious profession. The vocation of this extraordinary man to a cenobitical state of life, seems to have sprung from mere fright. During the course of his studies he one day walked abroad with one of his fellow students; a tremendous thunder storm came on, a vivid flash of lightning struck his companion dead at his feet. Trembling with fear, he that instant vowed to devote himself to God in some monastic Order; his entrance among the hermits of St. Austin was the accomplishment of his vow. His proficiency in science, after a few years, made him pass for a prime divine; and a nervous kind of expression, teaming with a copious flow of words in his mother tongue, gained him the repute of a good preacher.

Such was Martin Luther when he stepped forward not so much to magnify the merit of his own Order, as to depress that of the Dominicans. These indiscreet preachers were said to have fallen into many irregularities and abuses in the execution of their commission, and thereby gave him a great advantage over them. They were accused of carousing together in public houses, of chousing men out of their money under false pretences, and of converting the contributions of the Faithful to their own profit. Whether there was or was not sufficient ground for these serious accusations, Luther failed not to make them the subject of his declamations, the most virulent and bitter. Equally rough and fiery in his temper, he broke through all the bounds of decency in his invectives; a low kind of vulgar wit was familiar to him; he possessed the art of accommodating the most scurrilous language to the taste of his audience, and by high-sounding periods of abuse he raised the applause and admiration of his enthusiastic partisans. The University of Wittemberg, and Frederic, the elector of Saxony, openly espoused his interest. Emboldened by this support, he began to inveigh not against the occasional abuses only, but against the very nature of indulgences, and the power of granting them. It has been generally said, that these eccentric flights of Luther's imagination inadvertently arose from the

dispute he had with the Dominicans. But from anterior facts it appears, that the doctor of Wittenberg ever manifested a natural propensity for new doctrines, and that in the thesis he published in 1516, the bud of those errors was visibly discovered which he afterwards brought to maturity. Study and habit had made him partial to the character of John Hus; he read that heresiarch's writings with delight, he admired his spirit, imbibed his principles and finally approved all his errors. From this poisoned source he sucked in a thorough contempt of scholastic theology, a total dislike to many practices of the Catholic religion, and a determined hostility to her doctrine upon original sin, justification, and the seven sacraments, which he openly impugned in the pulpit, in school, and in printed treatises. Lutheranism in 1517 was but a spark; in the following year it flamed out into a mighty conflagration. The public mind began to glow in no small degree with the heat of religious controversy. Among the many publications that appeared, a Treatise upon the Seven Sacraments attracted universal notice, on account of its reputed author. The illustrious Henry VIII. King of England, assumed to himself the whole merit of that elaborate little work, though Doctor Fisher, the renowned bishop of Rochester, is generally thought to have had the chief hand in its composition. Pope Leo to whom the work was dedicated, bestowed upon its royal publisher and reputed author the honourable title of Defender of the Faith, a title retained by the Kings of England to the present day.

The doctrines advanced by Luther, had now excited great commotions in the Catholic world. Forty-one propositions were extracted from his writings, and denounced to the holy See. They were found upon examination to be erroneous. He was summoned to retract them. His stubborn pride could not stoop to that humiliation; but the time for open resistance he thought was not yet come. His aim for the present was to dissemble, and to hold the public in suspense till he had strengthened his party. In his letters to the Pope, to Cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany, and to the Emperor Charles V. he expressed the most humble sentiments of his own abilities, how little he could trust to his own judgment, how liable he was to make mistakes, and how ready to correct them. "Give me life or death, approve or disapprove," he told the Pope, "I will hear your voice, as the voice of Jesus Christ." "My only desire," as he wrote to the cardinal, "is to hear the voice of the Church, and to follow it." "Even unto death I will remain an humble and obedient son of the Catholic Church," was his declaration to the emperor. These fair promises, as it appeared, were but empty compliments, intended only to flatter and amuse. He absolutely refused to retract, or to acknowledge any errors that he had written. The Pope published a bull in 1520, which contained a solemn condemnation of all his writings, and laid him under the censure of excommunication.

Luther now no longer talked of submission and obedience: resentment prompted him to speak a language more consonant with the roughness of his temper, and more expressive of his real sentiments. It was not now the voice of Jesus Christ, which he lately professed to hear from the Pope; but it was the execrable *Bull* of

Antichrist, which he caused to be burned at Wittemberg, and added, how well it would be could he do as much to the Pope himself. For the Pope, said he, *is a wolf, possessed by an evil spirit,** and as he afterwards expressed himself,† *is so full of devils, that he spits them from his mouth, and blows them out of his nose.* Martin now perceived that the novelty of his doctrines had raised such a ferment in the empire, as to make it prudent for him to abscond. He knew there was a design to seize his person. He retreated to a deserted castle belonging to his protector, the Duke of Saxony. In this castle, which he called his island of Patmos, he digested at leisure his dogmatic system against the Pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, against free-will, monastic vows, the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and the merit of good works. As soon as he judged it safe, the sturdy innovator started from his solitude, and appeared again in public. In the year 1524, he threw off his monastic dress, and assumed that of an university doctor. He then began to style himself *Martin Luther, by the grace of God, the preacher of Wittemberg*, and declared this magnificent title, which he then took, *not from man, nor by man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, to be the mark of his evangelical ministry, to which he was called by God.‡* Whether in virtue of a privilege annexed to the boasted title of his extraordinary mission, or in proof of his fond attachment to the pleasures of social life, he formed a sacrilegious connexion in the following year with a professed nun, the beautiful Catharine Boren, much to the confusion of his friends, and to his own indelible disgrace. He first seduced her out of the convent, and then married her. She produced him three sons, and continued to cohabit with him one and twenty years, till he died in 1546.

The strait way to everlasting life, as pointed out by our blessed Saviour,§ did not please the enlightened preacher of Wittemberg, he rashly undertook to mend and widen it for the convenience of his followers. He traced out his plan upon the false basis of an ideal justification by faith alone, without good works, contrary to the apostolical rule delivered to the Church by all the inspired writers of the New Testament. This latitudinarian principle of the reformer being once admitted, it necessarily followed that the evangelical virtues of self-denial, forgiving injuries, prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, temperance, chastity, sobriety, and submission to lawful authority, must be deemed superfluous, or at least unnecessary for salvation. A doctrine so friendly to the passions of sensual man could not fail of attracting innumerable proselytes, especially amongst a people immersed in gross licentiousness and ignorance. Luther knew what influence the love of pleasure and of wealth usually has upon the human heart when not guarded by virtue, and he was too well acquainted with the dispositions of his corrupt countrymen, not to see how to gain them. In loose and indecent writings, which he spread through the country, he exhorted the clergy and religious to quit their comfortless situation as he had

* Tom. 1.

† Tom. 7.

‡ Ad Epist. Tom. 2.

§ Matt. chap. vii.

done, and by the plenitude of his assumed power dispensed with them from the virtue and the vow of continency. To put the magistrates and princes of the empire in his interest, he proposed to them an easy mode of increasing their revenue, without any additional burden to the public, by taking possession of the rich abbeys, bishoprics, and church lands. The advice was of essential service to his reforming enterprise.

Philip, the landgrave of Hesse, became his friend, and as active a protector as Frederic, the elector of Saxony. The landgrave was of a robust and sanguine constitution, no less devoted to the principles of Epicurus, than to those of Luther. This zealous proselyte of the new gospel, found himself too much fettered by the old, which confined him to one wife only. He stated the case to Luther, and at some length gave his reasons, why he ought to be indulged in the privilege of marrying a second wife whilst his first was living. On the receipt of this singular application, Luther called together his learned friends, the doctors of the University of Wittemberg, to know their opinion upon the matter. They deliberated and came to this decision, "That for the reasons stated in the memorial, the landgrave of Hesse might, and ought to, receive a dispensation from the law in the present case." Their decision was fairly transcribed and signed by Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and five others, dated Wittemberg, Wednesday after the feast of St. Nicholas, 1539. Conformably to this decision the Landgrave married the lady Margaret of Saal. The whole process of this curious affair may be seen in the original acts, as they appear in a German book, published in 1679, by order of the elector Charles Lewis Count Palatine.*

SECTION IV. *Progress of Lutheranism.*

LUTHER, in the pride of his heart used to boast, that the rapid
A. D. 1530. progress of his reformation was miraculous, and a visible mark of his divine legation. A miracle is the visible interposition of God's power on occasions above the common order of nature, in testimony of some truth. Luther, when called upon, had no such miracle to produce: his works, however wonderful, exhibited not the least appearance of any supernatural or miraculous operation. That ignorant and carnal men should eagerly run to hear and embrace a doctrine which laid their sensual appetites under no restraint, but held out to them the certain promise of heaven, without requiring any great endeavours to gain it, indicates nothing singular, nothing above the common order of human events. A miraculous power may be sometimes requisite to bring sinners back to their duty, but never to lead them from it. Lutheranism, by the very nature of its indulgent principles, soon began to spread through the different districts of Germany. From Upper Saxony it gained the northern districts, the principalities of Brunswick and Mecklenburgh, of Pomerania, and Prussia. The plunder of churches, the demolition of religious houses, and extirpation of

* See Bossuet's Var. Vol. 1. Lib. 6.

ancient worship, marked to the weeping Catholics its baleful progress. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden introduced it into their respective states. Albert, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and Prince of Prussia, devoutly married a wife at the age of sixty-nine, seized upon the rich commanderies for his own use, and renounced the old evangelical doctrines to follow those of Martin Luther.

These innovations, so subversive of moral and civil order, alarmed the Catholic princes of Germany; they began to fear lest a revolution in religion might by degrees undermine the constitution of the empire; they thought it high time to guard against a dangerous faction that was gaining strength every day. The renowned Charles V. then presided at the helm. In territorial greatness Charles was the first potentate in Europe. From his father, the Archduke Philip, who married Jane, the daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, he inherited Spain; and from his grandfather Maximilian the first, who had married Mary, the heiress of Burgundy, he received that rich province, and the low countries, with the hereditary states of Austria. Upon the death of his grandfather Maximilian the emperor, in 1519, he was a candidate for the imperial crown, and carried it against his competitor Francis I. King of France. At the solicitation of Pope Leo, and the princes of Germany, Charles assembled a diet at Worms in 1521. Luther there appeared. Neither corrected nor intimidated by the late censures which had been pronounced against him at Rome, he boldly defended all he had done and written, and concluded by declaring, that conscience would not permit him to make any retraction whatever. Pursuant to this declaration an imperial edict passed, which condemned his books to be burnt, and him, as a notorious schismatic and heretic, to be put under the bann of the empire. Luther judged it prudent to abscond; but the emperor's sudden departure for Spain rendered his edict ineffectual. Other diets met at Nuremburgh in 1524, and at Spire in 1526 and 1529, but to no effect. Lutheranism by this time had entered the Palatinate, Lunenburgh, Brunswick, Magdeburgh, Bremen, and most of the towns along the Baltic coast, as far as Prussia. Apostate friars, monks, and clergy, each with a female helpmate by his side, swarmed through the country, eager to seek and gain proselytes to their sect, which, by increase of numbers was grown powerful and insolent. In the year 1530, the Lutheran directors published their profession of faith in twenty-one articles, which is called the Confession of Augsburg. The following year is distinguished for the famous league of Smalkald, when the confederate princes of the new confession solemnly bound themselves to support each other in their protest against all compulsive measures that the emperor might think fit to adopt against them. From this protest, made at Smalkald, they have acquired the appellation of Protestants; an appellation generally given to all those who call themselves of the reformed religion.

Luther had never been known for the meek minister of peace; his imperious voice was for war and for open resistance. But the emperor himself was not in sufficient force to commence or to provoke a domestic war, while he had two foreign powers, the French

and the Turks, to contend with at the same time. Having let slip the opportunity of crushing the evil in its growth, he was under the necessity of entering into a compromise with the confederates, and of letting matters stand as they were, till the controversy should be finally settled, either by a national or a general council held in Germany. In the mean while a plan of pacification was proposed and agreed to ; it was, that a committee of divines from each party should meet and compose a formulary of faith in such terms as neither could object to. The undertaking was absurd and useless. The Catholic divines could not consent to the smallest change of doctrine, which they had received from Jesus Christ, through the hands of his holy and infallible Church ; and the Lutheran doctors would not relinquish the indulgent system, which they had the power to maintain. The emperor foresaw how the plan of accommodation must end ; but by it he gained all he wanted, time to recruit his forces. In the year 1546 he declared war against the confederate princes, as rebels and enemies to the empire. Thus, from a small spark of private jealousy, between the hermits of St. Austin and the friar preachers of St. Dominick, the flame of civil contention was kindled in the very heart of Germany. After a fierce and bloody contest for nearly six years, both parties agreed to sheath the sword, and to restore peace to the empire. The treaty, which secured to the Lutherans a free toleration of their mode of worship, was ratified at Passau in the year 1552.

SECTION V. *Luther's co-operators.*

LUTHER having raised the standard of revolt against the Roman A. D. 1530. Catholic Church, was quickly joined by a choice band of auxiliaries, who were ready to co-operate with him in his attacks upon the various articles of her belief. Among these we distinguish a Carolstadius, a Melancthon, a Bucer, a Brentius, a Zuinglius, a Calvin, and a Beza. One sole principle, the principle of hostility to the Church of Rome, united these leaders of reform in one common league against the ancient religion of their forefathers, while in their private opinions of faith they differed as much from each other as they all did from truth. By their disagreements and warm disputes among themselves, Luther owned that they gave him no less trouble than his Catholic opponents.

Carolstadius, Archdeacon of Wittemberg, a presbyter of no great learning, and of less religion, having more of the Jew than of a Christian in him, as Melancthon tells us,* was the first who joined Luther in his revolt. They soon fell out and cordially abused each other. The first subject of contention between them, was the real presence of Christ's Body in the holy Eucharist ; Carolstad denied, Luther maintained it. A second cause of rancour was, that Carolstad had presumed on his own authority to give communion in both kinds ; for though the doctor of Wittemberg did not absolutely dislike that manner of administering the sacrament, yet he thought his disciple had been too precipitate in so doing. A third cause of

* Lib. Testim.

offence given by Carolstad was, that he had pulled down the crosses and pictures in the great church. For Luther held, that the use of holy images, and especially of the crucifix, greatly conduced to the promotion of Christian piety. But Carolstad had taken one bold step, which, in his master's eye, seemed almost enough to cancel all his other faults. He had married a wife. Luther intended to do as much: the religious Catharine Boren had already captivated his heart; a conjugal union with her he thought would appear less censurable, when authorized by the example of an archdeacon.

Philip Melancthon being recommended to the patronage of Frederick, the elector of Saxony, as a youth of superior talents, gained admittance into the University of Wittemberg. Luther immediately took him by the hand, gained his confidence, and made him one of his co-adjutors in the work of reformation. Melancthon, for learning, and skill in controversy, was considered as a capital pillar of the new Church. The lessons he delivered while Greek professor in that university, acquired him the splendid reputation of a complete and pleasing scholar. Naturally moderate in his manner as well as in temper, he tried by every means in his power to excuse the defects of Luther's conduct; and though daily harassed by the rude excesses of an unmanageable enthusiast, he still persisted in his attachment to him. Vanity fixed him in the profession of a system which he had embraced in the early part of life, but which he seems never to have liked and never to have held as orthodox. He seriously told his mother to remain a Catholic as she was, nor to let the noisy jars of religious discord disturb her devotion, or alter the principles of her belief. He was one of the eight who subscribed the doctrine of bigamy to gratify the lustful Landgrave of Hesse; he also penned the famous confession of Augsburg.

Martin Bucer entered young among the Dominicans. His talents, his knowledge of languages, of the Belles Lettres, and theology, made him a man of no small consequence in his Order. The consideration in which he was held, extinguished the spirit of his religious vocation, and inspired him with other sentiments that led him to his ruin. He formed a connexion with Martin Luther, and, as evil communication corrupts good manners, he sucked in the poison of that innovator's doctrine, and drank deep of his intoxicating cup. Weary of restraint, he renounced his solemn vows, threw off his monastic habit, and married a nun. Having thus prepared himself for the functions of an evangelical minister, he repaired to Strasburg, and there sowed the first seeds of Lutheranism. He opened a public school, in which he delivered theological lectures to all who chose to hear him. In that drudging exercise, he laboured for twenty years, till a quarrel with the emperor brought him into difficulties, which obliged him to quit his station. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, being informed of his distress, invited him to England. He went, and though not encouraged by government, he took up and continued his theological lectures, till he there died in 1551.

John Brentius, the most voluminous writer of Luther's school, a native of Suabia, studied at Heidelberg, in the lower Palatinate, and embraced an ecclesiastical state. His reputation for learning procured him a canonicate at Wirtemberg; there he took the order

of priesthood. The pleasure he felt in the conversation and writings of Luther, poisoned his principles. He abjured the Catholic faith, which he found too rigid for his constitution, and embraced the confession of Augsburg. This entitled him to the privilege of taking a wife; she died; he married a second, who brought him twelve children. Being appointed professor of divinity in the University of Tubingen, he was named counsellor in ordinary to the Duke of Wirtemberg, which gave him great sway. In every political and religious movement made by the party from that time, Brentius took the lead; to him, after Luther's death, they all looked up as to the oracle and head of the Lutheran Church.

In all the various contradictions, experienced by the Catholic Church since her apostolical existence, the world had never seen such innovations in doctrine, and such havoc of religious tenets, as were made by these slashing reformers of the sixteenth century. The merit of virginity, of monastic vows, and sacerdotal continency, the necessity of prayer, of alms deeds, of abstinence, fasting, and other good works, so strongly marked in holy scripture, are by Martin Luther dogmatically set aside. All respect for the holy scriptures, when not consonant with his opinions, is likewise given up with as little ceremony. St. James, in his catholic epistle, expressly teaches, that faith without good works is absolutely dead and unprofitable for salvation: the reformer found it not possible to reconcile the sacred text with his ideas of faith; and, therefore, to cut the matter short, expunged the whole epistle, and struck its author from the list of inspired writers. Then, as if the word of God had ceased to be against him, he boldly asserts,* That faith is the only necessary requisite to make us just before God, and that nothing else is either commended or forbidden. For a Christian, says he, stands in need of no work and of no law,† since by faith he is exempt from all law. Would he therefore walk through the straight path,‡ which leads to life, he must cast from his shoulder the burden of good works, otherwise he will be never able to enter the narrow gate. Carnal and worldly men were pleased with a doctrine so suited to their inclinations: and no wonder is it that such numbers should be ready to adopt a system of religion, which, for salvation, required of them nothing more than a firm faith in the imputed merits of their kind Redeemer.

Among the distinguished proselytes of Martin Luther, we must reckon Thomas Muncer, a corrupt priest, and Nicholas Stork, an illiterate enthusiast, who supplied his want of knowledge by pretended revelations. Heated with the spirit of reform, they soon quitted their master's communion, and by the invention of new doctrines, began to preach a system of their own, more perfect, as they boasted, than that of Luther. They set off by condemning infant baptism, declaring that sacrament to be of no value, unless administered by immersion, to those who were of an age to understand the mysterious effects of it. Upon this principle they re-baptized all who joined their sect; hence they are denominated Anabaptists. The efficacy which they attributed to their baptism, was of a very

* In C. ii. ad Gal. † L. de libert. Chris. ‡ Ser. de N. Test.

singular nature. They fancied themselves regenerated thereby into a state of perfect liberty, bound in conscience by no social obligations, and exempt from all laws, both civil and ecclesiastical. Independents is their name. They established the maxim of perfect equality between man and man, and considered all superiority, which gave wealth, rank, or power, to any one above his fellow-creatures, as a tyrannical institution. They neither respected nor obeyed any injunctions of men, unless delivered to them as a special revelation descending from the father of lights. These doctrines were extremely flattering to the democratic multitude. The devisers of them, by putting on the appearance of a devout and mortified exterior, seduced thousands of the Westphalians into open rebellion against church and state. Every petty mechanic, and every country poor, thought himself a monarch, not subject nor accountable to any one for the equal share he had in the natural rights of mankind.

While the work of reformation was thus carried on in Germany, similar scenes of confusion passed in Switzerland. Zuinglius, a doctor of divinity, and the minister of Zurich, began to dogmatize against the ancient faith of the Church about the same time as Luther. Both started from the same point, regarding indulgences, and kept nearly equal pace with each other in their progress of errors. The errors they stumbled upon were chiefly the same: but on the subject of the holy Eucharist they disagree as widely from each other as both do from Catholic truth. Luther maintains the real presence of Christ's body, not under the form, but in the substance of bread, and this he calls Consubstantiation. Zuinglius, on the other hand, rejects the real presence entirely, and contends, that the Eucharist is only a commemorative figure of Christ's body. His followers are called Sacramentarians. Their numbers soon swelled into a powerful faction. Four of the cantons voted for the new doctrines. The religious contest kindled a civil war. Zuinglius put himself at the head of his troops, and fell fighting in the field of battle. A compromise was then proposed and accepted, which left each canton free to choose its own religion. The Zuinglians soon after entered into an alliance with the republic of Geneva, and listed under the banner of John Calvin.

Calvin was born at Noyon, in France, in 1509. His father not being in very affluent circumstances, intended him for the Church, and sent him to Paris. There the young Calvin went through his lower studies, and obtained two benefices. After that he left Paris, and applied to the study of the law, first at Orleans, and then at Bourges. Here he met with a German professor, who made him a complete Lutheran in principle and practice. His active genius would have prompted him to disseminate his errors in France, but seeing he could not do it with safety to his person, he resigned his two livings, and retired to Basil in Switzerland. Here at his leisure he reviewed his sentiments on religion, and digested them into a formal system, which he published in a single volume, entitled his *Institutions*. The doctrines which he here lays down, tally in most points with those of Luther. But he differs from him in three material points: 1st, on the subject of free will, which he denies; 2nd, on the subject of the holy Eucharist, in which he agrees with Zuing-

glius ; and 3rd, on the external form of worship, in which he admits no priest, no altar, no sacrifice, no religious ornament, no ceremony. In his manner Calvin was more gentle than either Zuinglius or Luther, though in principle equally intolerent, as appears in his causing Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician, to be burnt alive at Geneva, for errors against the blessed Trinity. The citizens of Geneva having driven away their bishop, and formed themselves into a republican government, Calvin repaired to that city, where he exercised the double office of preacher and reader of divinity, in 1536. At the end of two years he was forced to depart, on account of the civic dissensions in which he is thought to have been deeply concerned. He retired to Strasburg ; there he married a wife, and there disseminated his erroneous doctrines. In 1541 he returned to Geneva, where he fixed his residence for life. For the space of twenty-three years he exercised an absolute sway over the minds of the citizens, and the authority he assumed in all religious and civil matters was so despotic, that he was commonly called the Pope of Geneva. He shares with Luther the reputation of being a principal leader in the work of reformation. He died in 1564, leaving his disciple and devoted panegyrist, Theodorus Beza, to govern the little Church of Geneva, and to propagate his principles through the neighbouring country.

SECTION VI. *Henry VIII. sues for a Divorce.*

DURING the religious feuds which set the continent at variance A. D. 1529. with itself, Henry VIII. laid the foundation for similar disturbances in England. We have mentioned this king's marriage with Catharine, the princess of Arragon, his brother's widow. A dispensation had been previously obtained, as we have related above ; three months after his father's death, in 1509, he led her with great pomp to the cathedral church of St. Paul, and married her in due form. She was arrayed in white, the mark of her virginity ; Doctor Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony. The royal pair lived together near seventeen years in the closest union of conjugal affection. She bore him several children, one of whom, the princess Mary, inherited the crown. Among her maids of honour, the queen had unfortunately Anna the fair daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen. This accomplished lady, in the bloom of youth, captivated the king's heart. She possessed all the ambition incident to her sex, with all the blandishments of an arch coquet. She wantonly encouraged, while she coyly refused to gratify the king's passion, unless she could be his wedded wife. To this his prior marriage with queen Catharine formed a grand obstacle, which nothing but a valid sentence of divorce could possibly remove. Mad was the undertaking to procure such a sentence, which no man had the power to grant. But Henry, in the frenzy of his lust resolved to try. He grounded his plea upon the nullity of a marriage with his brother's widow. After a lapse of nearly seventeen years cohabitation with her, he amused the world with a pretended scruple of conscience, and separated from her both in bed and board.

To prepare the public mind for the important event, the whole year of 1527 was employed in making all those remote dispositions which hypocrisy, interest, and passion could suggest. Extraordinary pains were taken to convince the nation, that there were just grounds for scruple in the king's connexions with Catharine of Arragon. The bishops of the realm were consulted upon the matter. They met, they deliberated, but came to no decision; they agreed to debate the question more fully at some future time, and retired. When the king first mentioned to Cardinal Wolsey his intention of suing for a divorce in the court of Rome, Mr. Cavendish, a contemporary writer, and one of Wolsey's attendants, tells us, that the cardinal flung himself upon his knees, and earnestly entreated his majesty not think of it. But when he perceived that the king was not only positive, but moreover expected his concurrence, then, like a flattering and flattered favourite as he was, he readily offered his service, and undertook to negociate the whole business. Wolsey at that time may be considered as the first subject in Europe for power and influence in all great transactions, both at home and abroad.

This extraordinary man, of obscure parentage, was born at Ipswich in Suffolk, in the year 1470. Being sent to the University of Oxford, he displayed such talents, and made so eminent a figure among his fellow students, that at the age of fifteen he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Ambition was his ruling passion; he entered into an ecclesiastical state, as the most likely way of rising to public notice. The patronage he met with made him known at the court of Henry VII. who gave him the deanery of Lincoln in 1508. After the decease of that monarch Mr. Wolsey seized every opportunity of ingratiating himself with his successor Henry VIII. He succeeded to the utmost of his wish; riches and preferments flowed upon him in full tide. In 1514 he obtained the See of Lincoln; in November following he was translated to the archiepiscopal See of York; the next year he was created cardinal, and soon after Lord high chancellor of England and prime minister. To crown his honours, the legantine power was conferred upon him by the Pope, so there was no preferment, either ecclesiastical or civil, which did pass through his hands. But all this did not satisfy his exorbitant ambition. On the death of Leo X. in 1521, he aspired to the pontificate. The election of Adrian VI. defeated his expectation; the death of Adrian after one year's reign, once more awakened his pretensions to the tiara. But the promotion of Clement VII. once more baffled his ambitious views. Having now no higher honours to aspire to than those already conferred upon him, he thought of transmitting his memory to future ages, by erecting two new colleges, one in Oxford, where he was educated, and another at Ipswich, where he was born. For the completion of this noble and expensive project, without diminishing his own treasure, he obtained a grant from Rome, to suppress forty religious houses of a certain description, and to convert their property to his own use. This fatal precedent opened the door to a train of doleful consequences; the grant passed in the year 1524.

Henry continued to amuse the world with his pretended scruples, respecting his marriage with the princess of Arragon; and as if

such a scruple had really existed in his royal breast, he directed the obsequious Wolsey to state it to the Pope, and on that ground to sue for a divorce. The cardinal faithfully obeyed: able agents were dispatched to Rome for the management of the cause: no expedient was left untried; the posture of the Pope's affairs gave hopes of success. For the Pope at that time was shut up like a prisoner within the walls of his own castle of St. Angelo, by the imperialists, who, with the emperor's consent, had suddenly surprised and plundered the city. The application from England afforded his Holiness a fair opportunity of revenging himself upon the emperor, and of gaining the protection of Henry by a sentence of divorce against Catharine, the emperor's aunt. But Clement entertained more noble thoughts; he had a sacred character to preserve; he made the base suggestions of interest and revenge give way to justice and religion. In proof of his friendly disposition towards the British monarch, as far as equity would admit, his Holiness consented that the cause should be tried in England by a legantine court, in which he commissioned the two cardinals, Wolsey and Campegio, to sit as judges; both were English subjects, the first an avowed enemy to the queen, the second had been lately gratified with the bishopric of Salisbury. The question to be decided was simply this; Whether any other than an ecclesiastical impediment existed, which could preclude the validity of a marriage contract between Henry VIII. of England, and Catharine of Arragon; and whether the ecclesiastical impediment, which did exist, had been effectually removed by the dispensation of Pope Julius.

SECTION VII. *King Henry's Divorce.*

ON the thirty-first day of May, 1529, the legantine court began to sit at Black-friars. The king and queen appeared according to summons. The king stated his reasons for a divorce. When he had done, the queen fell upon her knees before him, and in a most pathetic speech refuted every article that had been alleged against her, and appealed to the king's conscience for the truth of what she said. She then remonstrated in strong terms with the court upon the peculiar hardship of her situation in a foreign country, amidst strangers and enemies, without support, without counsel, abandoned and accused by her once dearest friend and sovereign, her very husband. Having thus expressed her sentiments, she put herself under the protection of the emperor her nephew, made a solemn appeal from that court to the Pope, and immediately retired. The Pope, in consequence of the queen's appeal, sent positive orders to the two cardinal legates to close their sessions in England, and to adjourn them to the consistorial court at Rome. Campegio quitted England, and Wolsey fell into disgrace. On the twenty-ninth of October, in the same year, the great seal was taken from him, and delivered to Sir Thomas More. He retired to York, survived his disgrace just thirteen months, when being on his way to London, he stopped at Leicester abbey, and there died on the twenty-ninth of November, 1530. A little before he expired, he spoke these remarkable words to Mr. Kingston, who had the

king's order to conduct him to London; "If I had served my God as faithfully as I have served my king, he would not have thus abandoned me in my grey hairs. But this is my just recompense for the little regard I paid to the service of God." In the following year death carried off a better man than Wolsey, the virtuous Doctor Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. Grief at the prospect of impending evils shortened his precious days.

The process of the divorce all this while went on so slowly at Rome, that it seemed to be almost at a stand. The king grew impatient: Anna Bullen, eager to become the wife and queen of Henry, thought the time long. While the nation was thus held in suspense, doubtful how this interesting cause would end, a new personage appeared, who took upon himself to act a conspicuous part in it, and finally to pronounce decidedly upon its merits. This was the famous Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity, and a fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge. His conduct had not always been the most regular; contrary to the rules of the university, he married a wife, by which he fell into disgrace, and forfeited his fellowship. His wife died, he requested to be re-admitted to an academical course of life; his past his conduct was overlooked, he resumed his lectures, and openly declared himself for the king's divorce. His sentiments were reported at court; he was introduced and had a private audience of the king. The king relished his conversation, and adopted his proposal of consulting the foreign universities upon this simple question; Whether marrying a brother's widow was contrary to the law of God? Agents were immediately appointed, and dispatched to the continent for the purpose of procuring a favourable decision from the universities of Italy, France, and Germany. They went with plenty of money to gain the suffrages of all such doctors as they should find inclined to take a bribe. Cranmer undertook to canvass Germany. The undertaking did no credit to its projectors or their cause; nor upon the whole did it answer their purpose. Some signatures indeed were obtained both at home and abroad, but it was by the corruption of money, and by sinister working, as the declaration of Parliament expresses it in Queen Mary's reign.

The See of Canterbury being vacant, the king pitched on Cranmer to fill it, and with that view called him home. Cranmer possessed the art of concealing the grossest irregularities under a fair outside. Whilst a fellow in the college, as his admirer Doctor Burnet writes, he was a Lutheran in his heart; in Germany he thoroughly imbibed Luther's principles, although in priest's orders, married a second wife, the sister of Osiander, a divine in Luther's school. These circumstances of Doctor Cranmer's life were unknown both to Henry and the Pope, so that he experienced no contradiction, either in carrying his episcopal election, or in obtaining his Bulls of consecration. He was consecrated on the thirteenth day of March, 1533. The king before this had taken a step, which clearly proves that his resolution was fixed on having a speedy conclusion put to the slow proceedings of the divorce. On the fourteenth day of the foregoing November, he caused the marriage ceremony to be privately performed between him and Anna Bullen; it was performed by Dr. Roland Lee, Cranmer was present, the divorce being yet

undecided, as Doctor Helin remarks in his History of the Reformation. Some months elapsed; the appearance of pregnancy in Anna divulged the secret; time would admit of no longer delay. The king directed a commission to be made out, which should empower the archbishop to pronounce the sentence of divorce between him and Queen Catharine.* He signed the commission in due form, whence it appears that the divorce in fact was sanctioned by no other than the king's own authority. But in virtue of that commission, such as it was, the pliant and accommodating Archbishop Cranmer pronounced on the twenty-third of May, 1533, that the marriage between King Henry and the Princess Catharine was null and void from the beginning: and by a subsequent sentence he ratified the king's private marriage with Anna Bullen, which had been contracted the November before. In consequence of these episcopal acts, which could have no other effect than to save appearances, Anna was acknowledged queen by royal authority, and publicly crowned; on the seventh of September following she was brought to bed of a daughter, named Elizabeth. Queen Catharine with superior fortitude of mind survived these outrages done to her dignity and her honour, till January the eighth, 1536, when she died.

SECTION VIII. *English Schism.*

POPE CLEMENT had delayed pronouncing definitively upon the subject of the divorce; for it was not in his power to pronounce in the king's favour; and to decide against him, he knew, would provoke his wrath, which he wished to avoid. Time he hoped might work a change: in the interim he tried by expostulation, by exhortation, and by fatherly threats, to inspire his majesty with more Christian sentiments. But when he was officially informed of what had passed in England, he judged it incompatible with his pastoral duty to remain longer silent in an affair of such importance to religion. On the twenty-third of May, 1534, he signed a Bull, which declared the marriage between King Henry and Queen Catharine valid, and the sentence of Cranmer, pronouncing the divorce void and null. In this posture of affairs Clement died the September following, without proceeding to further censures: nor was it till the year 1538, that Paul III. Clement's successor, being compelled by Henry's impieties, as Echard expresses it,† pronounced sentence of excommunication over Henry and the whole English nation.

Henry was conscious that his late proceedings were of a nature to make the greatest part of his subjects very dissatisfied, and was therefore eager to have them ratified by a national act. He had a parliament composed of men, who through interest or fear were servilely disposed to obey the dictates of an imperious despot. Henry called them together in the month of January, 1534; in compliance with his arbitrary will, they enacted laws totally destructive of the papal authority in England; they confirmed the dissolution of his first marriage with Queen Catharine, and sanctioned his second with

* Collier's Ec. Hist.

† Hist. of Eng.

Queen Anne. This done, he prorogued the parliament to meet again in November. It is to be remarked, that no provocation for these violences had been yet given by any censure passed at Rome. But the king had for some time past betrayed a strong inclination to break with the holy See. In the year 1530, he extorted from the convocation of the clergy, a confession, that "the king was the protector and the supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England." In what sense that supreme headship was to be understood, nothing was then said. But four years after, the same convocation voted under the king's direction, that the Bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority which he and his predecessors had there exercised, was by usurpation, countenanced only and suffered by the crown.

The parliament met in November according to appointment, and conferred upon the king the title of the only supreme Head on earth of the Church of England; they consequently granted to him and his successors, or rather acknowledged in them an inherent power "to visit and repress, reform, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." They also gave him a right to all the annates and tythes of benefices, which had hitherto been paid to Rome. Thus by that memorable act of the legislature, the English schism was formally established; the whole plenitude of spiritual supremacy was declared solely to belong to the imperial crown of these realms. Uncommon pains had been taken to prepare the nation for this innovation in religion. All appeals to Rome had been forbidden by law from the year 1532. Then it was, that Sir Thomas More, foreseeing what would happen, resigned his high office of chancellor. The clergy were now restrained, under severe penalties, from meeting in convocation without the king's leave. The temporizing bishops surrendered their sacred trust, and solemnly promised never, from that time, to meet in convocation but by the king's command, nor to decide on any matter, though purely spiritual, but as his majesty should direct. Of them all, Bishop Fisher was the only one who had the courage not to shrink from his duty at the king's threats. A bishop preached every Sunday at St. Paul's Cross, as Burnet relates, to inculcate into the minds of the people, that the Pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own diocese. The University of Cambridge made a public disclaim of the Pope's supremacy, by a decree, dated May the second, 1534. Oxford followed with a bad grace on the twenty-seventh of July, no more than forty persons appearing hearty in the king's cause, as Mr. Wood takes notice in his Antiquities of that university. But as soon as the king's spiritual supremacy obtained a parliamentary establishment, orders were dispersed throughout the kingdom for all bodies of men, both in church and state, to subscribe to it. Most of the bishops and abbots shamefully chose to sacrifice their conscience and their character rather than risk the loss of their temporalities. Tempting offers were held out to Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, the late chancellor. To gain two such men over to their party was thought to be of important consequence. But the principle of rec-

titude was too deeply rooted in the soul of both to be shaken either by promises or by threats. They could not consistently with Catholic belief acknowledge a supremacy to be really spiritual, which was raised on no other than a temporal foundation. In consequence of their recusancy both were taken into custody, attainted of high treason, and beheaded, the bishop on the twenty-second of June, Sir Thomas on the sixth of July, 1535.

Henry, in virtue of his spiritual prerogative, appointed a committee of thirty-two, of whom one-half were laymen, to revise all former canons and ecclesiastical constitutions, that such might be rejected, and only such retained, as to his majesty it should seem meet. From this new order of things, it then appears, that no spiritual jurisdiction, and no ecclesiastical ordinance, was to be admitted in the Church of England, but what ultimately derives its force from the civil power.

Strange as it may seem, that such a pretension to spiritual supremacy should be set up by a prince who, in his book against Luther, had so ably maintained the primacy of the Roman pontiff over every nation in the Christian world, yet it is still more strange, that many of our civilians, with Sir Edward Coke at their head, should attempt to prove, that Henry VIII. did not assume to himself a greater extent of ecclesiastical power than had been claimed and exercised by his predecessors, the British, Saxon, and Norman kings. Henry most certainly arrogated to himself a supremacy which was new; else, why was the world astonished at it? A supremacy which did not belong to him; else, why did the most enlightened and the most conscientious of his subjects, a Fisher and a More, refuse to acknowledge it? A supremacy, in fine, which he himself had proved to be inherent in the Bishop of Rome alone, even over England itself. History furnishes us not with a single instance, that such a supremacy was ever claimed before by any Catholic king in our own, or in any other nation. We have seen some of our English kings restraining the abuses of ecclesiastical power, when thought to trespass upon their civil rights; we have seen others pursuing measures oppressive and injurious to the rights of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but none have we seen before Henry VIII. who ever made the smallest attempt to wrest from the bishop of Rome his spiritual supremacy, which the whole Catholic Church always believed him to hold immediately from Christ. To the Apostles, not to the civil potentates of the earth, Christ said, "Go teach all nations:"* but to Peter, whom he appointed Head of all the rest, he said, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep."† To feed the whole flock of Christ is the high prerogative settled solely on St. Peter and his successors in the Roman See, not by any human, but by divine institution. Of this divine institution Henry gives convincing evidence in his treatise against Luther. "Whereas Luther," says he, "doth so impudently affirm, that the Pope hath his primacy by no right, neither human nor divine, but by force and tyranny. I do wonder how the mad fellow could hope to find his readers so simple, or so blockish, as to believe that the Bishop of Rome, a priest, unarmed,

* Matt. chap. xxviii.

† John, chap. xxi.

alone, without temporal force or right, either divine or human, as he supposes, should be able to get authority over so many bishops, his equals, throughout so many and different nations, so far off from him, and so little fearing his temporal power : or that so many people, cities, kingdoms, commonwealths, provinces, and nations, would be so prodigal of their own liberty, as to subject themselves to a foreign priest in spiritual matters, as now they have done for so many ages, or to give him such authority over themselves, if he had no right at all thereunto."

SECTION IX. *Dissolution of Religious Houses.*

HENRY, by declaring himself to be the sole Head on earth of the English Church, did not mean to confine himself to an empty title, which should bring no money into his coffers. The expense he was at in displaying the most splendid marks of royal magnificence, made him always needy. The payment of first fruits, and other ecclesiastical dues, granted to him by parliament, had not been sufficient to supply his wants. The suppression of religious houses promised him a richer harvest. He proposed the matter to his privy council. It was enough for them to know the royal will, and to second it. They assured him, that on the strength of his supremacy he might carry his design into execution to any extent he pleased, even under the appearance of right order. Wolsey had set the example. The ruin of the whole monastic Order was now resolved on ; but in a work of such magnitude it was judged advisable to proceed gradually, and with caution, for fear of some popular commotion. Inquisitorial visitors were appointed to examine and report the state of all the religious houses in England. Great activity, in the interim, was used to prejudice and inflame the people against all in general of the monastic institution. The measure was evidently calculated to rifle the devoted victims first of their reputation, that they might be then stripped of their property without mercy and without pity. One Ash, a lawyer, published a scurrilous libel, entitled, *The Representation of Beggars*, in which he represents the bishops, deans, priests, monks, and friars, as a horde of lazy drones, that devour the king's lands, that are the occasion of taxes and beggary, that excommunicate and absolve merely for gain, that debauch the wives, daughters, and servants of the whole kingdom ; his conclusion is, that they are thieves, ravenous wolves, and cormorants, and ought to be demolished, as enemies to the state and to all mankind. By numerous publications of this stamp, by indecent prints and lampoons, which, with the approbation of government, were dispersed through the kingdom, the public mind was warped into a belief of evils, which had no existence but in the slanderer's imagination ; and thus a preparation was made for the destructive operations which the king himself had planned, and now thought might be safely executed.

The formidable engine of destruction was then set to work, under the sanction of a royal patent. King Henry, as supreme Head of the Church of England, appointed a vicar-general to act under him in all ecclesiastical affairs, with the same authority as the Roman

legates had acted heretofore under the Pope. His power was to visit all the religious houses in England, to reform and punish by ecclesiastical censures, to preside over synods, and in the convocation of bishops, so that all episcopal jurisdiction, as Mr. Collier observes, was laid asleep during the king's pleasure. The man invested with this exorbitant power was Thomas Cromwell, a layman, the son of a blacksmith in Putney, a mortal enemy to churchmen, and no friend to religion in general. He had been a faithful servant to Cardinal Wolsey, under whom he had been trained to business, so not badly qualified for the work he was commissioned to do. For his assistants in the arduous but lucrative undertaking, he made a select choice of dexterous men, Richard Layton, Thomas Leigh, William Petre, doctors of law, John London, and some others. These royal commissioners had the kingdom parcelled out among them; each had his division allotted him; they set out upon their progress; their immediate object was to collect matter of accusation for the dissolution of the lesser convents. Rigorous was their inquiry with regard to the deportment of the friars, and great was their disappointment when, after a diligent scrutiny, they discovered nothing that gave the least hold for a serious accusation. But the intent of their commission was to be fulfilled; the king's will was to be complied with. If real crimes cannot be found, fiction must supply their place. For this iniquitous end, friars were encouraged to give false witness against their brethren; lewd men were employed to allure spotless nuns into vice; calumnies collected from idle reports, or the libels of wicked accusers, were regarded as grounds of proof. By such methods a long list of crimes and immoralities was made out, and villanously charged upon the religious houses of both sexes. Whole convents of women, abandoned to lewdness, signs of abortions, of infants murdered, and of unnatural lusts, swelled the reports of those court inquisitors.

"During times of faction, especially of the religious kind," says Mr. Hume, "no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and, as it is well known that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude that the reports of these commissioners are very little to be relied on." Those readers who are inclined to feed their fancy with a groundless rehearsal "of lustful clauses," as Mr. Fuller writes,* "or of wanton reservations made by abbots in their leases, and of underground vaults leading from friaries to nunneries, confuted by the situation of intervening rocks and rivers, which render all such communication not only improbable, but even impossible," may waste their idle hours in turning over the slanderous pages of Fox and Burnet. I cannot believe, says the same protestant historian, such improbable reports: and he rejects, as a forged piece, the scandalous list of sodomitical monks, and of such who are said to have kept their concubines: "I find this catalogue," says he, "only in the third edition of Speed;" and he proves it to be a posthumous addition, inserted after the author's death.

The king, however, was satisfied with the report of his commis-

* Church Hist.

sioners, and, in consequence, directed the parliament, in 1536, to pass an act for the suppression of all such convents as possessed revenues below the annual value of two hundred pounds. By this act, 376 religious houses were suppressed, and their revenues granted to the king. Immoralities, which had been reported, but never proved against them, are stated, in the preamble of the act, as the reason for suppressing them. No fewer than ten thousand religious men and women were turned out of doors into the wide world, robbed at once of their establishment, of their goods, and reputation, without any provision made for their subsistence. But to soften in some measure the rigour of this treatment, a clause was inserted, which entitled the helpless sufferers to admittance into the greater monasteries, "wherein religion," says the act, "is well kept and observed." This authentic declaration of parliament is a standing testimony of the good order and regular discipline observed in the greater houses. But it was not meant for such; it was meant by a wicked policy to insinuate the irregularities of the lesser houses, and to justify the act of their suppression.

The seizure of the lesser houses was but the beginning of more extensive sacrilege. The rich abbey held out more ample and more tempting booty. The rapacious despot had long since doomed them to destruction; their wealth was their only crime; their observance of religious discipline, though ascertained by parliament, could not screen them from the storm which was ready to burst in their ruin. The king had already ordered a new visitation. Those abbots who with trembling hands had signed his spiritual supremacy, now trembled at the hand which was lifted up to destroy them. Some received the stroke with Christian fortitude, as became their character; others, under the dread of starving, compounded with the commissioners, and, upon the promise of a pension for life, agreed to make a free surrendry, as they termed it, of all their possessions for the king's use. By such surrenderies, and by violent expulsion, all the remaining monasteries were extirpated within the space of two years, and their revenues were sacrilegiously swept into the royal exchequer. In the melancholy list of demolitions we find 645 monasteries, of which twenty-eight were governed by abbots who sat in the house of lords; ninety colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, 110 hospitals. Horrid as these deeds of rapine were, a mercenary parliament ratified them all by a public act, in 1539. "This act," says Mr. Hume, "contains much falsehood, much tyranny, much injustice, and iniquity. But it was the unhappy situation of the English during that age, that when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament."

SECTION X. *Rueful Effects of Sacrilege.*

WITHIN the space of four years the sacrilegious hand of Henry overturned the most venerable monuments of religion, A. D. 1540. which British, Saxon, Norman, and English piety had erected in England and Wales. By the advice of Cromwell, his vicar-general, he ordered the sacred roofs to be taken down, and the walls reduced into heaps of ruins, lest the former possessors

might attempt to creep back again. The abbey lands he either sold or exchanged for others, or distributed amongst his favourites, the partners of his guilt. By the seizure of church property Henry added one hundred and sixty thousand pounds to his annual revenue. The people murmured, but when they were told that this addition of wealth to the public treasury would enable government to defray all the exigencies of the state, without the aid of taxes, they silently acquiesced. They soon found themselves deceived. The imposition of new taxes, added to the old, raised great discontents, without the least hope of relief from a despotic tyrant. From the monasteries the poor had hitherto been supplied with food and other comfortable helps; those being destroyed, the number and distress of indigent families began to multiply, assessments upon the parishes, hitherto unknown, then became necessary for their support. The growing sums of those assessments, at this distant period, evidently prove that the nation is now paying dear for the sacrilegious rapine committed in the days of Henry VIII. Guided by reason, and convinced by facts, protestant writers candidly allow, that the dissolution of religious houses was not only a scandal to religion, but also a detriment to the state. "To the abbey," says Mr. Collier, "we are indebted for most of our best historians, both in church and state; the youth there had their education with little charge to their parents; the nobility and gentry had a creditable way of providing for their younger children." Similar testimonies, in favour of these monastic foundations, may be seen more at large in Sir William Dugdale, Sir Henry Spelman, Doctor Heylin, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Tanner, and others. The testimony of these grave authors carries great weight in this matter, their protestant profession leaves no room for suspecting them of partiality, or of insincerity in their defence of a Catholic cause. Nothing but a sincere regard for truth could have induced those authors to treat the subject in the manner they have done. Sound policy never would have doomed to destruction so many noble foundations, from whence the public derived such valuable advantages. Their establishment stood upon the same constitutional ground as that of all other corporate bodies in the nation, solemnly recognised and sanctioned through a long succession of ages by king and parliament. Their institution, as the same Mr. Collier remarks, "was principally designed to revive the piety of the ancient Christians." The permanency of that institution was secured to them by Magna Charta, which in the very first chapter declares, "that the English Church shall be free, and that she shall for ever enjoy all her whole rights and liberties inviolable." Henry, at his coronation, had bound himself, by a solemn oath, to maintain those rights and liberties. The monasteries, therefore, had as legal and as full a title to their property, as the civil power could give, and not having forfeited that title by any thing they had done, they retained an equal claim to protection with the rest of their fellow-subjects. Henry, by seizing and demolishing them in the manner he did, shamefully violated not only his oath, but the very palladium of English liberty, and thereby let his subjects know, that none of their rights were safe against the invasion of his arbitrary domination.

To deprive so many thousands of harmless and loyal subjects of their legal property, without the shadow of a crime ; to drag them from their silent cells, and to throw them upon the wide world, without any provision for their subsistence ; to drive them from their holy retreats of solitude and prayer, which they had chosen for life, under the sanction of the law ; and to convert those venerable retreats of recollection, of midnight psalmody, of self-denial, of fasting, and other penitential practices of religion, into ruins for the reception of owls and vermin, was an act contrary to every principle of reason, of common justice, and of humanity. " When such tricks were played," says Doctor Heylin,* " it may be feared, that God was not in that terrible wind which threw down so many religious houses." Henry stopt not here. Passion pushed him on to plunder the dead as well as the living. The rich shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury tempted his rapacious hand ; the cause also, in which that holy prelate had struggled, even to the effusion of his blood, provoked his spleen, and furnished him with a pretext the most whimsical for pillaging his tomb. Near four hundred years had elapsed since the martyr's death ; his memory from that time had been held in singular veneration through the whole Church. Henry ordered him to be indicted for high treason against his sovereign Henry II. ; a mock trial was set on foot ; the saint was cited to appear, judicially arraigned, and condemned for a traitor. His bones were dug up, burnt, and scattered in the wind : the rich ornaments of gold, and silver, and precious stones, that adorned his tomb, were carried off to the royal treasury.

But Henry, with all his plunder, was not possessed either of riches or of happiness ; what he got by sacrilege he as quickly wasted in extravagance ; the tumult of restless passions harassed him day and night. His marriage with Anna Bullen, which he had so eagerly pursued as the summit of his joy, was now become the source of trouble. She, who had supplanted the virtuous Catharine, was now supplanted in her turn. In her train of attendants she had a rival of her charms, the beautiful Jane Seymour. Anna no longer reigned in the good graces of her husband ; the production of a bad child ruined her in his affection ; the lightness of her carriage raised suspicions of conjugal infidelity, even with her own brother, Lord Rocheford. On that ground she was sent to the Tower, tried, convicted, and beheaded, in 1536. The day after her execution, the king married lady Jane Seymour. In the following year she brought him a son, who received the name of Edward, and succeeded him in the throne. She died twelve days after her delivery, the king being now blessed with a son and heir, caused his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to be declared illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting the crown.

Henry remained a widower two whole years ; then to spite the usurper, his hated nephew by Queen Catharine, he resolved to make for his fourth wife a daughter of some German prince, who was engaged in the Lutheran confederacy against the imperial house of Austria. The choice of his future consort he left to Cromwell,

* Hist. Ref.

his spiritual vicar-general, who presented to him Ann, the daughter of the Duke of Cleves. Their marriage was celebrated on the sixth of January, 1540. The king conceived almost immediately an utter dislike to her; he put her away, and the parliament passed an act for a legal divorce between them in July following. Cromwell after that sunk into disgrace; the long and signal services which he had done the king, received their due reward from the hand he least expected. In virtue of a bill of attainder, which he himself had framed for the oppression of innocence, he was suddenly arrested at the council board by the Duke of Norfolk, condemned, and beheaded. The Duke's niece, lady Catharine Howard, then became the king's fifth wife; she proved unfaithful, and, for the punishment of her crime, was beheaded in February, 1542. Catharine Parr, a widow, succeeded her in the nuptial bed. This lady's attachment to the doctrines of Luther was then a secret.

Lutheranism had been smuggled into England under the broad mantle of Cromwell, the vicar-general, and Cranmer, the primate. The king after some time began to suspect his queen of being infected with it, and called her to a strict account. She had the art to elude his inquiries at the time; but had he lived much longer, she probably would have made her exit in the same tragical manner as her royal predecessor. For Henry, equally cruel and despotic, gave quarter to none who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure. Catholics and Lutherans he burnt together in the same pile, without distinction, and without mercy; those for not acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, these for denying transubstantiation. Amongst the Catholic sufferers we find Margaret Plantagenet, the Countess of Salisbury, and mother of Cardinal Pole, thirteen abbots and priors, about seventy-seven monks and religious persons, besides many of the laity, who were all put to death on the score of the supremacy. Henry had now filled up the measure of his iniquity. The last eighteen years of his reign had been one continued scene of rapine, of insult, of sacrilege, of bloodshed, and oppression. Under the tortures of a guilty conscience and a rotten constitution, he died in 1546.

SECTION XI. *Religious Order of Jesuits.*

WHILE the Church was thus furiously assailed by the spirit of innovation and schism, God, in his providence, called A. D. 1540. forth a religious Order of men for her comfort and assistance in the common cause of religion. The founder of this religious Order was Ignatius of Loyola, born in the year 1491, of a noble and ancient family in Guipuscoa, a province of Spain. In his youth he first followed the court, and then the camp of Ferdinand, the Catholic king. He signalized himself in the defence of Pampeluna against the French, till being dangerously wounded by a cannon shot, he was carried off from the scene of action. The shattered state of his leg confined him to his bed for some time; the hours of confinement seemed long and tedious, his recovery was slow. He wished to beguile the lingering day by some amusement of the mind; he asked for a book; a compilation of the lives of saints

was brought him; he began to read; the spirit of these perfect Christians, their manner of living, their practice of the most heroic virtues struck him; he felt himself strongly moved to follow their example: perishable goods he found were too imperfect to satisfy an immortal soul; a serious reflection upon the sublime end for which he had been created, determined him to toil no longer after worldly honours, which soon must end, but to seek those unutterable joys of heaven, which shall never fail. As soon as he was able to move, he hastened to execute his pious resolutions. Having resigned his military employment, he put on a pilgrim's habit, and retired to the town of Manresa. There hidden in solitude, and unknown to all, he passed a whole year in the exercise of a mortified and contemplative life. There at leisure he revolved in his mind the dreadful havoc which heresy and schism had made in the Church of God; he beheld a new discovered world of Infidels still sitting in the shade of death, without any knowledge of their Creator, and without a preacher to inform them. A glowing zeal for the increase of God's honour and the salvation of souls, inspired Ignatius with the noble sentiments of an apostle. For the accomplishment of his design, he knew a competent share of ecclesiastical learning was absolutely necessary. With this view he quitted his retreat, and at the age of thirty began with school boys the first rudiments of Latin grammar.

The schools in Spain at that period did not excel. Ignatius after having frequented several of them, went into France, and entered himself a student in the University of Paris. The eyes of all were soon turned upon him. So exemplary was his piety, and so instructive were his conversations! Nine academists of different nations, out of similar virtues and talents, formed themselves into a private association with him for their improvement in spiritual knowledge, and the manner of serving God with greater perfection. This the saint considered as a beginning of that apostolical plan which he had framed in his mind at Manresa; a plan too extensive for the exertions of one man, and only to be executed by a corporate society of men, united together by the sacred tie of religious obedience. On the fifteenth of August, the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, 1534, Ignatius led his nine disciples to the church of Mount Martyr, where by vow they consecrated themselves to God for the purpose of promoting the divine service and salvation of souls. In 1537 they repaired to Rome, and made an offer of their services to the Pope, Paul III. His Holiness gave them a gracious reception, applauded their zeal, and, for a trial of their virtue, employed them in the hospitals of Rome and other towns in Italy. In 1540 he erected them into a religious Order, under the title of the Society of Jesus. St. Ignatius was appointed by election to preside as general, and to govern the whole body. The end of this society was not merely to provide for the sanctification of its own members, by following the evangelical counsels, but to preach the word of God, to combat vice in all its forms, to teach, in fine, the principles and practice of true religion in its full extent. For the attainment of an end so comprehensive in itself, so glorious to religion, and so beneficial to civil society, the holy founder has compromised in his written rule all the means and directions that wisdom can suggest to an enlightened legislator.

The written rule of St. Ignatius, commonly called the Institute or Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, is divided into three parts. The first part prescribes the mode of ascertaining the dispositions and the talents of those who offer themselves for admittance into the body. The second part points out the grand religious object peculiar to the society, and lays down general regulations, subservient to the end in view. The third part contains particular rules for the direction of each individual in his respective employment. The sole object which St. Ignatius proposed to himself in instituting this Order, was to promote the glory of God, and the essential good of mankind : this could not be effected to the extent he wished without the united force of virtue and learning: to teach the different branches of polite literature, from the first rudiments of Latin grammar, to the sublime lessons of astronomy ; to instruct children and the ignorant in the principles and duties of religion ; to assist the Faithful, whether rich or poor, in their spiritual wants, and to direct them in the path of salvation, as well by writing as by word of mouth ; to announce the truths of Christianity to unbelieving nations ; and to live in any part of the world, where a prospect appears of gaining souls to God, mark the spirit and design of the Ignatian Institute. In a body corporate a variety of talents is always found ; and where a variety of functions is professedly embraced, as was the case in the society of Jesus, each one had his office assigned him which suited his capacity : and as each one was directed, by specific rules, how to demean himself in his particular employment, we may fairly attribute to this regular mode of acting the success which generally attended the Jesuits in all their functions. If upon trial any one was found unfit for the station he was in, another was appointed to replace him : for all moved with harmony and due submission at the call of their superior. Prompt obedience, where there appeared no sin in the execution, was their characteristic virtue. But whilst the institute traced out the means of succeeding in their religious pursuit, it strictly warned them against every engagement that could divert them from it. To be executors or proctors in civil matters, to meddle with the temporal concerns of others, to engage in commerce, or to act agents in the political affairs of state, was severely forbidden. To the three substantial vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they added a fourth, respecting foreign missions. Their form of government was monarchical, vested in a general, chosen by the body for life. The body also appointed a certain number of assistants to help him in the dispatch of business, to watch over his conduct, and to suspend his power in case of any notorious abuse.

Fame soon began to echo the praises of the new society: its numbers rapidly increased ; in the space of a few years it gained a college or a residence in many of the towns of Italy, Portugal, and Spain. Its growing reputation roused a spirit of emulation in other religious Orders, as well as in the secular clergy. Schools were opened for the gratuitous instruction of youth, the study of the classics was revived, the knowledge and practice of religion resumed fresh vigour.

SECTION XII. *St. Francis Xavier.*

IN the course of this short view of ecclesiastical history, we have occasionally remarked that the ground which religion A. D. 1541. lost in one part of the globe, was usually gained in another. The events that happened in the sixteenth century justify the remark. The great defection in Europe from the ancient faith of Christ's Church, was compensated by the conversion of infidel nations in Asia and America. St. Francis Xavier, one of St. Ignatius's first companions, was the chosen instrument for that glorious work. This illustrious apostle of the Indies and Japan derived his pedigree from a noble family of Navarre; he was born in the castle of Xavier, at the foot of the Pyrenees, in 1506; having gone through the lower studies of humanity in Spain, he went to the University of Paris, where he completed a regular course of philosophy and divinity, and took a master's degree. Under the direction of St. Ignatius he laid the foundation of that eminent sanctity which has raised the admiration of these latter ages. The singular success that accompanied his missionary functions at Venice, Bologna, and Rome, determined the Pope and Ignatius to select him, as most perfectly qualified, for the Indian mission which John III. King of Portugal, was eager to establish. Xavier received his mission from the Pope himself, with the powers of Nuncius Apostolicus, and began his journey to Portugal. He embarked at Lisbon on the seventh day of April, 1541; and on the sixth of May, in the following year, landed at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese settlements in India.

Goa is a considerable town, situated in an island of the same name, originally built by the Moors, and taken from them by the Portuguese in 1510. For the advancement of religion it was erected into a bishop's See, and the viceroy there fixed his residence. Xavier found the city in a most deplorable state of ignorance and corruption. Mahometan Moors and degenerate Christians composed the bulk of its inhabitants: the Portuguese lived more like Infidels than Christians, who having no religious instruction, and being awed by no ecclesiastical authority, lay immersed in a gulf of all those disorderly habits, which the thirst of gain, unbridled lust, and revenge, usually create. To reform this second Babylon was the first undertaking of the apostolical Xavier. His labours were incessant; the grace of the Holy Ghost gave unction and effect to his words. Within the course of a few months he had the satisfaction of seeing Goa wholly changed into a new city, both in principle and manners. From Goa the holy missionary turned his eyes towards the coast of the Peninsula, which stretches to the south, and ends in a point, called Cape Comorin. The country was covered with villages, well peopled, governed by their own chiefs, in alliance with the Portuguese. Though little skilled in the Malabar language, Xavier had the address to make himself understood by the idolatrous inhabitants. His engaging manner, his humility, and readiness to help them, drew their respect and attention; they listened, the grace of God infused understanding, they believed, and asked to be baptized. He pursued his course along the coast, and entered the populous

kingdom of Travancor, near Cape Comorin. Here the harvest of souls was very abundant; in the space of one month, as he himself informs us, he baptized with his own hand ten thousand souls. In a short time the whole kingdom became Christian; the idolatrous temples were every where pulled down, and no less than forty-five churches were erected to the living God. Here the saint seems to have received the gift of tongues for the first time; here he wrought many miracles; he restored the sick instantaneously to health, and raised four from death to life, as is juridically proved. From hence he crossed over to the eastern shore of the Peninsula; and went along as far as Meliapor, where St. Thomas the Apostle is said to have suffered martyrdom. The Portuguese gave credit to the tradition, and there built a town, which they named St. Thomas's, in honour of that apostle.

Ardent in the pursuit of making the name of Jesus Christ known to the remotest inhabitants of the east, Xavier went on board a vessel at St. Thomas's, sailed across the gulf of Bengal to Malacca, and from thence to the islands of Molucca, preaching the faith of Christ in every place he came to. In Malacca he met with a native of Japan, whom he converted and baptized by the name of Paul. Paul accompanied him to the Moluccas, from whence they sailed together to Japan, and landed at Cangoxima, the birth-place of Paul. Japan is a general name given to a cluster of islands lying in the extremity of the east, opposite to China, between the thirtieth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude. The productions of the country in gold, silver, and other precious commodities, afford a lucrative trade to the European merchants. The supreme power of governing is vested in an emperor, under whom several petty kings exercise a dependent power. The Japanese are naturally ingenious, and lovers of science, but miserably imposed upon by their hypocritical priests, called Bonzes, who, under the outward show of Pagan rites and sacrifices, delude the people, and provide themselves with every luxury for the indulgence of an idle and voluptuous life. To these idolaters Xavier began to announce the first tidings of Christianity. Though thousands were converted, yet the progress of the gospel amongst them was not equal to his zeal or his expectations. Besides the strong opposition of the Bonzes, he found that the high esteem in which the Chinese were held by the people of Japan, was the next great obstacle to their conversion. When convinced of the Christian truths, and pressed to relinquish their idolatrous worship, many would ask, if the Chinese had relinquished theirs. Powerful is the influence which example has at all times over the manners and opinions of men; here it was insuperable: nothing could remove it, but the very conversion of the Chinese, whom the Japanese looked up to, as to their masters in religious matters. The time for the conversion of China was not yet come, but Xavier resolved to make the attempt, hoping, that by gaining one populous empire to the faith of Christ, he should gain another. With that religious view he left Japan, where he had laboured two years and a half, and embarked for China. He landed in the island of Sanciano, near the continent, but was permitted to go no farther. It pleased God there to visit him with his last sickness. A burning fever put an end to

his apostolical labours, and opened to him the gate of everlasting rest on the second day of December, 1552.

During the ten years which this illustrious saint employed in the east, for the propagation of the Catholic religion, astonished Infidels beheld the miracles and wonders renewed by him, which the first ages of Christianity had witnessed in the apostles. A new world, converted by the preaching and miraculous powers of one man, idolatrous kings bending their necks to the yoke of Christ, the sound of the gospel heard for the first time in the very extremity of the terraqueous globe, and the Roman Catholic faith established in regions too remote to be noticed by antiquity, are among the trophies of the sixteenth century.

SECTION XIII. *Christianity planted in America.*

THE kings of Spain and Portugal having once discovered the western continent of America, were not slow in forming settlements for trade and the accumulation of wealth. A. D. 1544. Brazil was discovered by the navigators of Portugal, and became subject to that crown; the kings of Spain lay claim to the rest of South America. Their ships sailed up the great river Rio de la Plata, which washes the lower part of Brazil, and derives its source from a large lake twelve hundred miles up the country. Above the town of Buenos Ayres it takes the name of Paraguay, watering a fertile and pleasant country as it flows along. On its banks the Spaniards built towns and forts, at certain distances, to keep the natives in check. Missionaries, chiefly of the Order of St. Dominick and St. Francis, accompanied the adventurers, not only for the spiritual help of their own people, but also for the conversion and civilization of the wild Indians. The Portuguese made settlements upon the extensive coast of Brazil, and opened a communication with the savages of the inland country. About the time that St. Francis Xavier finished his apostolical course in Asia, Father Joseph Anchieta, of the same society of Jesus, began a similar mission in South America. Anchieta was a man of eminent abilities and superior virtue; he laboured for many years with great zeal and success among the Brazilians, was endowed with the gift of miracles, and is called the apostle of Brazil. The missionaries of the Dominican and Franciscan Order, who were employed in the Spanish settlements more to the south, humbly attributing the little success they there met with to their want of talents, applied for help from the fathers of the society. In consequence of that application Anchieta deputed two of his Order to repair thither, and to exert their zeal for the instruction and conversion of the Indians. These experienced missionaries soon discovered that little good was to be done with Indians who frequented the Spanish settlements, where they beheld such scenes of vice and immorality daily exhibited, as led them to think that the doctrines of Christianity were not worth their notice, since they were either not believed, or not attended to by Christians themselves.

The impossibility of removing this scandal from the spot they were in, determined the fathers of the society of Jesus to penetrate

into the very heart of the continent, and there seek the uncivilized Indians in their lonely haunts, far removed from the contagion of European licentiousness. The enterprise was new, equally attended with difficulties and perils: there was a risk of perishing by hunger and want, of being devoured by wild beasts or by men; the event, in fine, was doubtful and precarious. But a firm reliance on divine Providence, which feeds the birds of the air, banished every other consideration from the minds of men, who were solely actuated by the noble motive of propagating the glory of God, and procuring blessings to a miserable race of fellow mortals. The missionaries' first care was to find out the wandering tribes, to familiarize with them, and to gain their confidence, to represent to them the advantages of having a fixed abode, and of enjoying the comforts of a social life. They carried grain, and seeds of different sorts, and tools of husbandry along with them. By example and persuasion, the savages learnt how to handle the mattock and the spade; they began to clear away the brambles and weeds, to delve and till the ground: the soil was kind, a plentiful crop recompensed their labour, and furnished them with food that was new and palatable. These visible advantages drew by degrees a competent number of Indians together, who were willing to remain united, and to form a civil society among themselves. They were then taught to build houses for their habitation against the inclemency of the weather; the delight and comfort which they experienced attached them to the spot. The missionaries having thus gained their good will, began to speak to them upon the subject of religion. Their instructions were well received. Men, who a little before had scarce any thing human in them besides the figure, became good Christians; the virtues of docility, modesty, and industry, took place of the most unruly passions; the precepts of the gospel were practised by them with primitive purity and simplicity.

One Indian settlement, or a Reduction, as it is called, being established, others followed upon the same plan. Amidst the woody and mountainous wilds of Paraguay, an extensive tract of country rose, within the space of a century and a half, into a cultivated and flourishing plantation of zealous Christians. No importation of vice from Europe was near to taint their innocent simplicity of manners, no worldly honours to tempt ambition, no gold nor silver to excite or feed a desire of wealth. Having food and raiment, this happy people coveted nothing more; they served God in unanimity and gladness of heart, without jealousy, without strife and contention, under the protection of the Spanish monarch, whom they were taught to acknowledge for their sovereign. In a country where no rich mines were to be found for traffic, and no manufactories established, the crown of Spain was at a considerable expense in sending the commodities necessary for the support of the new Reductions; the Reductions in return paid an annual tribute, as an acknowledgment of fealty to their sovereign protector, the Catholic king.

For the preservation of right order, the Jesuits introduced amongst them a civil form of government, strictly republican, under the authority of elders chosen by themselves. These elders had the title of Regidores, and in office resembled the Censors of an-

sient Rome, or the Nomophylaxes among the Greeks. The missionaries assumed to themselves no other than a spiritual power to instruct, to baptize, to assist the sick, and to exercise all other pastoral functions, in the same manner as the parochial clergy do in Europe. This in miniature is a faithful picture of the Paraguay mission, as drawn by the pen of Muratori and Charlevoix, who have taken their account from authentic records. By following the same religious system, which first gave it birth, that mission continued to increase and flourish with every Christian virtue, till the spirit of deism and infidelity conspired in these latter days, to deprive the poor Indians of their faith, by devoting their apostolical missionaries to destruction. In order to prepossess the world with an idea that the destructive plan was formed upon a principle of justice and self preservation, malicious rumours of hostile insurrections, of wars, and battles, fought in that remote country, under a detestable king Nicholas, with a view of erecting an independent Jesuitical empire over the whole extent of South America, were forged and propagated. Notwithstanding the absurdity of such a fiction, Dr. Robertson, in his history of Charles V.* has ventured to represent the Jesuits of Paraguay as a body of military and ambitious despots, leading into the field numerous armies, well disciplined and well appointed, with a formidable train of artillery, against the Spanish troops. What degree of credibility is due to that, as well as to the miscellaneous account which he also gives of the Jesuits in general, we may judge from the character of his authors, in whom he seems to place implicit faith. He tells us, "that he has derived the greater part of his information concerning the Order of Jesuits from the reports and quotations of Charlotais and Monclar, two respectable magistrates." The reader is here desired to remember, that these two respectable magistrates were two factious gentlemen of the law, the one attorney-general in the democratic parliament of Rennes, the other in that of Aix, both avowed enemies of the Jesuits. The object of their pleadings was to prepare the way for the destruction of a religious body of men, whose existence was thought to be an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of that jacobinical system which we have since seen realized in France. For this purpose they collected an astonishing mass of materials, from anonymous libels, from slanderous compilations, and malicious fictions, which they clothed in fine language, and published at the expense of truth and religion.

SECTION XIV. *General Council of Trent.*

WHENEVER any violent attempt has been made to alter the ancient doctrines of the Catholic Church, recourse has usually been had to a general council, as the most effectual means for preserving the integrity of faith, and checking the progress of error. This conduct the church pursued against the Arians in 325, against the Macedonians in 381, against the Nestorians in 430, against the Eutychians in 451, against the Monothe-

lites in 680, against the Iconoclasts in 757, and against the Photians in 869. The innovating system of Luther and Calvin called for the like expedient in the present exigencies of the Church. Thousands of the Faithful were seduced from the ancient faith into error, and by example the contagion was daily spreading. To make their new doctrines current, these innovators studiously endeavoured to persuade the multitude that the Church had fallen into pernicious errors, and was exercising a cruel tyranny over the consciences of men; that a tame submission to her authority was the slavery of bigots, and that a practical morality, fettered by her precepts, was inconsistent with that evangelical liberty, which made every man free to regulate his religious practice and belief according to his own private judgment. Upon this foundation Martin Luther raised the fabric of his pretended reformation. In framing his creed he rejected many articles of Catholic belief, and substituted others of his own invention. He denied the veracity and infallibility of the holy Catholic Church, though Christ has expressly promised, that the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, shall remain with her* for ever, that the gates of hell never shall prevail against her,† and that whoever refuses to hear her is to be considered as a heathen.‡ In the holy Eucharist he discarded the ancient doctrine of Transubstantiation, and adopted the unintelligible term of Consubstantiation in its stead. He rejected the Christian sacrifice of the mass, the sacramental confession of sins, some of the canonical books of scripture, the penitential duties of fasting and abstinence, and the practice of evangelical counsels. On the subject of justification he wanders about in a labyrinth of errors the most inextricable, explodes the necessity of good works, asserts the sufficiency of faith alone for salvation, declares the observance of God's commandments to be impossible, makes God, in fine, to be the author of sin, and the primary cause of man's damnation. That a man possessed of talents and theological learning, as Luther was, should fall into such shocking abuses of his understanding, we should scarce believe, if we had not his own word for it. "God's commandments," says he,§ "are all equally impossible." "No sins can damn a man, but only unbelief."|| "God is just, although by his own will he lays us under a necessity of being damned, and although he damns those who have not deserved it."¶ "God works in us both good and evil."** In his eleventh article against Pope Leo, he says, "Believe strongly that you are absolved, and absolved you will be, whether you have contrition or not. Contrition †† makes a man a hypocrite, nay a greater sinner than he was before."

To confirm his followers in an implicit belief of these doctrines, unknown to the fathers of the Church, as he frankly acknowledges, he tells them, that they are his own discoveries, issuing from his own superior lights and knowledge of the holy scriptures. "The gospel," says he, "has been so fully preached by us, that even in the times of the apostles it was not so well understood."†† "The Fa-

* John, xiv. 16. † Matt. xvi. 18. ‡ Matt. xvii. 18. § De lib. Chr. Vol. II.

|| De cap. Bab. V. II. ¶ Vol. II. fol. 434 and 462. ** Fol. 414.

†† Art. 6th.

‡‡ Ser. de ever. Jeru.

thers were all blind.”* “I concern not myself what Ambrose, Augustine, or the councils have said, and what has been the practice of ages.”† The plan he meditated for introducing a new system, at first appeared so full of difficulty and danger, that his mind was distracted with a thousand doubts and fears about it. But he tells us,‡ that God at last lifted him up from the depth of weakness, and so animated his soul with courage, that he boldly withstood the Pope, the bishops, and all the learning of the Universities.

Calvin, his colleague in the work of reformation, is more temperate in his language, though not less hostile to the tenets of Catholic belief. This subtle innovator's doctrines, as set forth by him in his book of Institutions, may be reduced to the following points: 1st, That neither baptism nor good works are necessary for salvation: 2d, That man has no free will: 3d, That Adam could not avoid his fall: 4th, That a great part of mankind is created to be damned independently of their demerits: 5th, That man is justified by faith alone, and that justification, once obtained, cannot be lost, even by the most atrocious crimes: 6th, That the Eucharist is no more than a figure of the body and blood of Christ. From this short statement it appears, that these two dogmatizers, though jarring with one another on some points, agreed in others. Both expressed an equal antipathy to the Catholic Church, from which they had both apostatized; both equally strove to subvert all ecclesiastical authority and subordination. By this they flattered the people with the idea of evangelical liberty, which gave to every man the pernicious privilege of believing and of practising what he pleased. Luther soon perceived the sorrowful effects that resulted from it, as he publicly confessed. “Men,” says he,§ “are now more revengeful, more covetous, and more licentious, than they were ever in the papacy. Every man then willingly performed good works, but now no man says or knows any thing else but how to get all to himself by exactions, pillage, theft, lying, and usury.”|| “What else did the greater part pretend to,” says Calvin,¶ “but by shaking off the yoke of superstition, to give themselves more liberty to follow all kinds of licentiousness?”

A general licentiousness of manners among the reformed was not the only consequence of this evangelical liberty, as they were pleased to term it. The first framers of it had not shown any exclusive right they had of setting up their own private opinions for articles of belief in opposition to the Church. Their disciples thought themselves entitled to the same privilege; hence every one judged himself free to adopt a creed, and a religious system of his own, the source of universal anarchy and confusion. Upon this subject Duluthius, a protestant divine, thus writes to his friend Theodorus Beza, “What kind of people are our Protestants, straggling to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, sometimes to this side and sometimes to that? You may perhaps know what their sentiments in matters of religion are to-day, but you never can certainly tell what they will be to-morrow. In what article of religion do

* L. de serv. arbi.

† L. con. Reg. Angl.

‡ Pref. V. I.

§ Dom. 1. adv.

|| Dom. 26 post Trin.

¶ L. de scand.

those churches agree, which have cast off the Bishop of Rome? Examine all from top to bottom, and you will scarce find a single thing affirmed by one, which is not immediately condemned by another for wicked doctrine." "For with us," says the learned Doctor Walton,* "all are doctors, all are divinely learned; there is not so much as the meanest fanatic who does not give you his own dreams for the word of God."

To check the current of these abuses, and to silence the voice of error, Paul, the successor of Clement VII. published a Bull for the convocation of a general council to meet at Trent, a free city of the Germanic empire. Such a council had been long wished for, but various events had hitherto prevented its being held sooner. To such a council Henry VIII. and Luther himself had made their appeal, though they afterwards refused to abide by its decisions. On the thirteenth of December, 1545, a competent number of bishops and divines, with the ambassadors of kings and princes, being arrived at Trent, the town appointed for their rendezvous, the council was opened in due form, according to ancient custom. Three cardinal legates presided in the Pope's name. The object of the council was to ascertain the ancient doctrine of the Church concerning the points then in dispute, and to procure a reform of morals. The first session chiefly passed in settling the order to be observed in the discussion and decision of each controverted article, as it should come under consideration. It was regulated according to the example of former councils, that each separate point should be tried in its turn, and determined by the sense of holy scripture, by the writings of the fathers, by the decision of councils, and the uninterrupted practice of apostolical tradition, as the joint criterion of Catholic truth. By different prorogations the council was protracted to the year 1563, under five successive Popes, Paul III., Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., and Pius IV., so that nothing can be said to have been precipitately carried on, or finally concluded, but with full investigation and mature deliberation. The spirit of reformation having revived many of the errors that had been advanced and proscribed in ancient times, the council of Trent renewed their condemnation, and by confirming the opposite truths, is, as it were, a compendium of many of the ancient councils. Its canonical definitions of doctrine are expressed in a manner the most clear and precise. Error has thereby received a complete overthrow, and religion a glorious triumph. In vain have the advocates of religious innovation tried to invalidate the authority of this last œcumenical council; its doctrinal decisions are those of truth; they are received by the whole Catholic Church, and will stand inviolable to the end of time. An unfaithful and sarcastical history of the Council of Trent has been written by Fra-Paolo, a fanatical cenobite of Venice; the work has been translated with large additions of falsehood and impertinence by Courayer, an apostate canon regular of St. Genevieve, who, to save himself from a prison at Paris, fled to England, and there died in 1776. We frequently meet with Fra-Paolo's name in authors who, probably, would not be so flippant as they are in

* Pref. to Pol. Bib.

citing him for their voucher, did they but reflect, or, perhaps, did they only know, how little that writer's statement of facts is to be relied on. The real truth of what passed in the council of Trent is to be found in the esteemed history of Cardinal Palavicini, who has charged Fra-Paolo's compilation with no fewer than three hundred and sixty errors.

SECTION XV. *Change of Religion in England.*

IN introducing the innovations of religion upon the continent, evangelical liberty was the cry; in England arbitrary power wrought the change. Henry VIII. by his des-
A. D. 1547.
potic mandates, involved the nation in schism, while he professed a firm adherence to every tenet of Catholic belief, excepting that of the Pope's spiritual supremacy. By setting aside that essential article of faith, he broke the bond of ecclesiastical union, disjointed the whole frame of religion in England, and left it in that shattered state to be taken entirely to pieces under his son Edward VI. Symptoms of Lutheranism had appeared among his subjects during his life time, and some had suffered for it. His death left every one at liberty to declare for that religious system which suited his inclinations. A dissoluteness of manners ran through every class of men, and disposed them to that form of worship which gave the least check to their passions.

Edward had but just completed the ninth year of his age when his father died. Henry in his will named sixteen executors, to whom he committed the management of the state during his son's minority. Edward Seymour, the young king's maternal uncle, now created Duke of Somerset, stood at the head of them. This aspiring nobleman, whose natural disposition was to lie under no control, soon contrived to shake off all his colleagues in the regency, assumed the title of protector, and for some years governed the kingdom with the same despotic hand as Henry had done before him. Somerset underhand had long befriended the Reformation; he was in his heart a Zuinglian. Being now invested with sovereign power, and no longer awed by fear, he openly avowed his principles, and resolved to act up to them. From the nation at large he expected no strong opposition. Archbishop Cranmer ever since his promotion had been a Lutheran in disguise, and the rest of the bishops had temporized too far, in subscribing the king's supremacy, to make a serious stand. Among the privy counsellors and chief officers of state, some few seemed to retain a kind of attachment to the religion in which they had been born and educated, the rest were zealous for a change. But their zeal, as Mr. Hume takes notice, sprung from a rapacious spirit, not from the love of virtue. They hoped to collect from the secular clergy a booty no less precious than what their predecessors had received from the plundered regulars. No public change in the form of divine worship, or in the articles of religious belief, had been yet enacted. A speedy reform in both was resolved on, for which they had two objects in view: the one was to open a door to sacrilegious rapine, the other to widen the breach already made between England and Rome, and thereby to render a

reconciliation less practicable. To prepare the public mind for the introduction of a new religious creed, twelve homilies, fraught with invective and false doctrine, were compiled and put into the hands of mercenary preachers, while all Catholic instruction was laid under strict restraint.

These preparatory steps being taken by the advice of Cranmer, the protector entered upon more effective measures for executing his design. He began by suspending all episcopal authority, and appointing a junto, composed of clergy and laymen, to visit all the dioceses in England, and to make their report. In November 1547 he assembled a parliament, which enabled him by its acts to carry on the work of reformation in a very rapid manner. In the late reign many penal and unpopular statutes had been enacted; amongst them there was one which established six religious articles, to be believed by all within the realm, viz. Transubstantiation, communion under one kind, monastic vows, private masses, celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession: to a denial of any one of these articles severe punishments were annexed, such as burning alive, forfeiture of goods, or imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The protector's parliament repealed this statute, with several others, not only on account of the penalties it inflicted, but of the doctrines it contained, as the subsequent proceedings show. To judge from its acts, this parliament seems to have considered religion as a mere human invention, no longer bearing the stamp of divine revelation, but subject to every change and alteration that the civil power should choose to make in its discipline and tenets. The king's spiritual supremacy was confirmed, and the guilt of high treason denounced against all who should presume to deny it after a given time. The communion cup was allowed to the laity, private masses were proscribed, the king was empowered to create bishops, by letters patent, without the formality of an election by chapter, and the bishops received a general order to issue their writs, and to hold their courts in the king's name. By these parliamentary acts, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was completely overthrown, and the church placed upon the footing of a civil institution; her canons and decisions were permitted to have no other force than what they derive from the legislature. Lest any one may doubt in what sense and to what extent the royal supremacy was understood and exercised both in Henry's and in Edward's reign, Doctor Burnet* has given us an abstract of the commission which Bishop Bonner took from Henry. The preamble runs thus, "Whereas all jurisdiction, both ecclesiastical and secular, is derived from the royal power;" the king, on this ground, authorizes Bishop Bonner, as his vicar, to make the visit of his diocese, and to exercise all episcopal functions therein. Such in substance was the king's licence, on which Mr. Colliert† justly remarks; "After the king has thus declared himself patriarch in his own dominions, has claimed all manner of spiritual authority, and pronounced the bishops, in the execution of their office, to be only his vicars, and no more than his delegates at pleasure, then without question the hierarchy can have no jurisdiction assigned in the New Testa-

* Hist. Ref. V. 1. 1. 3, November 12th, 1539. † Hist. Part II. 1. 3.

ment, nor any authority derived from our Saviour. How extraordinary soever this commission may seem," continues the same historian, "it was certainly complied with, and that by other bishops besides Bonner. Cranmer himself had taken out one of the same form and tenor in the year 1535, four years before Bonner." In the beginning of King Edward's reign it was required that the bishops should renew their commissions. Cranmer in dignity and commission was the first to renew. His commission is dated February 7th, 1546, old style; it is in Latin, worded in the same form as the first, and may be seen at full length among Doctor Burnet's collections.*

The pliant disposition of Parliament encouraged the protector to pursue his projected innovations with vigour. In the following year, 1548, he directed an order to be issued by the council for the removal of images out of the churches, and for the abolition of the pious custom of blessing candles on Candlemass-day, ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, and palms upon Palm-Sunday. These were religious ceremonies of ancient practice in the Church, instituted to animate the faith, and to rouse the devotion of the Faithful towards God: these were now proscribed as superstitious ceremonies. A new communion service was framed by the council, who, in their preface to that work, declared the practice of auricular confession to be a matter of pure indifference. Upon which Mr. Hume† remarks, "that this was a prelude to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity." In these few words, Mr. Hume, with his usual insolence, obtrudes upon the reader a groundless supposition of his own for an acknowledged truth. In his high-sounding language, auricular confession is a mere invention of men, a powerful engine contrived to degrade the laity, accompanied with the priest's absolution, only to ease weak minds from the agonies of superstitious terror, and to enforce superstition itself, by preparing the mind for a relapse into the same disorders.‡ From the positive manner of expressing himself, it would be obvious to conclude, that Mr. Hume had it in his power to produce indisputable proofs of truth for his assertion, and to specify the time when this wonderful invention was first brought to light; by whom, by what means, and on what occasion this powerful engine has been contrived; by what art, by what persuasion, or by what force the whole Christian world, emperors and kings, popes and bishops, the universal mass, in fine, of clergy and laity, have been prevailed upon to submit meekly to the introduction of such a practice. But among all the records of modern and ancient times, no proofs of that sort ever were, or ever can be produced. Every age of Christianity has found the doctrine of auricular confession established by divine authority, and received as an article of faith by all nations who have embraced the Catholic communion. Enlightened by the word of God and the grace of the Holy Ghost, they plainly saw that it was no human invention, but a divine institution; no contrived engine to degrade the laity, but a holy sacrament, ordained by our blessed Redeemer for the remission of sins, when he said to his apostles: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost,§

* P. II. l. 1, No. 2. † Edw. VI. chap. 1. ‡ Ibid. § John xx. 22.

whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained." They believed that a juridical power over sins was then given by Christ to his apostles and to their successors in the priesthood. Now for the due exercise of that power, it is evidently requisite that they have a distinct knowledge of the sins to be remitted, before they pronounced upon them; and this knowledge can be only had from the penitent himself, when he appears at the sacred tribunal for absolution.

The next year, 1549, nearly completed the system of reformation, and reduced religion almost to its present state, both in doctrine and discipline. A new liturgy, compiled in English, and in a different form, obtained the sanction of parliament. Great part of the mass was struck out, and no more of it retained than was consistent with modern doctrines, the ancient belief of the real presence was tacitly condemned in equivocal terms, prayers to the saints were discarded, the celibacy of the clergy was absolutely dispensed with, though recommended in practice. Then did Cranmer's German lady, who had hitherto lain concealed behind the curtain, come forth to public view, and mix in the higher circles of society. These innovations caused no small discontent among the people; popular insurrections in many counties convinced the court, that compulsive rigours must be employed to enforce obedience to the late acts.

The foundation of what was called a thorough godly reformation was now laid; the godly workmen began to pay themselves for the pains they had taken to make it bear. It would carry me too far out of my way to describe the inundation of spoil and sacrilegious rapine, which then deluged the land. Let a few quotations from Doctor Heylin suffice to give the reader a general idea of the impious devastations committed in those days. "Some great men about the court," says that protestant historian,* "under the colour of removing corruptions in the Church, had cast their eyes upon the spoil of shrines and images, and the improving of their own fortunes by the chantry lands; all which they most sacrilegiously divided among themselves." Mention then being made by the Zuinglian party for pulling down altars, "the touching on this string," continues Doctor Heylin, "made excellent music to most of the grandees of the court, who had cast many an envious look on the costly hangings, massy plate, the rich and precious furniture which adorned those altars. Besides there was no small spoil to be made of copes, which being of gold and silver cloth, or embroidered velvet, might be handsomely converted into carpets for their tables, coverlets to their beds, or cushions to their chairs and windows." The same author goes on to tell us, "that through the rapacity of the times, Edward's unfortunate minority was abused even to the highest degree of sacrilege; that notwithstanding the treasures arising from the sale of shrines, images, plate, jewels, and other costly furniture of the demolished altars, as well as lands belonging to chantries, colleges, free chapels, and the patrimony of bishoprics, and cathedral churches, the king was plunged in debt, and that although some profit was hereby raised to the king's exchequer, the

far greatest part of the prey came to other hands; that many private men's parlours were hung with altar cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes; that many made carousing cups of the sacred chalices, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feasts in the sanctified vessels of the temple." Such are the deeds that accompanied the expulsion of the old religion, and characterised the introduction of the new.

SECTION XVI. *Accession of Queen Mary.*

THE Protector had the malignant joy to see the whole fabric of religion overthrown by him, both in faith and discipline. A. D. 1553. But his joy was short; the hand of justice quickly hurled him from the seat of power which he had violently usurped, and more shamefully abused. His plunder of the Church, and introduction of a new form of worship, rendered him unpopular; the removal of his colleagues from their share in the regency had created him many enemies. A powerful combination of discontented nobles was formed against him. They whom he reckoned upon as his friends in the council, suddenly declared themselves his enemies; Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was the secret rival of his power, and a strong opposer of his measures. Somerset then found himself so embarrassed that he was under the necessity of resigning the protectorship. He was soon after arraigned for high misdemeanors against the state, convicted, and beheaded on the 22nd day of January, 1552. Northumberland succeeded him in office and in public crimes. His first act of criminality was in prevailing upon the young king, now in a deep decline, to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the Lady Jane Gray. This lady, who had been lately given in marriage to Lord Guilford Dudley, the duke's fourth son, was of royal extraction, being descended by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, from Mary, Queen dowager of France, and sister to Henry VIII.

Edward died on the sixth of July, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age. The traitorous Northumberland immediately sent to secure the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, but failed in his attempt. Mary was informed of her danger just soon enough to escape it. She retreated into Norfolk, while Northumberland caused the Lady Jane, his daughter-in-law, to be proclaimed queen. The citizens of London heard the proclamation read, but gave no marks of approbation: in other parts of the kingdom it was never read, though archbishop Cranmer and the council had given an order that it should. In and near the metropolis, the pulpit was made to echo the Lady Jane's title to the crown; it had no great effect; even Ridley's eloquence could not draw so much as a single lauditor from his numerous hearers. Ridley had lately been intruded into the See of London in the room of Bishop Bonner.

The general sentiments of the nation were too strongly marked, not to convince the duke, that to carry his point, military force must be employed. He resolved on civil war; he marched an army of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, into Suffolk. Queen Mary, in the interim, had been very active in rousing the loyalty

of her faithful subjects into action. The followers of her royal standard amounted to twice the number of the rebel forces. The duke who had advanced as far as Bury St. Edmund's, seeing no prospect of success, laid down his arms, proclaimed Mary, Queen of England, and resigned himself to her royal clemency. His troops quietly dispersed; he himself was taken into custody, with the chief accomplices of his treason, amongst whom were Cranmer the primate, the Bishops Latimer and Ridley. The triumphant queen went straight to London; loud acclamations of the people welcomed her majesty into the capital of the kingdom; none of her predecessors seem to have ascended the throne with greater marks of loyalty and attachment than Mary. She addressed her subjects in a general proclamation, in which she solemnly assured them, that her system in governing the kingdom should be that of clemency, a system very different from that of the two last reigns. Her lenient conduct towards the rebels who had tried to rob her of her crown, is a striking proof that she spoke sincerely from the natural goodness of her heart, and that she was far from having that sanguinary disposition of temper which the prejudice of party has wrongfully affixed to her general character. In that turbulent state of her affairs she asked the advice of her kinsman, Charles V. That political emperor, in his answer, strongly represented to her how necessary it was for the future tranquillity of the realm, as well as for her own safety to quell the spirit of sedition, by a speedy execution of all those who had been most active in the rebellion, or might be the occasion of new disturbances. The advice appeared to the queen too severe, and to comprise too much to be complied with. She told his imperial majesty, that in the present emergency the claims of mercy were no less to be considered than those of justice, that the plea of thoughtless youth was very strong in favour of the Lady Jane Gray, as well as of her husband the Lord Guilford Dudley, who had been unfortunately decoyed and forced into acts of treason, and consequently that she could not in pity sign a warrant for their death. Nor did the queen confine her royal clemency to them alone. Of the many who were tried and found guilty of rebellion, the Duke of Northumberland, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, were the only persons who suffered death for that dangerous and criminal enterprise against the rights of their lawful sovereign. When brought to the scaffold, the duke professed himself a Roman Catholic, expressed much apparent sorrow for having so criminally sacrificed his civil and religious duties to ambition, and then declared to the surrounding multitude, that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their forefathers.

On the first day of October, the Queen was solemnly crowned in the Abbey church of Westminster, by Bishop Gardiner; her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, bore the crown. Ten days after the parliament met by summons. They began the session by some popular acts respecting felonies and treason; they proceeded next to declare the validity of King Henry's marriage with the Princess Catharine of Arragon, stigmatised Cranmer's conduct for pronouncing the sentence of divorce, and annulled every public act that

had been passed in consequence of it. All statutes made in the last reign against the Catholic religion were repealed, and the form of divine worship was called back to the state in which Henry left it. The late changes in religion had thrown the nation into strange confusion, which required the utmost prudence and discretion to bring things back into the former channel. In that perplexed situation of public affairs the queen stood alone, without a confident near her, not knowing whom to consult or whom to trust. To the time of her accession to the throne, the court, the parliament, the lords of council, had all concurred in heaping insult and disgrace upon her, and in making her share in the sorrows of her injured mother. It was indeed no small consolation to see the tide of popularity turning in her support for the present moment, but how long it might continue so, nothing was more uncertain. The little principle shown by the leading men of the nation, both in political and religious matters, under the last two reigns, convinced her, that little reliance was to be had on them. The only man in the world on whom she could with confidence rely, was the emperor: in all her distresses, him she had considered as her father, as her protector, and her friend. To him she disclosed her thoughts upon the present state of the English nation, represented the difficulties she had to encounter, and requested his advice how to proceed, in order to bring the national concerns of church and state to a happy issue. To strengthen her authority by a suitable marriage, and to reconcile the realm with the See of Rome, were the two important objects that she had in view.

SECTION XVII. *Marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain.*

THE emperor had already signified to the queen, by his ambassadors, that the present state of England made it not only advisable, but even necessary for her to marry, and that she was free to marry whom she pleased; that for his part he should not object to her marrying any English nobleman, as he had instructed his ambassador to tell the lords of the council. The queen, in reply, let the emperor know, that as she considered her intended marriage as a mere matter of prudence, she was ready to marry the man whom his majesty should judge most suitable, and that she would marry no other. The emperor remained silent for two months; he then wrote her a letter, in which he proposed to her, with the nicest delicacy, his son Philip, leaving the refusal or acceptance of his proposal entirely to her discretion, but strictly charged her not to mention the matter to any one, before she had taken her final determination, and informed him of it.

During the emperor's two months silence, the English ministry, who saw the necessity of the queen's marrying, proposed several matches to her majesty's choice, the son of Ferdinand, King of the Romans; the King of Denmark; the Infant of Portugal; Cardinal Pole; Courtenay Earl of Devonshire, and son to the Marquis of Exeter. Of all those who composed the council, Lord Paget and Bishop Gardiner, lord high chancellor, were the only two in whom the queen seemed to place any confidence. By our English histo-

rians, both stand accused of having sold themselves to the emperor for the purpose of effecting a match between his son Philip and his cousin Mary. No grounds appear for such an accusation. Lord Paget warmly recommended the son of Ferdinand or the Infant of Portugal; the chancellor pleaded as warmly for the Earl of Devonshire, and was decided in his opinion against a Spanish alliance. The queen listened in silence to their remonstrances, but entered into no deliberation with them upon the subject, being in expectation of the emperor's answer to her last letter. When his answer came she imparted to her confidential ministers the resolution she had taken to marry the Spanish prince. Then the chancellor, like a true courtier, assumed a different language, approved her majesty's choice, and promised his endeavours to gain the consent of parliament and the council. Monsieur de Noailles, the French ambassador, had narrowly watched the frequent dispatches that passed between London and Brussels: he gave notice of it to his court, and expressed his suspicions, that a matrimonial treaty was privately going on between the Queen of England and the Prince of Spain. The instructions he received in return were, that he should do his utmost to prevent an alliance so much to the disadvantage of France, and to act in concert with those who supported the interest of the Earl of Devonshire. Noailles was active, though not successful in his negotiation. He entered into a close but secret communication with the family and friends of Courtenay, whom he frequently saw, and advised how to act, in order to gain his point. With whatever eye Courtenay may have viewed the queen's personal qualifications, in the crown there were certainly attractives which must naturally awake ambition. Courtenay was of a gay and lively turn of mind, graceful in his person, but profligate in morals. He had the vanity to think, as it is related of him, that he already reigned, if not upon the throne, in the affections at least of his partial sovereign. Noailles, however, in his dispatch of the twenty-fifth of September, 1553, tells a very different story.* He informs us in the queen's own words, that Courtenay's little experience, joined to his incapacity for the management of affairs, and the bad opinion she had of him on account of his folly † and lewd conduct, would always indispose her to think of him for a husband: that she could not, ‡ in fine, consider him or any other English nobleman as a suitable match, because, being all her subjects, she could not from their connexions acquire honour or reputation. Two pages after, the same ambassador writes, that Courtenay's friends, finding there was no chance of his gaining the queen in marriage, turned their thoughts and endeavours to effect a marriage between him and the Princess Elizabeth.

These circumstantial details of an ambassador, no less active than watchful in the business, completely refute the fanciful accounts which the Abbé de Vertot and our English writers give of this political transaction. These authors, who either had not the opportunity, or took not the trouble to consult the original memoirs of Noailles and Simon Renard, the French and imperial ambassadors,

* Ambas. de Noailles, V. II. page 169. * Page 219. † Page 244, Nov. 9th.

have overloaded their narrative with plausible conjectures, and have palmed their own conceits upon the reader for real facts that never existed. Full of their own plausible inventions, they boldly relate not what was, but what might have been. A plausible series of imagined incidents may indeed furnish matter for the light fabrication of a romance, or of an entertaining drama; but that is not the ground on which an historian would choose to build his reputation. Misled by prejudice, or by false report, those writers have not hesitated to assert, that the queen was enamoured with Courtenay, and would actually have given him her hand, had he only met her gracious smiles in the manner she expected; that, to the queen's mortification, Courtenay was prepossessed with the more pleasing charms of Elizabeth, and that the queen, in consequence, took every opportunity of venting her spleen upon a sister rival. To this jealousy, in fine, they attribute the confinement which the princess legally underwent not long after upon a very different account.

Whatever may have been the view of those writers in hazarding these unwarranted assertions, whether it was to depreciate the merit of Queen Mary, or to enhance that of the sprightly princess Elizabeth, certain it is that facts are against them. From authentic records of the Imperial and French ambassadors, to whom we have referred above, it is evinced that the queen, from the very time there was any question of her marrying, had taken the resolution to marry no other than whom the emperor should choose for her; that neither the importunities of the French ambassador, nor the graces of the Earl of Devonshire, ever did or could prevail against that her unalterable resolution; that she never was disposed to make Courtenay her partner in the throne; that the court, which Courtenay and his friends paid to the princess Elizabeth, only began when they found the queen was fixed in the resolution of marrying the Prince of Spain, whom the emperor had recommended to her: that the treatment, in fine, which Elizabeth afterwards experienced and which is called severe, arose not from any envied superiority of personal accomplishments, but from her criminal concurrence, as we shall see, with traitors against the state.

The queen's marriage with Philip of Spain being privately agreed upon between her and the emperor, Monsieur Renard received instructions to concert measures with Lord Paget for carrying it into effect. The consent of parliament and the council was to be obtained. The council was at her majesty's devotion; they petitioned her to marry; the lords of parliament were silent; the commons presented an address, requesting her to marry some Englishman. She graciously thanked them for their advice, and added, "that she alone had the power to make choice of a husband, agreeable to her inclinations, for the welfare of the state, and that in her choice she would be laid under no control." Thus far the matter had been carried on in private audiences with Monsieur Renard, the imperial ambassador. On the seventeenth of December her majesty admitted him to a public audience, and told him, that by the advice of her council she should openly negotiate with him from that day, till the business was finally concluded. The emperor then sent a solemn embassy to England, which consisted of four distinguished

noblemen, with full powers to sign the articles of marriage which had been agreed upon, and were all in favour of the crown of England. The ambassadors arrived in London upon the second day of January, 1554, and upon the twelfth the articles were signed, sealed, and delivered on both sides.

SECTION XVIII. *Rebellion of Wyatt.*

MEN disaffected to government and religion had been very busy A. D. 1554. in prepossessing the nation against the queen's marriage with a foreigner. When it was known that the Prince of Spain was the object of her choice, inflammatory reports were industriously circulated through the country, that the emperor, by way of repairing his losses in Germany, was preparing to make himself master of England. The deluded people in several counties were inclined to riot and sedition; partial insurrections broke out, but without any serious consequence. From the dispatches of M. de Noailles,* it appears that the Princess Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire had a powerful faction, composed of bold and daring persons, who formed the desperate design of forcing the queen either to marry Courtenay, or to let him marry her sister Elizabeth. The conspirators imparted their design to Noailles, who encouraged and promoted it. They moreover communicated to him their plan of operations, which was to raise an insurrection in Devonshire, where Courtenay's interest lay, while Sir Thomas Wyatt should collect an army in Kent, and march against the capital. Noailles expressly tells us,† that the princess was disposed to follow Courtenay into Devonshire, and if the people there could be persuaded to arm in their behalf, that *they would have a good chance for the crown*. The treasonable proposal was actually made in Exeter by Sir Peter Carew, a gentleman in that neighbourhood. Fortunately for the public peace, the traitor had been too hasty in his declaration, before his measures were properly concerted. The Exonians, ever loyal and faithful to their sovereign, arrested and put him into confinement. He found means, however, to make his escape, and to get safe into France, where he met with a civil reception and protection.

Wyatt, better skilled than Carew in the art of doing mischief, had drawn together six thousand men to give effect to his design. He marched straight to London, where he hoped to find the citizens ready to rise in his favour. His sudden approach flung the court into the utmost consternation; ministers, not knowing how the city stood affected, were at a loss what to do, or what to advise. The four imperial envoys stole privately away for fear of being murdered, and embarked for Flanders. To prevent the effusion of human blood, it was resolved that a deputation should go and learn from the rebel chief what his pretensions were. The master of the horse went in his public capacity, warmly expostulated with Wyatt upon his seditious conduct, and tried to talk him into reason. The rebel sternly replied, that it was in vain to talk,

* Vol. I. p. 254.

† Vol. II. p. 310.

that he would listen to nothing till he saw the queen married to an Englishman, and himself put in possession of the Tower of London. The master of the horse went back with this answer, and Wyatt continued to solicit the citizens of London into rebellion.—The queen, who seems to have had more resolution than all her ministers together, thought it of the utmost consequence to gain the corporation of London. She gave an order for the Lord Mayor to convene the aldermen and citizens on a certain day in Guildhall, where she resolved to meet them in person, notwithstanding the risk she ran of being attacked or insulted by the mob. She trusted herself among them with that air of confidence which never fails to touch the hearts of Englishmen, and delivered her harangue to the assembly with such force and majesty, that they all exclaimed as with one voice, “Wyatt is a traitor, we will fight till death in the queen’s service.” This public declaration of the city put an end to the rebel’s hopes of drawing it over to his party; he moved his army from the borough of Southwark, and took a position over against the royal army, which lay intrenched near St. James’s, under the command of the Lords Pembroke and Clinton. They were ten thousand strong. Wyatt, eager to engage, rashly attempted to force their intrenchments; he was repulsed, routed, and taken prisoner. The Duke of Suffolk, who commanded another party of rebels in the interior of the kingdom, was defeated about the same time, made prisoner, and conveyed with Wyatt to the Tower. In levying war against their lawful sovereign, the views of these two rebels were different, their crime the same. The duke’s ambition was to raise his daughter, Lady Jane Gray, to the throne; the attempt brought both himself and her, with her husband, the Lord Guilford Dudley, to the scaffold. Royal clemency had spared their lives the year before; justice to the nation now demanded their execution, to prevent future mischief.

From the Tower, Wyatt wrote to the queen a letter, in which he made a full confession of his guilt, discovered the whole secret of the conspirators, and frankly owned their intention to be nothing less than to place the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. He moreover accused Courtenay of being concerned in the plot as deeply, though not so actively as himself. The princess knew it. This appears evident from the dispatches of M. de Noailles, which were intercepted, and deciphered. This evidence was corroborated by Lord Russel’s son, who deposed, that during the rebellion he himself had been employed in conveying Wyatt’s letters to the Princess Elizabeth. Both the Princess and the Earl of Devonshire had been careful not to appear in any overt act of treason; more than enough was, however, proved to justify their commitment, and to convict them of guilty practices behind the scene. Courtenay was sent to Fotheringay-castle, the Princess to the Tower, from whence he was removed to Woodstock, and there kept in custody for some months, to secure the public peace. This is the treatment of Elizabeth, which is styled harsh, by those historians who wish to conceal the real cause of it, and to cast an odium upon the Catholic Queen Mary.

Rebellion being crushed, and tranquillity restored, the queen

began to make preparations for her approaching nuptials, which were to be celebrated with the consent and approbation of the great council of the nation. A new parliament was summoned for the beginning of May. It met at Oxford; the queen was present. The chancellor acquainted them with her majesty's intention to marry Philip, the Prince of Spain. Articles of the marriage treaty were produced and read; they appeared so manifestly to the advantage of England, that they were unanimously approved and ratified. The important affair was now settled. The queen addressed them in a gracious speech from the throne; frequent bursts of applause interrupted her as she was speaking, and the most flattering assurances were repeated, that the prince, her intended husband, should be received with all the respect due to his high birth and rank. Philip arrived in England on the nineteenth day of July, 1554; the queen was ready to receive him upon his landing at Southampton, from whence she conducted him to Windsor; on the twenty-fifth, the feast of St. James, the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, bishop of that See.

SECTION XIX. *England reconciled with the Apostolic See.*

THE second important object which Queen Mary had at heart, A. D. 1554. was the re-union of her subjects with the holy Catholic Church. No sooner was she seated in the throne, than she began to treat with Julius III. the then reigning Pope, and at her request Julius nominated Cardinal Pole his apostolical legate, with ample powers for that effect. The cardinal began his journey; but the temper of the English nation at that time was such, that the wary emperor judged it highly impolitic to let a Roman legate appear in England so soon after Edward's death. He stopped the cardinal on his way, and would not let him proceed, till the marriage between Philip and Mary should be accomplished. Wyatt's rebellion has plainly shown, that the emperor's caution was well founded. For, says Doctor Heylin,* "It cannot be denied, but that the restitution of the reformed religion was the matter principally aimed at in the rebellion;" in proof of which he quotes the words of Goodman, "Wyatt did but his duty; and it was but the duty of all others that profess the gospel, to have risen with him for the maintenance of the same. O noble Wyatt! Thou art now with God."

The Emperor, in whom the queen placed the greatest confidence, knowing her zeal for religion, constantly warned her not to hurry on matters too precipitately, for fear of irritating the public mind. In compliance with his imperial majesty's advice, she had hitherto done no more than to bring religion back to the state in which her father left it, by procuring a parliamentary repeal of all the innovations made in the Church under her brother Edward. The assumption of a spiritual supremacy was a novelty introduced by her father. Awkward as it seemed for a woman, who is not the head of her own husband, to use the title of Supreme Head of the Church,

* Hist. of the Reform. p. 34, 35.

Mary judged it not safe to lay it aside, but permitted it to be still inserted in all public acts, though she pretended not to any spiritual jurisdiction, which she knew could appertain to none but those to whom Christ gave it. When Henry VIII. from spite to the Bishop of Rome, set up his spiritual pretensions, all the bishops of England with one exception only, weakly yielded to his violent temper, and rushed headlong with him into schism. In the succeeding reign they were summoned by Somerset, the protector, to subscribe a new creed, and to adopt a new form of worship. Some obeyed, some refused. Those retained their Sees in peace, these were persecuted as refractory churchmen, imprisoned, and deprived of their revenues. Amongst these were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Bonnor of London, and Tonsal of Durham. Under this oppression they were found by Mary at her accession to the throne. She signed a commission for a revision of their cause. Upon examination it appeared, that the proceedings against them had been not only oppressive, but illegal; they were consequently released from prison, and reinstated in their respective Sees. The queen gave the great seal to Gardiner on account of his talents and experience, and made him her chancellor and prime minister. A new parliament, well inclined to a reunion with Rome, was summoned to meet in the fall of the year.

In this situation of affairs in England the emperor permitted Cardinal Pole to proceed in his journey. His Eminence sailed from Calais in one of the queen's yachts, and landed at Dover on the twentieth of November, 1554. From thence he travelled by land to Gravesend, where a royal barge was ready to convey him up the Thames to Whitehall. Joyous expectation in some, curiosity in others, drew an immense crowd together, that covered both banks of the river. The Bishop of Durham attended by a numerous nobility, presented to the cardinal, at his landing, the letters patent, which authorized him to exercise his legantine power over the whole realm. Being introduced to their majesties, he delivered to them his credentials, which contained every power that Julius the Pope could give for a perfect reconciliation of the English nation with the apostolic See. After he had passed some time in private conference with the king and queen, the chancellor conducted him in state to the archiepiscopal palace in Lambeth, which had been richly fitted up for him; the archbishop Cranmer being in confinement under sentence of death for high treason.

It was settled that the twenty-eighth of November, 1554, should be the day on which Cardinal Pole should appear in his legantine capacity, before both houses of parliament, and make his pacific proposal to the nation. The king and queen went to the House of Lords, the cardinal accompanied them, the whole House of Commons attended; the chancellor having briefly stated the purpose of their meeting on that day, the cardinal rose, and addressed them in an eloquent and pathetic speech upon the subject of a national reunion with the See of Rome. The august assembly listened with attention and respectful silence. The cardinal finished his harangue and withdrew. The chancellor then expatiated upon the subject, in descriptive language represented to them the fatal effects

of schism, acknowledged and deplored his own past delinquency under Henry, and concluded an excellent speech, by exhorting them to an unanimous acceptance of the offered union, which was at once so glorious to religion, and so advantageous to the people of England. This finished the business of that day : on the next, both houses met to deliberate ; a return to the Catholic communion was moved and unanimously voted. On the following day, the festival of St. Andrew the Apostle, both houses being again assembled, the king deputed the Lord High Chamberlain and the Earl of Arundel, with six knights of the garter, to attend the legate to the House of Lords. The legate, appalled in his robes of office, with all the badges of his legantine authority, entered the house in state, and advancing to the seat prepared for him under a rich canopy, sat himself down on the queen's right hand, the king being seated on her left. A message was then sent to the commons for their attendance. They being come, the chancellor rose and asked, if it was their wish to return to the unity of the Church, and to the obedience due to the supreme pastor thereof. All answering with one accord in the affirmative, he presented to their majesties a petition on the behalf of both houses of parliament, as representatives of the whole nation, expressing an unfeigned sorrow for all that had been done by parliament against the See of Rome and the Catholic religion ; all which they now annulled, and humbly prayed to be absolved from the censures they had incurred, and to be reunited to that body from which they had separated themselves by their misdeeds. The petition being read, the queen in her own and the king's name, besought the legate to grant the pardon and reconciliation sued for. The legate upon that made them a moving discourse ; then rising from his seat, and all, except the king and queen, who remained standing, falling upon their knees, he pronounced in a clear and distinct voice a general absolution over them. The whole assembly with a pious joy answered, Amen, Amen. This done, all rose up and moved off in procession to the royal chapel, where a Te Deum was solemnly sung, in thanksgiving to God for the completion of this religious work. This ceremony regarded the nation at large ; a more special absolution was judged requisite for the bishops and clergy, who had prevaricated in the two last reigns. They stood in a different predicament from the laity ; their guilt was of a more extended magnitude ; the censures they had incurred were of a peculiar kind. The bishops and others of the clergy met in convocation on the Thursday following : the legate went in due form and absolved them, at their humble request, from all canonical censures and irregularities which they had contracted during the schism.

The reunion, though sanctioned by an unanimous vote of the two houses of parliament, had many self interested opponents in the nation, the occupiers of church lands, the married clergy, and devoted Protestants. The first were under an apprehension that they should lose a valuable part of their possessions in consequence of an union with Rome. Their apprehensions were foreseen, and the legate had brought powers with him from the sovereign Pontiff to remove them. In virtue of these powers, as far as concerned the Pope, he insured the church-lands to the lay possessors of them for

ver, with the consent even and at the request of those who had been ispossessed. The legislature by a legal act confirmed the same. On the flimsey credit of Fra Paulo, some of our historians assert, hat Paul IV. the successor of Julius, expressed his displeasure to he queen at the church revenues not being restored ; and Doctor Burnet has ventured to insinuate, that the whole process was a mere raud, which left room for resumption. Doctor Heylin, Mr. Camlen, Sir William Dugdale, the journals of the House of Commons, Cardinal Pole's letters, and a national synod, supply the friends of ruth with better information upon this matter than a Fra Paulo, or Burnet. Of the married and inferior clergy we may reckon two lasses, the secular and the regular. In favour of the first the cardinal egate had discretionary powers to be exercised, as a well-ordered harity should require, and prudence could allow. He was authorized o let them retain their wives, on condition that they performed no sacer- otal function, and possessed no ecclesiastical benefice: both the man nd the woman were likewise to promise not to marry again after the eath of either. To the regular clergy no alternative was left ; they vere absolutely to quit their wives before they could receive absolution.

SECTION XX. *Bishops deposed.*

BISHOPS had been deposed in Edward's reign, because they re-
 used to renounce the ancient faith of the church, and to A. D. 1555.
 adopt a new one. Bishops were deposed in Mary's
 reign, because by their crimes they had disqualified themselves for
 the episcopal functions. The laws of Henry VIII. made it felony
 for a priest to marry. The discipline of the Catholic Church, con-
 formably to primitive practice, made it unlawful for clergymen to
 marry after their promotion to higher orders, and if married before,
 to cohabit any longer with their wives. The Greeks, as we have
 seen, after a lapse of some centuries, broke through the ancient
 canons, and permitted their priests to retain the wives they had
 taken before their ordination. This innovation had never been
 adopted in the west. Many of Edward's bishops lived in an open
 violation of these sacred constitutions ; on this account they were in-
 dicted in Mary's reign, juridically tried, convicted, and deposed.
 Among these the most noted were Holgate of York, Bird of Ches-
 ter, Bush of Bristol, Scory of Chichester, Barlow of Bath and
 Wells. Whether they were treated with too much severity or not,
 the reader will be enabled to judge from the character they bear in
 the annals of English history.

Robert Holgate had been a professed monk among the Gilber-
 tines ; being made prior of Wotton, in Yorkshire, he surrendered
 it to the commissioners in 1540, obtained soon after the bishopric
 of Landaff, and was from thence translated to York in 1544. Being
 a worldly man, he took the liberty to marry in King Edward's reign,
 but stretching the indulgence of the law farther than it allowed, he
 married another man's wife, for which he was committed to the
 Tower, and afterwards deposed under Queen Mary.*

John Bird, bishop of Chester, had been a Carmelite friar. His courtly sermons in support of the supremacy were rewarded with a mitre, and under Edward he took to himself a wife.*

Paul Bush was an Austin friar, who, in reward for his compliance with Henry's measures, was made the first bishop of Bristol. He indulged himself with the privilege allowed by Edward's law, and chose a wife.†

Scory, who, upon the expulsion of Bishop Day, was thrust into the See of Chichester, had from the beginning discovered a strong inclination to the new doctrines; but when removed by the restoration of Day, he made a show of repentance, appeared before Bishop Bonner, renounced his matrimony, submitted to penance, and had a formal absolution, July 14th, 1554.‡ He looked for preferment, but meeting with none, he relapsed, and emigrated.

William Barlow was a canon regular of St. Austin, an obsequious temporiser under Henry, and a zealous preacher of the reformation under Edward. These qualifications first raised him to the See of St. Asaph, and then to the See of Bath and Wells. Under the sanction of a civil statute, in opposition to the canon law, he took to himself a female companion, by whom he had four daughters, all married afterwards to as many bishops.§

Four or five of the deposed bishops, with some of the reformed clergy and laity, to the amount of about three hundred, as it is said, including servants, quitted England, and sought refuge among the Lutherans of Germany. Some of them went to Frankfort, some to Strasbourg, others to Zurich and Geneva. Peace and union were not their attendants. Their quarrels about discipline and doctrine ran very high. Difference of opinion split them into parties; the Puritan declaimed against all religious rites and ceremonies, the Presbyterian against episcopacy, the Independent against pastors in general. Those at Frankfort gave into the German and French novelties, says Mr. Collier,|| they refined to a considerable alteration their own common prayer-book, and declared against a spiritual monarchy. The English at Zurich and Strasbourg not approving of the Frankfort discipline, the Church of Geneva was consulted upon the controversy: Calvin was sole master there; he advised Knox and his Frankfort party to oppose the English liturgy, and to persist in the alterations they had made. To that decision the adverse party would not agree; so by way of compromise a medley service was drawn up and made use of. In that posture of affairs Dean Cox arrived at Frankfort; he exhorted his countrymen to resume the liturgy, as it was established in Edward's reign. His exhortations added fuel to the fire; both parties grew exasperated and were upon the point of coming to blows, when the magistrates interposed, and obliged Cox and his partisans to submit for the present. But Cox being bent upon carrying his point, set to work in a more silent and more effectual manner. He accused Knox of high treason against the emperor.¶ This forced Knox to depart from Frankfort. He retired to Geneva, and was soon afterwards followed

* Athen. Oxon. † Athen. Oxon. ‡ Collier Ec. His. § Athen. Oxon.
|| Vol. II. l. 5. ¶ Fuller Ch. Hist. l. 8.

by John Fox, the famous martyrologist, and several others, who took Calvin for their pattern in their principles and form of religious worship. From Geneva they sent abroad their seditious publications against Government, and caused them to be dispersed in England. The tendency of these libels was to kindle rebellion, in addition to the acts of treason and sedition which the English ministry had witnessed, and patiently dissembled for near two years.

SECTION XXI. *State Offenders executed.*

It was the misfortune of Queen Mary to sway the British sceptre in turbulent times, when the spirit of innovation and se- A. D. 1555.
dition attacked with united powers both her religion and her crown. Severe justice was by her ministers judged necessary to preserve right order, and to secure the tranquillity of the realm. The daring multiplicity of public crimes called aloud for exemplary punishment in the principal offenders. Their punishment was inflicted not by any stretch of regal power, but by the force of existing laws. The number of public executions in Queen Mary's reign is enormously magnified by unfaithful writers, who scarce allow her to have been possessed of a single virtue. They pry into the very texture of her natural constitution, and represent her to their readers as a monstrous compound of every odious quality, both in body and mind: with them it is the sullen, and obstinate, the cruel, the bloody, and bigotted Queen Mary, furiously led by superstitious zeal to persecute, to burn, and destroy her harmless subjects. With what justice such volleys of abuse have been discharged upon her, facts and circumstances will best show. We have seen a faction formed to alter the succession, and to exclude her from the throne: we have seen a rival proclaimed queen in defiance of her hereditary right, and the life of that rival spared, till forfeited again by a second revolt: we have seen a Duke of Suffolk, a Duke of Northumberland, a Sir Thomas Wyatt, a professed Calvinist, heading rebel armies to dethrone her: we have seen an assassin attempting to take away her life, and openly justifying the attempt at his execution.* Her preacher was shot at in the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, her chaplains were mobbed and pelted with stones as they walked the streets; a dog's head was shaved in contempt of the clerical tonsure, a wafer was put into the paws of a dead cat, and exposed in Cheapside, to ridicule the holy Eucharist. Pretended revelations and counterfeited speeches of a hidden spirit, in the wall of a house without Aldersgate,† were employed to alarm the citizens of London, and to raise seditious tumults. When the queen was thought to be with child, and public prayers were ordered for her safe delivery, one parson Rose and his fanatical congregation prayed in the canting form, "that it would please God to turn her heart from idolatry, and to shorten her days."‡ This form of prayer was declared by parliament to be treason; Rose and about thirty of his zealots were taken up and sent to prison. John Fox styles them honest citizens, and Bishop Hooper, by letter, consoled them as suffering saints.

* Collier His. V. II.

† Stow's Chron.

‡ Collier V. II. 1. 5.

Such a series of enthusiastic outrages was pregnant with too much mischief to be overlooked by government. The licentiousness of doctrinal opinions against the revealed truths of Christianity had frequently given birth to rebellions against the state in former reigns, as well as in the reign of Queen Mary. The civil disturbances raised by the Lollards under Richard II. and the two succeeding Henrys, induced the legislature to enact penal statutes against itinerant preachers, and the propagators of heretical and seditious doctrines. To preserve the peace and safety of the realm was the political reason which gave birth to those statutes; the same reason now seemed to require their revival. The question was proposed in the privy council; the Queen and Cardinal Pole were against it, their advice was for lenient measures. The majority judged, that rigid justice was absolutely necessary to intimidate the mob, and to quell the spirit of sedition. The sentiments which the queen expressed on that occasion, were those of lenity and forbearance; a majority of the council thought otherwise, and her majesty, as Mr. Collier* relates, was constrained to yield. In consequence of those penal statutes being revived, many disaffected persons were taken into custody, some for treason, others for heresy. Heresy, when accompanied with a breach of the public peace, has at all times been considered not only as a grievous sin against God, but also a heinous crime against the state. The prisoners were put upon their trial, and had a fair hearing: many of them were legally convicted and executed, as the law directed, but not in such numbers, nor with such aggravating circumstances of cruelty, as Mr. Hume represents, upon the credit of John Fox.

John Fox was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, 1517, studied in Brazen-nose College at Oxford, was chosen fellow of Magdalen, and is said to have been a good divine. But being of a restless disposition, destitute of principle, and fond of novelty, he renounced the religion of his forefathers in the reign of Henry VIII. and became a furious zealot for the new doctrines of John Calvin. He was one of those turbulent innovators who emigrated to Germany and Switzerland in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. To justify his apostasy, as well as to vent his spleen against the Catholic faith, he published a voluminous compilation of what he calls Acts and Monuments of the Church. Of the facts which he there relates, many are so misrepresented and disfigured, that they exhibit little or nothing of the real truth: some of his accounts have no other foundation than in vague report, and his own heated imagination. The list of his pretended martyrs is swelled not only with the names of those who never suffered, or who suffered purely for treason, but even with the names of others who were actually living at the time that he published their martyrdom.† Hence we may justly conclude with an eminent divine of the Church of England, "that where John Fox produces records, he may be credited, but as to other relations, he is of very slender authority." To a factious set of men, who like him had abjured the Catholic faith in which they had been baptized and educated, and who by their crimes, as appears on re-

* Vol. II. l. 5.

† Ath. Oxon. V. I. page 231.

cord, had forfeited their lives to the sacred laws of their country, this famous martyrologist applies the title of Blessed Martyrs, while the rigid Lutherans of Germany, as Doctor Heylin tells us,* could find no fitter appellation for them, than that of Satan's Martyrs. The number of these unhappy sufferers has been greatly exaggerated by those writers who have sharpened their style against the memory of Queen Mary. After a most diligent search, not more than thirteen are found to have suffered throughout England, besides those who suffered in Smithfield. Whatever may have been the number of them, Mr. Hume acknowledges the legality of the proceedings against them, though he censures their violence and pernicious tendency. If we are to judge from circumstances, the tendency of those proceedings seems to have had the security of the state for their primary object. Treason and sedition, under the cloak of religion, publicly appeared in the streets of the metropolis, and roused the citizens to daring deeds of violence. The embers of two rebellions, not fully quenched, but still smoking under the ashes, and glowing for a vent, convinced government that nothing less than the most vigorous measures could prevent a general conflagration. Many of the most active disturbers of the public peace were taken up upon information, were tried, and convicted, both of treason and heresy. The legal punishment of heresy was by fire; a punishment not invented in Mary's reign, nor first inflicted by her in England, as history testifies: it is found in the penal code of most other nations. Whether the execution of so many of inferior rank in Smithfield, and of five bishops in different parts of the kingdom, although juridically convicted, was a political measure or not, the circumstances of those times must be considered: it does not appear to have sprung from a spirit of persecution, as Fox asserts, but from a principle of rigid justice and self-preservation. It was, however, an unpopular measure: and though adopted against the queen's private sentiments, it has raised a loud clamour against her memory, which is heard to the present day. The names of the five bishops who were executed, are Hooper, Ridley, Farrar, Latimer, and Cranmer.

John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, after an academical education at Oxford, made himself a Cistercian monk, but growing weary of monastic life, quitted his habit, turned Lutheran first, then Calvinist, and embraced the state of wedlock. Through the Duke of Northumberland's interest he obtained the bishopric of Gloucester under Edward, and was ordained by Cranmer. Deeply tinged with the puritanical principles of Calvin, he objected to some of the ceremonies prescribed by Edward's ordinal, and at his patron's request obtained a royal dispensation to be ordained without them; whence Doctor Heylin calls him the first non-conformist to the Church of England. Under Queen Mary he was accused of heresy, tried, convicted, and sent to Gloucester for execution. The queen offered him a free pardon if he would but abjure his errors. He remained obstinate: the cruel circumstances of his execution, men-

* Hist. M. page 80.

tioned by Hume, stand on no better authority than that of John Fox.*

Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, received his education partly in Oxford, and partly in Cambridge; went to Paris, and passed some time in the University of Sorbonne. After his return to England he became one of the most zealous and active in the work of reformation. He had a hand with Cranmer in framing the Homilies and Book of Common Prayer, and assisted Fox in the compilation of his Acts and Monuments. When Bishop Bonner was deprived of his See in 1549, he was thrust into his place. On the death of King Edward he sounded the trumpet of rebellion at St. Paul's, and exhorted the citizens of London to declare for the Lady Jane Gray. The rebellion soon sunk, Ridley was committed to the Tower for treason, there he remained till accused of heresy. On this charge he was tried and convicted. The civil court of judicature sentenced him to be burnt at Oxford.

Hugh Latimer received his education at Cambridge, where, by reading the Lutheran books that were constantly sent from Germany to England, he imbibed their principles, but durst not yet avow them. His reputation for talents and learning promoted him to the bishopric of Worcester. Henry VIII. soon after published his six famous articles. Latimer, on that occasion, more honest than Cranmer, refused to sign them, and resigned his bishopric. Henry suspecting him of Lutheranism, sent him to the Tower, and there kept him during the remainder of his reign. The protector Somerset set him free, and offered to reinstate him in the See of Worcester. But Latimer's enthusiasm for the new doctrines was such, that he chose to range through the whole kingdom as an itinerant preacher, rather than be restricted to the limits of a single diocese. His principles of doctrine led him to acts of treason, for which he was imprisoned a second time, and finally executed with his friend Ridley, for obstinate heresy at Oxford.

Robert Farrar was first a canon regular of the Order of St. Austin, then an apostate and chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer. Drawn by the attractives of Luther's indulgent system of religion, both in theory and practice, he married a wife, notwithstanding his solemn vow of perpetual chastity. The Duke of Somerset promoted him to the See of St. David's. His conduct in the episcopal office gave great offence. Upon the fall of that nobleman fifty-six charges of a criminal nature were exhibited against him; not being able to give a satisfactory answer to them, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner to the end of Edward's reign. He was brought to trial under Queen Mary, convicted of heresy, degraded and condemned to the flames by the civil power. The sentence was executed upon him at Carmarthen.

The execution of these state offenders has excited much obloquy, and most bitter slander against the Roman Catholic religion, as intolerant in her principles, and blindly guided by a cruel and persecuting spirit. Whether the charge be justly founded or not, a few

* See Ath. Oxon.

words will suffice to show. The Roman Catholic religion, in fact, allows no discordant tenets of belief among the members of her communion, because, being animated with the spirit of truth, she believes with St. Paul,* that there is only one God, one faith, and one baptism. With persecution and the effusion of blood she has nothing to do. The principles by which she is guided in her faith and practice, are no other than those contained in her public creed and rules of discipline. But in the whole code of ecclesiastical laws, ordinances and decrees, not one can be produced which authorizes any ecclesiastical judge to pronounce a sentence that affects the life even of the most hardened criminal. To enact and execute capital punishments for capital offences, belongs solely to the civil power. The Church, indeed, has her spiritual censures; she has her penitential canons, which tend to correct, not to kill the delinquent; they are calculated to make the sinner sensible of his transgression, to move him to repentance, and to mend his manners. Her punishments extend not beyond the spiritual state of the offender. The sanguinary statutes made for the punishment of heresy, were civil laws of the realm, no canons of the Church; they constitute no part either of her doctrine or of her discipline; consequently, to upbraid and condemn her for the executions in which she has no hand, is neither just nor reasonable. In doctrinal matters she is the supreme judge, appointed so by her divine Founder; to her belongs the prerogative of pronouncing, when consulted, what is heresy and what is not: for she is the oracle of revealed truth; she is the living guide to point out the way that leads to salvation. Whenever the charge of heresy is brought before her tribunal, the allegations on both sides are fairly stated and discussed; the moment that the question is cleared up and decided, she has nothing more to do; her proceedings cease. In case of conviction, it is left to the civil law to take its course, but always with this recommendation, to spare the limbs and life of the delinquent.

SECTION XXII. *Archbishop Cranmer deposed and executed.*

THE superior rank of Archbishop Cranmer calls for a more circumstantial detail of his life and actions to do justice A. D. 1556. to his memory. In doing this it will be necessary, though perhaps tedious, to repeat in part what has been already said of him, on the authority of Protestant writers. Those writers who have singled him out as the glory of England, and one of the chief founders of the reformation,† lavish on him every commendation that accords with the most unblemished and most excellent of characters. “He was undoubtedly a man of merit,” says Mr. Hume,‡ “adorned with candour and sincerity, and all those virtues which were fitted to make him useful and amiable in society: his moral qualities procured him universal respect, and the courage of his martyrdom made him the hero of the Protestant party.” “Archbishop Cranmer,” as Doctor Burnet writes,§ “had a few faults and as many eminent virtues as any prelate for many

* Eph. iv. 5

† Biog. Brit.

‡ Hist. Eng. Q. Mary.

§ Preface.

ages. Those who compared modern and ancient times, found in him so many and such excellent qualities, that they did not doubt to compare him to the greatest of the primitive bishops, not only to a Chrysostom, an Ambrose, and an Austin, but to the fathers of the first class, who immediately followed the Apostles, an Ignatius, a Polycarp, and a Cyprian.”*

These high encomiums must naturally excite a partiality for the man who possesses such eminent qualities, and at the same time must also raise an honest indignation against those who sentenced so excellent a man to the flames. Mr. Hume, as well as Doctor Burnet, doubtless had their reasons for penning the panegyric of Archbishop Cranmer. But panegyric is not always the vehicle of truth: whether it be so in this instance facts must determine. The facts to be produced are acknowledged by Protestant writers,† who relate them, and who cannot be suspected of relating untruths against their hero, and their father, as he is styled by Guthrie. When the question of Henry's divorce began to be seriously agitated, Cranmer openly declared in favour of it, and said that the shortest way of ending the dispute would be to procure a decision from the foreign universities. This being reported at court, the king sent for Cranmer, and in a private conference finding him to be a man of abilities, and devoted to his service, named him one of his agents for the negotiation of his divorce from Queen Catharine.

Cranmer was chiefly employed in Germany; there he studied and embraced the opinions of Martin Luther. Among other divines of the Lutheran schools he intimately connected himself with Osiander, whom Calvin and Melancthon represent as an Atheist, and one of the most profane and dissolute characters then living. Osiander had a niece, some say a sister, who appeared so charming in Mr. Cranmer's eye, that notwithstanding the solemn engagements of a chaste and single life, which he entered into at his ordination, he made her his wife, and at his return brought her with him into England. The king, who knew nothing either of his matrimonial or his Lutheran connexions, had offered him about that time the vacant see of Canterbury, in reward of his public services. The offer, after some demur, was accepted; the Bulls for his consecration were procured from the Pope, whom he had had the art to deceive. The Roman ritual was still in use, and it contained an oath of obedience to the holy See in spiritual matters, which the bishop elect was obliged to take. Cranmer could not avoid taking it, but he was resolved not to be bound by it. When the ceremony of his consecration was going to begin on the day appointed, in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, he withdrew into a corner, made a good and formal protestation against the oath, then returned and took it. This duplicity of conduct on that awful occasion has puzzled some of our historians, how to palliate and how to excuse so notorious a fact, which they cannot deny. “If this seemed too artificial,” says Mr. Echard,‡ “for a man of his sincerity, yet still he acted fairly, and without actual deceit.” Doctor Burnet says, § “If

* Hist. Reform. B. II, l. 11.

† Hist. Eng. V. II.

‡ Fox, Godwin, Strype, Burnet.

§ His. Ref. p. 1, B. II.

he did not wholly save his integrity, yet he intended to act fairly and above board." "But how a man can act fairly and yet not save his integrity," subjoins Mr. Collier,* "is farther than I can discover, and, therefore, with due regard to Cranmer's memory, it must be said, there was something of human infirmity in this management." In plain language, then, according to those Protestant historians, the candid and sincere Archbishop Cranmer fairly and openly, without deceit, and above board, perjured himself. "The device," says Mr. Hume, "was not very compatible with that strict sincerity and that scrupulous conscience, of which Cranmer made profession."

But this artificial management, this something of human infirmity, ended not with the ceremony of his episcopal consecration. During the remaining part of Henry's reign he lived in a constant dissimulation of his religion, in a daily profession and practice of what he disbelieved. Henry exacted a rigorous compliance with every term of Catholic communion, except that of the supremacy; Cranmer implicitly obeyed. Although a devoted Lutheran in his heart, he continued for the space of thirteen years to say mass, to ordain priests, and to direct the administration of the sacraments, according to the Roman ritual. He prayed for the dead, he invoked the saints, he complied, in fine, with all the external forms of Catholic worship. No sooner had he grasped the pastoral staff, than he let himself down by every abject compliance to flatter the passions of a wicked and despotic prince. In virtue of a royal commission, he declared the king's marriage with Queen Catharine null, and ratified that, which the king in his presence had contracted six months before with Ann Bullen. This marriage he also declared void afterwards, and likewise a third with Ann of Cleves, as the king directed him. But his own German wife he kept snug to himself till the year 1539, when, under the apprehension of being discovered, he thought it prudent to send her back to Germany, where she remained to the end of Henry's reign. For it was in 1539 that Henry enacted his six famous articles, the fourth of which enforced the celibacy of the priesthood, under the penalty of death by fire. These articles were purely levelled against the Lutheran tenets; Cranmer, a Lutheran in disguise, subscribed them not to lose the king's favour. This, indeed, was but a small condescension, after he had surrendered to the king all those sacred rights of the episcopacy, which as primate he was obliged to maintain, and was content to act as a subordinate delegate, under the king's license, revocable at will,† in exercising the functions of his Order within his own diocese.

Upon the demise of Henry, he took out fresh patents for the exercise of his episcopal functions, called back his wife from Germany, modelled his religious sentiments to the protector's liking, and prosessed them without disguise; they were a jumble of Luther's principles, blended with those of Zuinglius and Calvin. For the propagation of his heterogeneous doctrines, he invited over foreign searies, recommended them to the crown, and obtained for them churches and professorships. Through him Martin Bucer, first a

* Eccl. His. V. II. B. 1.

† Collier, p. 2. B. III.

Lutheran, then a Zuinglian, was made divinity professor at Cambridge; Peter Martyr, a Zuinglian, was appointed to the same lesson in Oxford; Ochin, an apostate Capuchin, an advocate for polygamy, a Socinian, and at last an Atheist, was employed with Peter Martyr in the compilation of Edward's new liturgy. Doctor Burnet admits all these facts, and in excuse for his hero's conduct, says, "that he did no more than his conscience allowed him." This ductile conscience of the primate led him afterwards, in compliance with the Duke of Northumberland, to acts of treason and rebellion against his lawful sovereign, Queen Mary, for which the privy council committed him to the Tower. In September, 1553, he was brought to trial, upon an indictment of high treason, to which he pleaded guilty. Sentence of attainder passed against him, his ecclesiastical estates were sequestered, and he was sent back to the Tower. An act of parliament confirmed the sentence. Under that sentence he remained a prisoner for two years; and, notwithstanding the heinousness of his guilt, it is thought, on good grounds, that he would not have been ordered for execution, had he not incurred fresh guilt. A public disputation between some Catholic and Protestant divines was appointed to be held at Oxford. Cranmer obtained the queen's warrant to go and be present at it, for he was still a prisoner in the Tower. He chose to take part in the dispute, and maintained positions incompatible with the Catholic faith. He was called upon to retract, and on refusal was accused of heresy, and conveyed back to prison. At the king and queen's request the Pope directed a spiritual court of delegates to try him. The delegates met in St. Mary's church at Oxford, on the twelfth of September, 1555. Doctor Brooke, Bishop of Gloucester, presided. Cranmer being brought before them, the president set forth in a long discourse the crimes of which the prisoner stood accused. The capital charges against him, were his apostacy from the Catholic Church, in denying the Pope's supremacy; his heresy, in maintaining the heterodox opinions of Luther and Zuinglius; his incontinence, in keeping a wife secretly under Henry's reign, and openly under the reign of Edward. These facts he frankly confessed, and defended. There needed nothing more. The whole process was fairly transcribed, and sent to Rome, where it was revised by a committee of the sacred college, and found correct. The Pope, in consequence, pronounced, that he found Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, guilty of the offences juridically proved against him; for which reason he excommunicated him, deprived him of all his ecclesiastical privileges, and commanded him to be degraded and delivered over to the civil power. During the awful ceremony of his degradation, the criminal persisted in asserting his errors, and appealed to a future council.

The unhappy Cranmer was now to be dealt with as the civil law directed. The sentence was death by fire. Severe as this proceeding may seem, it was no other than what he had formerly pursued against others whom he treated as obstinate heretics, for holding those very opinions which he himself cherished in his heart at the time, and afterwards publicly professed.* The scale of justice now turned

* Stow's Chron.

According to his deserts. After his degradation he was removed to the dean's lodgings at Christ Church. Cardinal Pole and others, who pitied his misfortune, and were zealous to save his soul, tried by exhortation to rouse the wretched man to repentance, and to a retractation of his errors. The dread of being consumed by fire, and the glimmering hope of a reprieve, worked more strongly upon his mind than the most pathetic exhortations that were made to him. He signed a formal recantation of all his errors,* desired those who had been led astray by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the Catholic Church, and concluded by protesting that he did this of his own free motion, and for the discharge of his conscience. This declaration had not the effect he expected. The reiterated and public scandals which he had given for such a length of time, demanded a more ample atonement. By order of their majesties, a writ, directed to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, was issued for his execution. The unfortunate Cranmer then gave the last and most signal proof of that insincerity which marks the principal transactions of his life. Seeing no hopes of pardon for him, he drew up another declaration, in which he retracted his former recantation, resumed his former errors, and condemned the Catholic articles, which he had signed before. On the first day of March, 1556, he was brought out for execution; he was first conducted to St. Mary's Church, where he heard a pathetic exhortation to repentance, preached by Doctor Cole, provost of Eton. Being then desired to make a public profession of his faith, he began by railing against the Pope, as an enemy of Christ, and by appealing to a future council; he expressed much regret for having signed an abjuration of those Lutheran doctrines which the hope of a reprieve had induced him to reject as so many errors, and which he now embraced again as so many certain truths; he finally professed his belief of the scriptures, and of the holy sacrament of Christ's body, as explained by him in a treatise upon that subject. Having done speaking, he was led forth and fastened to the stake, where the surrounding flames quickly put an end to his mortal existence. Such was the exit of that unhappy prelate who had brought so much mischief and disgrace upon the English Church and upon himself. The circumstances with which Doctor Burnet† and his transcribers, have embellished the account of his execution, are of two marvellous nature to be believed, or to be seriously related. They tell us, that Cranmer, being bound to the stake, thrust his guilty hand that had signed his recantation into the flames, and there held it till it was burnt away, "before the rest of his body had felt the fire;" and that after his body was consumed, his innocent heart was found among the ashes, entire, and undestroyed. Miraculous must have been the power which could thus control the active flames; and wonderful must be the secret which could exempt the heart from guilt, and make the hand solely answerable for the act which the heart directed. Fox makes no mention of these wonders; hence, it is presumed, that he either had not heard, or did not believe them.

* See Collier.

† Vol. II. B. II. p. 2, Heylin Hist. Q. M.

SECTION XXIII. *Death of Queen Mary.*

By the death of Cranmer the metropolitan See of Canterbury became vacant. The queen nominated Cardinal Pole to fill it. The nomination to vacant bishoprics was an established privilege of the crown for some centuries back. The cardinal made some difficulty at first, but acquiesced at last; the Pope ratified the queen's choice, and expedited the decree of his election, as a testimony which he owed to the learning, piety, and integrity of the primate elect. His eminence on receiving the decree of his election to the See of Canterbury, being only in deacon's orders, was first ordained priest, and then consecrated archbishop in the church of the blessed Virgin Mary of Arches, which is a parish belonging to the diocese of Canterbury. Residence with his flock he knew was the obligation of every bishop: and he thought himself in duty bound to comply with it. The queen would not consent, alleging that the charity which he owed, as primate, to the whole national Church, was more pressing, and could not so advantageously be fulfilled, as when he assisted at her councils for the welfare of the whole realm. For although the nation had been publicly reconciled with the See of Rome, yet religion had not recovered from the strange disorders into which the two last reigns had thrown it. Many and various were the remains of schism and error; the manners of the clergy had not yet regained that respect which is due to their character; ancient discipline was to be restored, and means were to be devised for the repression of vice, and the encouragement of virtue. To promote and establish true religion, the zealous primate omitted nothing which he judged conducive to that end. The moderation and the prudence that guided all his actions, gave him universal credit and esteem. The two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge chose him for their chancellor. Under his influence and direction the sciences were there encouraged, learning revived, and good order flourished, more than under Edward and Elizabeth, as appears from a passage in the statutes published by Archbishop Laud. Before his promotion to the archiepiscopal See, Cardinal Pole, in quality of Legate à Latere, had convened a national council of the bishops and clergy, in which many wholesome decrees were enacted, for the preservation of faith, for the reform of morals, and the observance of ecclesiastical discipline. By his advice Westminster Abbey was restored to the monks, and Doctor John Feckenham appointed abbot. The queen founded eight abbeys more, and endowed them out of the lands of dissolved monasteries, which were still vested in the crown.

England then had a fair prospect of seeing her ancient religion rise again, had Providence been only pleased to grant the queen and primate a longer life. Inscrutable are the designs of God; the licentiousness and immoralities of the English nation were grown to an enormous magnitude. The queen's health for some time had been in a declining state. Her physicians had mistaken a dropsical complaint for the symptoms of pregnancy, and instead of removing had increased the disorder. She died of a slow fever on the seven-

teenth of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole died the next morning, aged fifty-eight.

The abuse which most Protestant historians heap upon the memory of Queen Mary, out of hatred to her religion, is so virulent and so uniform, that if we had not facts to guide our judgment, it would be prudent to pause before we ventured to give her character. The abuse originates with John Fox, the noted martyrologist, whose talent lay in bestowing praise and obloquy, as it suited his purpose, without any regard for truth : his language has been copied by subsequent writers, who, to please their readers, either suppress or misrepresent the laudable qualities of this injured princess ; and lest the impression might wear away by length of time, the nation to its own disgrace, has suffered the slanderous volume of Fox's Acts and Monuments to be linked with the Bible in certain churches, as an antidote against Popery. Hence the injustice is perpetuated from generation to generation, and the bloody reign of Queen Mary is still the dismal ditty of the nursery. Fox, to swell the list of his pretended martyrs, as we have already mentioned, inserted the names of some who suffered for treason alone, and the names of others who were actually alive at the time he wrote.* If blood was spilt in the many executions that happened in Queen Mary's reign, it was for treasonable and provoking crimes, as we have seen : it was in the due course of law, not at the queen's instigation, but in deference to her council, who judged it necessary for the peace and safety of the realm.

Other Protestant writers, more candid and more upright than Fox and the servile copiers of his calumnies, have acknowledged, upon calm consideration, that Mary was a princess in all respects worthy of that high station in which, after many trials and cruel hardships, it pleased Providence to place her. To the inward perfection of her mind nothing was wanting to qualify her, either in a political or a religious capacity. Her father, who was a man of letters, took care to furnish her with proper instructors for a princely education. Lewis Vives, the Quintilian of those times, instructed her in the Latin tongue, which she wrote tolerably well. Her natural talents, though less brilliant than those of her sister Elizabeth, being cultivated by reading and by study, lift her far above that reputation of extreme ignorance which malignant writers strive to cast upon her character. Her political interviews with the artful foailles, her correspondence with the emperor Charles V., her exostulations with the lords of the regency in her brother's reign, her harangue to the Londoners at Guildhall, her speeches, in fine, in the parliament, will ever tell that Mary knew how to write with judgment, to speak with dignity, and to act with more than female prudence. Trained to virtue, under the direction of her virtuous mother, she imbibed those steady principles of piety and true religion which no adversity and no persecution could ever shake. In professing the religion of her ancestors she was firm, but no bigot. The queen's private life," says Mr. Collier,† " was all along strict and unblemished. The other world was uppermost with her, and

* Oxon. Ath. V. I. and Fasti. V. I.

† Ec. Hist. V. II.

she valued her conscience above her crown. She was not of a vindictive implacable spirit." In deliberating with her council on the measures to be pursued by government, she was always inclined to the most lenient. In restoring the Catholic religion, she stretched not the royal prerogative, but acted in concert with the great council of the nation. "She much endeavoured," says Mr. Echard,* "to expiate and restore the sacrileges of the two last reigns. She allowed herself few of those diversions belonging to courts, was of a strict and severe life, and constant at her devotions." To the poor, to the decayed nobility, and reduced clergymen, her bounty was liberal and magnificent; naturally mild, she was a princess never sufficiently to be commended by all men for her pious and religious demeanour.† "She hated to equivocate in her own religion, and always was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or practice for fear or flattery."‡ Here we have a character of Queen Mary, the very opposite of that given by Fox and his partisans; the one is supported by facts and unobjectionable vouchers, the other rests on hazarded assertions and party declamation.

SECTION XXIV. *Elizabeth crowned Queen of England.*

THE Princess Elizabeth was at Hatfield, in Hartfordshire, when A. D. 1559. news was brought her of her sister's death. She immediately hastened to London, where she met with a very flattering reception. Her first public act was to notify to the foreign courts the queen's death, and her own accession to the throne. Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, had orders to notify the same to his Holiness Paul IV. not without some desire, as Doctor Heylin writes, that all good offices might be reciprocally exchanged between them. But the Pope's answer was not of that conciliating nature which the critical state of religion in England seemed to require. Many thought, as the same author relates, that his Holiness was unwarily led to assume a lofty tone by some ministers of the court of France, who, as we have seen, had endeavoured to prevent an alliance between England and Spain, and now sought by their early endeavours to put an end to it. Elizabeth ordered her ambassador to quit Rome without taking leave, and to return to England. By policy, as well as by inclination, she befriended the reformation. Under the direction of Doctor Parker, her mother's chaplain, she imbibed the doctrines of Luther at an early period, and learnt both from him and Cranmer to disguise them under an outward conformity to the Catholic worship. She went to mass with her sister, and "was often confessed," as Mr. Camden tells us.§ In a letter to the emperor, dated December 2d, 1553, she desired him to send her a cross, a chalice, and other ornaments, necessary for the celebration of mass in her chapel. This external show may have imposed upon the Catholics, who were not inclined to judge rashly of her; but the reformists, who had strove by rebel force to place her upon her sister's throne, were well ac-

* Hist. Eng. † Camden Introd. ‡ Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. VIII.
§ Introd. to Eliz.

acquainted with the real sentiments of her heart. Elizabeth at her accession to the crown found the kingdom divided into two parties; the one for the old, the other for the new religion: for many still openly retained the principles they had adopted in Edward's reign, and others had only externally conformed to please their late sovereign. They were ready to conform a second time to please a second queen. Although determined within herself upon the step she meant to take, she judged it prudent to dissemble for the present moment; and by observing a profound silence upon the matter, to keep both parties in suspense, till the meeting of a new parliament, which she intended to be in January. In the interim she seemed eager to gain the good will of all her subjects, by an ambiguous kind of conduct, which was calculated to raise and flatter the hope both of Catholics and Reformists. To amuse the first, she continued to assist at mass; she ordered a solemn dirge to be performed for the late queen, and for the Emperor Charles V. deceased not long before her: to all the Catholic bishops, except Bonner, she gave a gracious reception, and signified her intention of being crowned at Westminster on the fourteenth of January, according to the ancient form, and of taking the usual oaths to preserve the rights and liberties of the Church. For the encouragement of the latter, she called home the Protestant emigrants, issued a proclamation to forbid the preaching of Catholic doctrine, and the elevation of the sacred host at mass; she ordered certain parts of the liturgy to be said in English, and selected some leading men in the Protestant interest to form a kind of cabinet council, with whom she concerted measures for re-establishing the reformation. These indications of a reforming spirit, which many had long apprehended, left now no room to doubt of an approaching revolution in the Church. Under that impression, all the bishops refused to officiate at her coronation, and it was with much difficulty that Dr. Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, could be prevailed upon to perform the ceremony. It grieved him ever after for having done it.

Two months had now elapsed since the death of Queen Mary, and those two months had been industriously employed in smoothing the way for a second change of religion. The dispositions of men were diligently canvassed, staunch friends of the ancient faith were removed from every office of trust, courtly sycophants, ready to veer with every wind, were appointed in their room; the election, in fine, of members to serve in parliament was so managed, to have those chiefly returned who were disposed to concur with the queen's designs. On the twenty-fifth day of January the parliament met; the work they had to do was already prepared to their hands, and waited but their sanction to give it the force of law. The session began with an unanimous vote, that Queen Elizabeth was the true and undoubted heir to the crown of England, lawfully descended from the blood royal: but it passed no act for the validity of her mother's marriage, on which, as Dr. Heylin thinks, her title mostly depended; neither was any thing said of the act which declared the validity of Henry's marriage with Queen Catharine. Elizabeth's title to the crown, in fact, rested not upon the legitimacy of her birth, but upon the order of succession, as settled by her

father's will, and sanctioned by the nation's consent. To try how parliament stood affected to religious matters, a bill was brought in for restoring tenths and first fruits to the crown, and for suppressing the monasteries which the late queen had re-established. The bill passed with little opposition. The privilege of naming to the vacant bishoprics, without the form of an election by chapter, was likewise given to the crown, and the queen was empowered to receive the temporalities of those vacant Sees, on condition she bestowed an equivalent upon the bishops elect out of the impropriations belonging to the crown. From this pliant disposition of parliament, the queen concluded that she might safely proceed in her intended project of bringing the nation back to that reformed system of religion, which had been set on foot in the reign of her brother Edward.

The general decay of morality among the Christians, the neglect of Church discipline, and the impunity of vice in the higher classes of mankind, for many years before the sixteenth century, had called for a reformation of manners. The general council of Trent was still sitting, not only to proscribe the errors of doctrine, but also to correct the depravity of morals, by regulations the most salutary, the good effects of which have been felt to the present day. But the reformation set up by the innovators of that age in Germany, in Switzerland, and England, was of a very different nature; different in its plan, in its motive, and in its works, it undertook to alter the articles of divine faith, which admits no change. Under the plausible, but treacherous pretence of rooting up what they were pleased to call superstition, the plan of these reformers was to pull down church authority, and to lop off such articles of the ancient practice and belief, as laid their sensual appetites under too irksome a restraint. Hence the necessity of good works for our justification, the practice of fasting and corporal penance for sins committed, the use of auricular confession, the virtue of virginity, the observance of religious vows, were discarded, as we have seen, by the Lutheran, the Zuinglian, and Calvinistical tribes of apostate monks, of married friars, and incontinent priests, dogmatizing under the protection of the civil power, and followed by a mob of lawless fanatics. The accumulation of wealth by sacrilegious plunder, was a motive to some, in others it was a desire of indulging their sensual inclinations more freely, that induced them to adopt the new system of religious doctrines. Hence, instead of a reform, a greater dissoluteness of manners and of principle spread through every class of men, as Luther himself observed, and of which he had first given the example. The seizure of sacred property, the profanation of holy things consecrated to the divine service, the devastation of pious foundations, the demolition of churches and religious houses, mark the system of his pretended reformation.

Those works were the natural consequence of his attempt to reform the doctrines of Christ's Church. The attempt strikes at the very existence of a revealed religion. For if it be once allowed to alter or retrench any one article, which the universal Church has always held and taught as revealed by God, men may then begin to doubt of all the rest; for they all stand upon the same divine authority. The authority of divine revelation excludes the very idea

of a reform; because, being in itself correct and true, it can have nothing to reform; it is infinitely raised above the reach of human jurisdiction. It is the indispensable duty of man to submit his judgment to that of his Creator. "Whoever cometh to God," says St. Paul,* "must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that seek him. For without faith it is impossible to please God." Faith is but one:† it is obscure in relation to its object, and is compared by St. Peter‡ to a lamp shining in a dark place. Now this faith is acquired only by hearing,|| and whom are we to hear, but the Church, as Christ commands?§ The Church is the guide whom he has appointed us to hear and follow in all matters of faith. Without her guidance we should be at a loss to know what articles have been revealed and what not; nor without her declaration could we be certain what are the books which have been written by the inspired writers. With her they have been deposited from the beginning, and from her we receive, with humble submission, both the spirit and meaning of them. To remove the apprehension of being deceived by her, our blessed Saviour has given us the most positive assurances, that his Spirit, the Spirit of truth, shall remain with her for ever, and teach her all truth:¶ that she is built upon a rock, and that the gates or powers of hell shall not prevail against her.** After a promise so express on the part of Jesus Christ, to say that the Catholic Church has ever erred in her doctrines of faith, is in other words to say, that Jesus Christ has broken his word, or that he has not the power and the will to support her. It is blasphemy to assert, or even to suppose it. Yet upon that supposition Luther began to raise the tower of reformation, and, for the encouragement of his fellow labourers, roundly asserted, that the whole Catholic Church lay at that time buried under the rubbish of superstition and idolatry.

SECTION XXV. *Elizabeth assumes the title of Supremacy.*

STRANGE as it might seem for a woman to style herself the Head of a Christian Church, Elizabeth resolved to do it by A. D. 1559. a public act of the nation. She had an obsequious parliament, ready to second all her views. A bill, by her majesty's direction, was brought into parliament, to establish her supremacy, in the following style. "Please your Highness, that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdiction, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority has heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of heresies, errors, schisms, &c. shall for ever, by authority of this present parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of his realm." It was also enacted, that an oath, in the following form, should be taken by all who enter upon any civil or ecclesiastical office.

* Heb. xi. 6. † Eph. iv. 5. ‡ Epis. II. i. 19. || Rom. x. 17.
§ Matt. xviii. 17. ¶ John xiv. 16. ** Matt. xvi. 18.

I, N. N. do utterly testify and declare, in my conscience, that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual as ecclesiastical things and causes, as in temporal.

This extraordinary bill, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the queen and her ministers, was vigorously opposed both in the upper and lower house of parliament. As soon as it was read in the House of Lords, Archbishop Heath rose, and in a speech of considerable length spoke with great force of argument against it. In the first part of his speech he enlarged upon the disadvantages that would ensue from a breach with the See of Rome, and then proceeded on indisputable grounds to show, that parliament had not authority to grant, nor the queen ability to receive, that spiritual government of the Church which was then the question in debate. In my study of the holy scripture, said the learned prelate, I have observed a power granted by Jesus Christ, to loose and bind sins. To Peter, the chief and head-governor of the Church, this power was granted, in a special manner; "To thee," said our blessed Saviour to him, "will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven."* Now it should be well considered by you, my lords, whether you have sufficient authority to say unto the queen, To thee we will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If you have, shew your warrant for it from holy writ; but if you can produce no such warrant, be then assured, that your lordships have not sufficient authority to make her Highness supreme Head of the Church of Christ in this realm.

In the second place I read in the twenty-first chapter of St. John the following charge, delivered by our Saviour Christ to St. Peter, in these words, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." Now has this high court of parliament received any grant or commission from God to tell our sovereign lady, Feed you the flock of Christ. If it has, let the world know it. In justice to your own honour, it behoves your lordships to authenticate from scripture the important grant in which the whole national Church of England is so deeply interested. No such grant, my lords, is to be found in the inspired writings. But could so extraordinary a grant to a lay court be possibly found, it would then be necessary to examine, whether a woman be qualified by God's word to feed the flock of Christ. According to the inspired Apostle's doctrine she is not. "Let women," says he,† "be silent in the Church. For it is not permitted unto them to speak, but to be in subjection, as the law saith. It is not seemly for a woman to speak in the Church. I allow not, that a woman be a teacher or above her husband, but keep herself in silence."‡ From these texts, my lords, it evidently appears, that parliament has not the power to give, nor her majesty, by reason of her sex, the ability to receive the supreme spiritual government of Christ's Church in England.

Another essential point of spiritual government is also specified in holy writ, which deserves our notice; it is the correction of notorious sinners, by excommunications and ecclesiastical censures.

* Matt. xvi. 19. † 1 Cor. chap. xiv. ‡ 1 Tim. chap. ii.

If private reprehension has not its effect upon such offenders, denounce them to the Church, says our blessed Lord : * but if they will not hear the Church, let them be to thee as heathens and publicans. The execution of this spiritual charge Christ committed to the bishops of his Church, as St. Paul witnesses.† “Look to yourselves,” says he, “and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost has made you bishops to govern the Church of God.” Before our blessed Redeemer left the earth, and ascended into heaven, he regulated the government of his Church, and assigned to each one the sphere in which he was to move, according to his degree in the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ.‡ Some he appointed to be apostles, some evangelists, some pastors, and teachers. But to none of these ecclesiastical functions is a woman called or admitted. Not being permitted to speak in the Church, or to preach, she is not called to be an apostle, nor an evangelist, nor a pastor, nor a teacher, much less to be supreme Head of Christ’s Church.

On these and other conclusive arguments too long to enumerate, the archbishop conscientiously maintained his opposition to the act of supremacy. Lord Montague seconded the motion. But reason, argument, religion, and the authority of scripture, were lost upon a decided majority ; opposition had no other effect than to show the world, that the bill did not pass unanimously.

By this act, says Mr. Hume, the crown was vested with the whole spiritual power, to be exercised without the concurrence of parliament, or even of the convocation : it might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony. In this act the queen was only denominated Governor, and not Head of the Church : the word governor was adopted in preference, because less harsh to the ear ; but, as he observes, it conveyed the same extensive power which had formerly been exercised by her father and brother. There also was a clause, which authorized her majesty to exercise that unlimited power by commission, given either to clergymen or to a layman, as she should choose. “The thing,” says Doctor Heylin, “seemed to be abhorrent even to nature and policy, that a woman should be declared supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.” To foreign nations it furnished matter for merry jest and ridicule. The fabled story of a Pope Joan at Rome, which had so often been the subject of much sarcastic wit, was now in sober earnest realized at Westminster, in the person of a Queen Elizabeth. Even the gloomy Calvin, friend as he was to every sort of religious reformation, cracked his jokes at the ridiculous idea of a female head set upon the mystical body of Christ, the Church.

The queen felt the keen reproach, and, in order to blunt its edge, issued a declaration, the purport of which was to assure the world, that by the act of supremacy no other prerogative was given to her majesty than what was given in scripture by God himself to all Godly princes, that is, a power to rule all estates and degrees

* Matt. chap. xviii.

† Acts, chap. xx.

‡ Eph. chap. iv.

committed to her charge, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal. If by the act nothing more was really meant than the declaration said, unnecessary then and nugatory was the act itself. Had that been the persuasion of the two opposite parties, who certainly knew its import, they never would have agitated the question in parliament so seriously as they did, the one to oppose, the other to carry a point so new and so important to the English nation. The words of the declaration are indefinite and vague; the words of the act are concise and clear. Their obvious meaning is still the same that it was: and it was to confer upon Elizabeth and her heirs in the crown a supremacy unknown to all her royal predecessors before her father Henry, a supremacy not limited to civil matters or to persons only, but unlimited and extended to all spiritual or ecclesiastical things and causes as well as to temporal, as is expressed in the oath annexed. Hence Mr. Collier draws this just conclusion, that no person, who believes the Pope to be principal of unity, and spiritual Head of the Catholic Church, can possibly take this oath of supremacy with a safe conscience. Yet this is the oath, however jarring with the natural rights of conscience and religion, which is required at this day as a qualifying test to extend our services for the good of our king and country.

SECTION XXVI. *Catholic Bishops displaced.*

THE primary cause of Queen Elizabeth's quarrel with the holy A. D. 1555. See has by some been attributed to the cool reception of her ambassador at Rome, and to the rude reproach which she received from Paul IV. for having assumed the crown under a doubtful title. But if we consider the subsequent conduct and the natural disposition of that princess, we shall discover, beyond a doubt, that she had already taken her determination, and that from her the Catholic religion at all events had no temporal favour to expect. Paul IV. died soon after: if her resentment had been only personal, it should have died with him. His successor Pius IV. made to her majesty the most soothing offers of his friendship; his offers were rejected with scorn. The assumption of a spiritual supremacy, privileged with unlimited powers to reform and model a national Church, both in faith and discipline, as it might please her fancy, and suit the temper of the times, appeared no less flattering to the vanity than to the ambition of an enterprising queen. The title and the office of a spiritual supremacy, such as she wished to be invested with, she knew could not be admitted, if she acknowledged that of the Roman Pontiff. This then was systematically proscribed. A select committee had been appointed to revise and correct the book of Common Prayer, that its use might be re-established, and the liturgy reduced to the same form in which it was under Edward VI. The chief alteration made by the revisers, was the omission of those words which declared against the corporal presence of Christ in the holy sacrament. For as some Protestants differed in opinion upon that point, they were unwilling to drive them out of the communion of the Church on that account, as Mr. Echard relates.

Parliament had no sooner passed the supremacy act, than another reforming bill was brought in to abolish the mass, and to revive Edward's form of divine service. It met with a strong opposition, but was carried in the end, as was foreseen by a court majority. By the will of her supreme highness it was enacted,* that all persons in office should take the oath of supremacy, under pain of forfeiting all their ecclesiastical and temporal preferments, and that none should be admitted to any office without taking the said oath. It also was enacted, that, for the uniformity of the Church service, every minister should use the book of Common Prayer, under the penalty of a heavy fine or imprisonment. Thus in one short session the whole system of religion in England was new modelled, new creeds were coined, the old mode of worship was discarded, and a new one introduced. But never yet has it been evinced, that parliament was vested with a legal power to make such changes in religion, or that the divine truths of a revealed religion were liable to be altered or rescinded at the pleasure of fickle men. Civil institutions may vary with the times; a law of policy may be ordained at one time, and reversed at another, as the legislature judges fit. But by no earthly power whatever can so much as a single iota be reversed from the law of God.† The parliament broke up in May; the twenty-fourth of June was the day fixed for the commencement of the new liturgy in all the churches of the kingdom.

The bishops and convocation had exerted all their powers in opposing the act which established the innovation; and when the act passed, they published a Catholic profession of faith, to guard their flock against the errors of the age. Government, perceiving howaverse the bishops and many of the clergy were to the change, resolved to put them to the test by tendering to them the oath of supremacy. Death and absence from the kingdom had reduced the number of bishops to fifteen. To them, in the beginning of July, the oath was tendered, and unanimously rejected by them all, except Anthony Kitchen of Landaff, who, from the beginning of King Henry's schism, had readily conformed to every change; he is by Camden styled the calamity of his See. They were in consequence deprived of their bishoprics, and put under an arrest. Their cause was the cause of justice and religion. They had committed no canonical fault; they had incurred no guilt against the Church or against the state; they had in a body testified their allegiance to the queen and acknowledged her title. Their only crime was the rejection of an oath, which in the sight of God they judged unlawful.

The test was then put to the inferior clergy, the major part of whom criminally complied. Many, especially of the parochial clergy, conformed against the conviction of conscience, as Echard writes; some flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy change, fancying that all might soon be well again: some erroneously thought, that their compliance might be excused, by their having no other visible means of providing themselves with bread; others weakly reasoned, that by an occasional conformity they might secretly promote the Catholic cause, and be ready to assert it publicly, as soon

* 1 Eliz.

† Matt. v. 18.

as the times would permit ; others, in fine, went headlong on in the free enjoyment of a sensual life, presuming on the delusive hope of a death-bed repentance. Great numbers of the more eminent clergy, who either stood or declined the test, went abroad, and were received in the universities and religious houses of Flanders, France, and Italy. Many found an asylum in houses of the Catholic gentry and nobility, with whom they lived as domestic chaplains, and were afterwards succeeded by missionaries from the colleges abroad. So that the number of non-conformists must have been considerably greater than Camden and Heylin are willing to allow. Mr. Collier* says, So many of the Catholic clergy threw up their preferments, that the Church was under the necessity of admitting mechanics into orders. Other Protestant writers confirm this account. Mr. Wood,† the Oxford historian, says, "It must be known, that in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the university was so empty, after the Catholics had left it, upon the alteration of religion; that there was seldom a sermon preached. In 1564 there was not one in Merton college that could or would preach any public sermon : such was the scarcity of theologists, not only in that house, but generally throughout the University." The persons whom he mentions to have been ejected for their faith out of the different colleges, were so many, that few remained, and those so illiterate, that an order was given for every one to con over the Bible and lessons that they might learn to read them decently in public. The Latin tongue was in danger of being lost ; none but Puritans remained, who could ascend the pulpit with any degree of dignity. These filled the University with Calvinistical notions. This desolate condition of Oxford is noticed in like manner by Jewel and Parker. Jewel, in a letter‡ to his friend Bullinger, says, "Our Universities are in a most lamentable condition." Parker tells the queen, that there are not two men able or willing to read the Lady Margaret's lecture.§ From these accounts, it appears, that the conforming clergy, whatever may have been their number, were not of a shining character, either for morals or for learning.

The violence which was then offered to the freedom and the conscience of the Catholic clergy, seems little consonant with that moderation which the reformers wish to fix upon the character of their favourite Queen Elizabeth. It was a principle with the authors of the English reformation, that every man's only rule of faith is the written word of God, not as interpreted by the Church, but as understood by himself.|| This principle her majesty either abandoned or forgot, when she undertook to force her own new doctrines of belief upon all her subjects under rigorous penalties. Without leaving any room for the exercise of private judgment, or for the dictates of tender consciences, she despotically compelled all her Catholic subjects to renounce at once the ancient faith in which they had been baptized and educated, and, with the cruel scourge of forfeitures, imprisonment, and fines, drove them on like slaves into a compliance with her modelled form of religious worship. Some

* Ecc. Hist. V. II.
§ Collier, V. II. b. VI.

† Ath. Oxon.

‡ May 22d, 1559.

|| See 6th and 20th of the 39 Art.

foreign princes interposed in favour of the oppressed, and requested that they might be allowed to assemble in private chapels, and adore God in the manner they had always done. The queen refused their request, on the ground that a toleration of different religions would endanger the peace of the nation.

SECTION XXVII. *Dissensions in the Church of England.*

AFTER the Catholic bishops were displaced, some considerable time elapsed before their successors entered into office. A. D. 1562. The interval was busily employed by the court in gathering plunder from the Church. Doctor Parker, the favourite and former instructor of Elizabeth, was raised to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. To six of the other vacant Sees were promoted six of those emigrants, who passed over to the continent in the last reign, and returned in the beginning of this. The nomination of these gentlemen, who were reputed champions for the Protestant cause, was calculated to give strength and dignity to the reformation in England. It turned out otherwise. These emigrants came back strongly imbued with the puritanical principles of Zurich and Geneva. From these mitred proselytes of Zuinglius and Calvin, the Puritans, who began to swarm through the land, received encouragement and protection. A schism was thus formed in the very bosom of the queen's reformation, even before it had emerged out of its infant state. From the discordance of religious tenets warm disputes arose, new reforms were proposed, daily complaints against the ceremonies and outward practices of the English Church were exhibited by those who copied John Calvin. The queen, who had learned her catechism in the Lutheran school, thought it proper and decent that several pious usages of the banished religion should be retained to excite devotion, such as making a due reverence to the altar, kneeling at communion, standing up at the creed and gospel, and bowing at the name of Jesus. The altar was furnished with cloth plate, with two gilt candlesticks, and a large silver crucifix in the middle, which remained for some years, as Heylin writes. By the doctors of Frankfort and Geneva these marks of ancient piety were beheld with an evil eye, and scornfully denominated the remains of Popish superstition. They dispersed their poisonous doctrines among the people; the people in many places grew riotous, and proceeded to acts of outrage. They defaced all such images of Christ and his Apostles, and all such paintings, that represented any historical fact in the Holy Bible, as they found in any windows of their churches and chapels. They dragged the altar into the middle of the chancel, mangled the sculptured monuments of the dead, tore down their coat of arms, and carried away the bells from the steeples, as having once been the instruments of superstition. The queen published her proclamations to stop the violences of these fanatics, but at the same time humoured them so far as to order every monument of Catholic piety to be destroyed or removed from public view.

But sad experience showed, that something more effectual was required to compose the differences that divided the reformists

amongst themselves. The Bible alone did not answer the purpose of procuring an unity, while every man was at liberty to interpret the text according to his own fancy. A commission was given to the convocation to draw up a formulary, which might serve as a standard of doctrine, and which all persons, who enjoyed ecclesiastical preferments, should be obliged to subscribe, and assent to. In the execution of this commission, it was recommended that the most general and indefinite terms be employed, as Dr. Burnet tells us, in order to compromise, if possible, the jarring tenets which set the Protestant sects at variance one against another. The convocation met on the thirteenth of January, 1562. The famous thirty-nine articles were then agreed on, approved by the queen, and published, and afterwards confirmed by parliament, "that the reformers might have a constant rule among themselves," says Dr. Heylin, "by which all private persons were to frame their judgments." Several injunctions relating to ceremonies and external practices were published at the same time, to which the Puritans paid little or no attention. Their numbers were too great to be forced into a strict compliance with the royal ordinances. The loose manner in which the articles of doctrine were expressed, left every one in possession of his own opinion. The root of discord still remained, nor was there a sufficient authority in the Church, which was founded on the principle of fallibility, to remove it. From the very infancy of the reformation acrimonious contentions had existed between the Lutherans and Sacramentarians. Those contentions passed from Germany to England. The Sacramentarian party, under Edward VI. thrust into his ecclesiastical articles,* an express declaration against the real presence of Christ's Body, in the holy Eucharist; the Lutheran party, under Elizabeth, blotted it out, and in lieu thereof substituted an obscure explication, which tends rather to encourage than decide the quarrel. The compilers of the English catechism, cautious as it seems not to be too explicit, leave it open for every one to form his own opinion upon this important point, as a matter of mere speculation, and not of divine faith. The Calvinist and Zuinglian are flattered to find the supper of the Lord couched in such terms as to express the pure substance of bread and wine to be contained therein, and nothing more. The Lutheran there discovers the body and blood of Jesus Christ in express terms, verily and indeed taken and received by the Faithful; while the Church of England man is at liberty to choose either opinion of the two which he likes best, though neither can give him security for the orthodoxy of his choice.

"I have always wished," says the learned Grotius,† "to see Christians reunited in the same body, and I once thought the conjunction might be begun by an union of Protestants among themselves. I have since perceived, that this is impossible. They must necessarily be separated into new sects and divisions, amongst whom the canonical primacy of the Bishop of Rome, which Melancthon himself confesses to be necessary for the establishment of unity, cannot be placed. I therefore, and many others with me, plainly see, that

* Art. 29th.

† Last reply to Rivet.

this concord of Protestants can never be effected, unless they are united to the Roman See, without which no common church government can take place; for which reason, I wish, that the separation which has been made, and the causes of it, may cease." But besides the general cause of dissention arising from a difference of ceremonies and tenets among the reformists, a question was started, which affected the hierarchy of the established church. Serious doubts arose, whether the bishops, who had been elected to the vacant Sees, were legally and validly ordained. The legality of their ordination depended on the observance of that form which was first set forth by Edward VI. and now confirmed by Elizabeth, with the sanction of parliament. The validity of their ordination depended on the efficiency of the form itself. The Catholic Church never has allowed the English ordinations to be good and valid, the form being essentially defective.

A report was moreover current, that Parker had received no other than a mock ordination at the Nag's Head Tavern. Many believed it; others called it an idle report, and a mere fiction. Nothing satisfactory however appeared at the time to show the fiction, if it was one. About half a century afterwards, in 1613, a Lambeth register was produced to prove his consecration, according to the form in Edward's ordinal. But this not having been produced at the time it was called for, strong suspicions have arisen that it did not then exist, but has been composed many years after the date it bears. But to stop the clamours of some, and to remove the doubts of others, the interposition of the legislature was judged necessary. The queen caused the parliament to pass an act, in which her majesty declares, that the established form of ordination contains every thing requisite for a valid and legal ordination; that all those bishops elect, who had been consecrated according to that form, were duly ordained; that to remove all scruples and inquietudes about the matter, she, in virtue of her supreme power and authority, dispenses with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may be objected against the bishops elected and made by her authority. This singular act of the legislature then granted to a female Head of the Church of England a much more extended supremacy than ever was acknowledged in the Bishop of Rome. The Catholic Church admits no power in the Pope to alter or dispense with any thing that essentially affects a divine institution, either in its matter or its form. Whether the sober part of mankind seriously thought Elizabeth possessed of such a power, is a needless question.

SECTION XXVIII. *Catholics oppressed and persecuted.*

THE condescensions used to unite the Puritans proved ineffectual. But although no union or doctrine could be procured, yet there was one kind of union, in which the reformists of every denomination most heartily agreed, it was an union of animosity and rancour against the Catholic religion, by them opprobriously nicknamed Popery. Under this cover the Puritan party concealed and strengthened their democratic designs,

A. D. 1564.

which in less than a century brought their royal sovereign to the block. It seems to have been a settled plan of Elizabeth, or her ministers, to extirpate or oppress every individual member of the Catholic persuasion. For this effect a variety of penal statutes was enacted. The violent measures that had raised the fabric of the English reformation, were deemed necessary to preserve it. By an act of the legislature, it was enacted,* 1st, That every person maintaining the jurisdiction of the Bishop or See of Rome within the queen's dominions, incurs a premunire; item, that all persons appointed to take the oath of supremacy by the first of Elizabeth, as also all school-masters, tutors, lawyers, sheriffs, and officers in all courts, on refusing to take the said oath at the first tender, incur a premunire; and upon the second tender, high treason. 2d,† That to absolve, to persuade, or withdraw any one from the established to the Catholic religion, is an act of high treason; that a person saying mass shall forfeit 200 marks, and suffer one year's imprisonment; that a person not repairing to church on Sundays and holy-days, shall forfeit twenty pounds for every month he is absent. 3d,‡ That Jesuits, seminary priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, born in these realms, and ordained by the pretended authority of the See of Rome, coming into or remaining in the queen's dominions, become guilty of high treason, their receivers, aiders, and maintainers, guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy; that all others, not in orders, brought up in seminaries beyond sea, become guilty of high treason; that persons giving relief to any ecclesiastic or seminary beyond sea, incur a premunire; and any person knowing, and not discovering a Jesuit or priest, within the queen's dominions, shall be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure. By these penal statutes, which were enacted at intervals, one after another, a regular system of oppression and persecution was set on foot, which the fretful temper of the times kept up with unrelenting cruelty during the whole reign of Elizabeth.

By the operation of these statutes the Catholic parent was debarred from the natural right he has of giving a Catholic education to his children, either at home or abroad; he was forbid the exercise of his religion within his own house, the exercise of that very religion which, a few years before, was the sole religion of his country, and had been so for above nine hundred years; he was, in fine, compelled against his conscience to join in a new form of worship, unknown to antiquity, and solely established by the civil power. These statutes had a characteristic effect peculiar to themselves: other penal laws are enacted to punish pre-existing crimes; but the sanguinary statutes of Elizabeth first forged the crime, and then sentenced the reputed criminal to a cruel death. He was doomed to die under the guilt of imputed felony and treason, for having conscientiously done an act which in the Christian Church had been ever deemed a meritorious act of charity and religion. Archbishop Parker, a friend to persecution, was for executing the utmost rigours upon all who refused to comply with the established mode of worship. The queen's favourite Leicester, took care to

* 5 Eliz.

† 23 Eliz.

‡ 27 Eliz.

ward off from the Puritans the blow which fell heavy on the Catholics. Parker died in 1575 : Grindal, a Puritan in principle, succeeded. After his death in 1583, Whitgift, a rigid churchman, was promoted to the primacy. The fervent zeal of this prelate, for uniformity of worship, naturally led him to adopt the coercive measures of a despotic government. Besides the terror of penal statutes, the imperious Elizabeth had another engine of oppression, still more formidable, whenever she thought fit to put it into motion. The act of parliament which conferred upon her majesty the title of supremacy, enabled her to exercise the powers annexed to it by commission. At the instigation of Archbishop Whitgift, in 1584, the queen issued an ecclesiastical commission, more extensive and more arbitrary in its operations than any that had yet appeared. This ecclesiastical court consisted of forty-four members, twelve of whom were clergymen, the rest laymen ; any three of them were authorized to exercise the whole power of the commission. Their jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men : their power was to visit and reform all errors, heresies, and schisms, to regulate all opinions, and to punish every breach of uniformity in the public worship ; and their power was subject to no control. They had directions to proceed in the execution of their office, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by any other means they should judge fit, that is, by the rack, by tortures and imprisonment. The punishments they inflicted were arbitrary, directed by no rule. Their fines were often so heavy, as to bring total ruin upon those who had the misfortune to offend. The very suspicion of being an offender was enough to make any man such in the eyes of those inquisitors, who in that case were authorized to administer an official oath, which compelled the suspected person to answer all questions, though tending to criminate himself or his nearest friends. So cruel and so despotic were the powers which the supremacy was supposed in that age to confer upon the crown, and which Elizabeth exercised to their full extent.*

Historians agree, that Elizabeth had an able ministry, but one of the most wicked that England ever saw. There was a Walsingham, a Cecil made Lord Burleigh, a Bacon, and a Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in whose politics she placed implicit confidence, and by whose counsels she directed herself in the most weighty matters of church and state. These ministers, says Mr. Higgins,† having tasted the sweetness of confiscations, designed to make the Roman Catholics desperate by ill usage, in hopes they would rebel and forfeit their estates. But when no real guilt could be found against them, Walsingham, by counterfeit letters, and confessions extorted by pains and terrors of the rack, tumultuated the people with chimerical dangers and sham plots. The Catholics, says Mr. Hume,‡ might most justly complain of a very violent persecution, which for the last twenty-six years of Elizabeth's reign was carried on in a bloody manner. Their cruel persecutors not only doomed them to suffer, but endeavoured even to rob them of the honour and merit of suffering for their religion. They accused them of treasonable practices

* Neale's Hist. Hume.

† Short View.

‡ Hist. Eng. Eliz.

against the state, though with as little foundation as when Nero accused the Christians of having set fire to Rome. The tyrant's aversion to the truths of Christianity prompted him first to slander, then to torture, and to kill his unoffending subjects. Elizabeth had no better grounds to go upon in oppressing and tormenting her Roman Catholic subjects. Religion was their crime; their rejection of her new articles of belief was the real cause why they were condemned to suffer the punishments enacted by the penal laws. Great and respectable are the civil powers, which are established for the good of civil society; they have their authority from God, they command a conscientious obedience to their orders in all matters that lie within their jurisdiction. But these powers have their limits, which they cannot lawfully transgress. There is a superior order of things, to which they themselves are subject. There is the evangelical law, which God himself has established, and which no human power can alter or repeal: there are the precepts of a revealed religion, which all are bound to obey. To the heathen emperors, those anti-christian despots of Rome, Christians paid obedience in all matters that were not incompatible with the law of God. But when a Nero, a Dioclesian, or an apostate Julian, exceeded the bounds of civil power, and invaded the sacred rights of conscience and religion, then the martyrs bled, choosing rather to undergo the worst of sufferings, than renounce their duty to God. Elizabeth found herself armed with sufficient force to proscribe the old religion, and to introduce a new one. Through the strong influence of her royal supremacy, England, from being Catholic, became a Protestant kingdom; yet, among her other titles, she still retained that of Defender of the Faith, which her Father in his brighter days had received from Leo, the Bishop of Rome. The faith which he so gloriously defended against the attacks of Luther, was the Catholic faith, which his daughter was now labouring with her whole might to extirpate from the land. On the sandy foundation of despotic power she erected a new religion, and by law established a new national Church, not cemented like the old one, by the faith of its own illustrious martyrs, but in the blood of her persecuted subjects.

To ascertain the number of those who fell a sacrifice to the sanguinary laws of Queen Elizabeth, would, perhaps, be a difficult task at this distance of time. But I have before me an attested list of some of the many who suffered on account of religion, between the years 1571 and 1603; the list contains the names and qualifications of the sufferers, with the heads of accusation brought against them. Clergymen, 120, were put to death for exercising their sacerdotal functions; five more, with eleven laymen, for refusing the oath of supremacy; eleven clergymen for pretended plots; thirty-three lay persons for entertaining and assisting priests of the Roman communion. Twelve suffered death for embracing the Catholic faith. Numbers were doomed to pine away in loathsome prisons for no other than imputed crimes; many, after a long confinement, were sent out of the kingdom to perish by inches with misery and distress. The rack is acknowledged to have been in constant use, to extort a confession of treasons that were never thought of. The kind of execution

to which the priests in particular were condemned, was not less cruel to the sufferers, than shocking to the spectators. The functions of the priesthood had been ever accounted sacred in the Church of Christ; the performance of the Christian sacrifice called the Mass, the clean oblation mentioned by the prophet Malachi,* which is offered to the Almighty in all nations, from the rising to the setting of the sun, had in all ages been deemed the most perfect act of worship that man can pay to the supreme Being: the sanguinary statutes of Elizabeth branded these holy works with the guilt of treason; the usual punishment of treason at that time was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: it was inflicted on the peaceful ministers of God's altar in a most savage manner. They were suspended from the gibbet, and almost instantly cut down, before the sense of feeling was deadened in them; some had even strength enough to stand upon their feet, till they were violently thrown down upon the ground by the executioner, and ripped up alive by the bloody knife; their heart and bowels were torn out and cast into the fire, their four limbs severed from the trunk, and exposed to public view. Camden, the admirer and panegyrist of Elizabeth, allows, that within the space of ten years of her reign fifty priests were executed in this manner, and fifty-five banished. Liberal as this concession may seem in favour of the truth, it falls far short of the reality. Doctor Bridgewater, in a list he published of those who suffered in this reign, purely for their religion, loss of estates, imprisonments, banishment, and death, before the year 1588, that is, before the greatest heat of the persecution, has given us the names of about twelve hundred. See the memoirs of Missionary Priests, and compare the numbers, the racks, the tortures, and the cause of those pacific sufferers in this reign, with those who suffered for their atrocious crimes against the state in the foregoing reign.

SECTION XXIX. *Catholics true in their Allegiance to Queen Elizabeth.*

THAT the severe treatment experienced by the Roman Catholics of those days should create in the minds of the unin- A. D. 1569.
formed a suspicion of guilt, we cannot wonder. The
virulent invectives repeated against them, and the noble eulogiums
lavished on the memory of the glorious Queen Elizabeth, tend to
strengthen that suspicion. Such was the effect which the slanderous
compositions of Porphyry and Celsus formerly produced against the
Christians of primitive times; and no wonder is it, if similar slan-
ders, originally penned by a Parker, by a Fox, or a Jewel, have
made similar impressions upon the public mind. At that period the
seeds of animosity were scattered amongst the rising generation,
who had not seen the practices, and had never known the real prin-
ciples of the Catholic religion; those seeds were nourished by vulgar
prejudice, were propagated by calumny, and for a length of years
produced the bitter fruits of persecution against an innocent race of
opposed enemies to the gospel, and to government. A more en-

* Chap. i. 11.

lightened legislature has repealed those persecuting statutes, which were a blot in the national character ; but the roots of prejudice are not yet plucked up, an inward ferment still remains, the spirit of oppression is not wholly stifled. On what ground lies the antipathy which Protestants still entertain against the religion of their forefathers, is a matter worth considering. It undoubtedly lies in a misrepresentation of facts and principles.

At the accession of Queen Elizabeth the whole English nation professed the Roman Catholic religion, her title was not questioned, she took peaceable possession of the throne, she bound herself by a solemn oath to maintain the rights of the then established Church ; the bishops in a body did homage to her. The scene quickly changed ; Elizabeth assumed the title and prerogatives of supremacy, she banished the religion which she had sworn to maintain ; she introduced a new creed and a new mode of worship ; she despotically deprived the bishops and clergy of their ecclesiastical preferments, for not conforming to her tenets against their conscience. By an arbitrary mandate the Faithful were deprived of all Catholic instruction from the pulpit, the ignorant were left to learn their belief from violent declamations against the ancient worship. The body of conscientious Catholics then with grief beheld themselves abandoned by their apostate brethren, tyrannically stripped of their natural rights, oppressed by penal laws, their churches occupied by violent intruders, the Christian sacrifice proscribed, and their altars overturned. Under all these grievances their civil allegiance was not shaken ; they stood firm in their Christian duty, giving to Cæsar what belonged to Cæsar, and to God what belonged to God. The bishops silently submitted to be deprived of their Sees, which they legally possessed, and had not forfeited by any misdemeanour. They uttered no public complaint, they raised no seditious cry, they fomented no popular commotions. As prisoners of state, some in close confinement, others more at large, they passed the remains of life, till death called them to receive the reward of their patient sufferings. With loyal sentiments, and a Christian submission to the appointments of heaven, many withdrew from public life into private stations, content to pray for the prosperity of their country, which would no longer accept their service, but on terms inconsistent with the sacred law of conscience.

Protestant historians, judging, we presume, by their own feelings, and ignorant of the true principles that guide the civil and religious conduct of Catholics in general, commonly represent them at that time as engaged in one continued system of plots, of assassinations, of treasons, and rebellions against the peace and safety of the state. By an ingenious combination of ideas, though without any satisfactory proof of real fact, they state a multiplicity of unconnected events as the result of premeditated design. Thus they draw into one point of view the Bull of Pius V., the insurrection of the Earl of Northumberland, the intended rescue of Mary Queen of Scots, her proposed marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, the foundation of English seminaries abroad, and the Spanish Armada, as one uniform design, planned and carried on to upset the throne and title of Elizabeth. For the satisfaction of those who read with reflection,

and decide without passion, a plain statement of facts will suffice to show how little those dashing writers are to be relied on, when they declaim against Catholics, or their religion.

In the year 1563, Pope Pius IV. put an end to the general council of Trent, which by different prorogations had continued eighteen years, from 1545. It ended, as the Lutherans foresaw, in a condemnation of their pernicious errors; on which account the reformists commonly inveigh against this Council with the same vengeance as the Arians formerly did against that of Nice. With a view of warding off the blow which they knew must wound them to the quick, four writers were employed for some years at Magdeburg, in compiling an ecclesiastical history, which is divided into centuries, and was published a little before the dissolution of the council of Trent. It contains a great deal of abuse against the Roman Catholic Church, a strange misrepresentation of facts, unfounded assertions, and heterodox doctrine. Archbishop Parker's book of *British Antiquities* is a weak attempt at the like nature. Pius IV. died in 1565, and was succeeded by a prelate who took the same name of Pius. This Pope had entered very young among the Dominicans, in whose schools he imbibed the opinion which gives to the Pope a power over the temporal rights of kings. It was an opinion much in vogue among the theologians of that age, especially beyond the Alps, though never adopted by the Church, and now universally rejected. Pius V. carried that opinion with him to the pontifical throne. Hoping to effect by severity what his prudent predecessor could not do by moderation, in 1569 he published a Bull of excommunication and deposition against Elizabeth, and declared her subjects absolved by his authority from their oath of allegiance. In the following year the Bull was smuggled into England, and a Mr. Felton had the rashness to fix it on the bishop's gate in London. The English Catholics then had a specious pretext for declaring against the royal title of Elizabeth, had they been so inclined; they had the Pope's authority to renounce their allegiance to her, but they had the good sense to believe, that no such authority could warrant a breach of fidelity to their lawful sovereign. While they acknowledged his holiness to be supreme in the line of spiritual jurisdiction, as Head of the Catholic Church, they also acknowledged her Majesty to be preme and independent in her temporal prerogatives, as Head of the English empire. True to the principle of their religion, which gives to each power its respective rights, the body of English Catholics disregarded and disapproved the Bull, as encroaching upon the civil power, and stood unshaken in their allegiance to Elizabeth. They disliked it," as Mr. Camden tells us, "as likely to draw down a heap of mischiefs upon their heads, and slighted it as a crack of words, that made a noise only."

About eighteen years after that epoch appeared the famous *Armada* of Spain off the English coast. It was a formidable armament, sent out by Philip, the Catholic king, with an intention of making descent upon England, where he had reigned with Queen Mary forty years before. This furnished fresh matter for accusing the Catholics of disloyalty and treason. The pulpit and the press were armed with the most virulent invectives against them, as authors

and abettors of that intended invasion. In the delirium of public prejudice numbers of peaceful Catholics were taken up as suspected persons, and cast into prison ; the penal statutes were enforced and made to take their full sweep ; upwards of forty missionary priests, in different parts of the kingdom, on that occasion suffered a cruel and unprovoked death. Public and private records attest their innocence. The Catholic king's manifesto will evince, to the latest posterity, that the whole enterprize was his own device, undertaken to retaliate for the depredations committed by the English for near seven years, upon the coasts of Spain and his territories in America, as well as to take just revenge for the assistance given by England to his rebel subjects of Belgium. What other motives he may have had for so vast and so expensive an undertaking, whether of ambition, of religion, or revenge for the murder of Mary, Queen of Scots, which he considered as an insult offered to all crowned heads, the motives were his own. The Duke of Parma, governor of the Netherlands, under whose inspection the whole expedition moved, publicly avowed, that neither the Pope nor any English Catholic, as far as he knew, had induced his royal master to engage in a war against her Britannic majesty ; that " his master did not undertake any thing on the Bishop of Rome's account ; " * nor would he suffer any Englishman to be employed in his service, not even of those who had taken refuge within his dominions. The assertion of Mr. Echard, † averring, that " in the Spanish fleet were above a hundred Monks and Jesuits under the superintendency of Cardinal Allen, an Englishman, " is an empty echo of part of those flying rumours, and slanderous reports, which were invented at the time to animate the nation against Spain and its religion. Cardinal Allen at that time was in Rome ; the priests, whom he superintended, were in the two colleges at Rheims and Rome ; the letter, which appears in Speed, under the name of Allen, is a spurious production.

SECTION XXX. *Catholics accused of plotting against the Queen.*

THE political ministers of Elizabeth seem to have been under a continual apprehension, lest by some sudden turn of fortune the Catholic interest might emerge again, as it happened in the last reign, and Catholicity once more become the religion of the country. To secure themselves against such an event, they took care to keep the public in a constant alarm with the cry of Popery, and Popish plots. By their penal statutes they had so interwoven religion and civil allegiance together, that an impeachment in either kind equally served their purpose. No injury will be done to Secretary Walsingham's political character, in marking him out for the first mover of all the iniquitous machinations that were brought forward to vilify and oppress her majesty's loyal Catholic subjects. He makes the whole body responsible for the errors or misdemeanours of individuals ; he attributes their crimes to the principles of their religion ; he turns the most inoffensive acts of religious worship into crimes against the state. He had an active

* Camden, p. 409.

† Hist. Eng.

second and coadjutor in the Earl of Leicester, the intimate though unworthy favourite of Elizabeth. Truth is injured by Walsingham's unjustifiable system of crimination; and history is pitifully disgraced by many of her writers, who transcribe the same criminating system into their narrative.

One of the first discharges of criminality upon the Catholic body, in those times, was taken from an insurrection which happened in the north, under Thomas Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, in 1569. The insurrection sprung not from a religious cause, but from a claim of personal property. Ministerial officers, in the queen's name, had seized* upon some copper mines, which the earl claimed as his property, and did not choose to relinquish. Despairing of redress in a court of justice, he unadvisedly had recourse to arms. In a manifesto, which he published, he sets off by professing his allegiance, and then proceeds to declare, that his intention was not to injure, but to defend the queen's person, to weed out evil counsellors, and to preserve the true religion. His standard was joined by about sixteen hundred horse, and four thousand foot. The insurgents wrote letters to the Catholics throughout the kingdom, requiring their assistance, as Mr. Echard tells us;† but far from joining them, the Catholics freely offered to the queen their purse and person against them. Thus meeting with no encouragement nor support, the earl's partisans dispersed at the approach of the royal army; some fled one way, some another, the earl himself escaped into Scotland. There he remained for eighteen months, partly as a guest, and partly as a prisoner, till the regent Morton, for a sum of money, delivered him up to Elizabeth. He was tried, found guilty, and beheaded at York, in 1572. Before he suffered, his life was freely offered him, if he would but conform to the established Church.

A few weeks before that, the popular and potent Duke of Norfolk likewise suffered for an attempt purely political, into which his own ambition, and the treachery of ministers, betrayed him. He aspired to a marriage with Mary, the captive Queen of Scotland. The English ministry maliciously contrived to have the proposal made to him, with a design of effecting his ruin, should he give into the snare. His grace's father and grandfather had appeared at the head of the Catholic party, and he himself, though a professed Protestant, was thought to be a secret friend to the Catholic interest. This unpardonable sin, in addition to his high rank and popularity, rendered him the object of ministerial jealousy. Vanity blindly led him into the pit that was dug for his destruction. His consent to marry the Queen of Scots was construed into a formal conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant religion. On that ground the duke was accused, condemned, and beheaded, on the second of June, 1572.

Mr. Camden‡ has taken no small pains to connect the Duke of Norfolk's case with the Pope's deposing Bull, with the Spaniard's design upon England, and the northern insurrection, as forming one continued chain of conspiracies against the British queen. By way of proof he cites a long passage, taken, as he says, from the life of

* Stow. † Hist. Eng. V. II.

‡ Hist. Eliz. An. 1572.

Pius Quintus, written by Hieronymo Catena, secretary to Cardinal Alexandrino, Pius's nephew. The passage throws such a variety of facts and incredible assertions so clumsily together, that it has more the appearance of a forged piece from Walsingham's cabinet, than from the study of an Italian writer. The supposed correspondence between Pius V. and his Grace of Norfolk is flatly contradicted by the solemn declarations of Queen Mary, and the duke himself. If for a moment we suppose the Pope to have engaged in the conspiracy laid to his charge, is it probable that for its execution he would have chosen the man who ever professed himself an enemy to the Catholic faith? Scarce were ten days come and gone, continues Camden, when four deputies arrived from court, to expostulate with the Queen of Scots, by way of accusation, upon the various heads that were objected to her. Her Scottish majesty denied the allegations, and solemnly averred, that she had never done nor consented to any thing against the regal rights of the Queen of England. Her epistolary correspondence with Pius she acknowledged, but said, it was on spiritual matters only. Her pecuniary transactions, through the agency of Ridolpho, an Italian merchant in London, she likewise owned, but denied it to have been for any seditious purposes. The case was briefly this. Mary, Queen of Scotland, had been driven by her rebel subjects to seek an asylum in England. There, instead of hospitality and protection, due to distress majesty, she found a prison. A jealous and cruel rival of her beauty left her destitute of money, and even of the common necessities of life. Her distress and severe treatment being reported through the world, a general compassion sprung up in the breasts of foreign princes, and considerable sums for her use were remitted from Rome, from Madrid, and Brussels. They were the sums of benevolent humanity, conveyed through the hands of Ridolpho, an Italian merchant, to a dethroned queen; they were an alms charitably sent to relieve her wants, not to fee sedition or rebellion against Elizabeth, as Camden has rashly ventured to assert; but something of the sort was to be asserted by him in excuse of the censured conduct of his favourite princess. Walsingham, who had his spies in every corner, ordered Ridolpho and some others to be taken into custody, as persons suspected of treasonable practices. They underwent a strict examination, nothing criminal could be proved against them; after a short confinement they were set at liberty.

The unfortunate Queen of Scotland still remained under close confinement. An association of English gentlemen, about fourteen in number, who knew how to feel for an injured princess; formed a plan for rescuing her out of the hands of her enemies, who now began to talk of taking away her life. The undertaking, which had pure humanity for its motive, by our historians is called Babington's conspiracy. By whatever name be it called, it was no conspiracy against the state or established Church. It was a private undertaking, dictated by compassion, to free an innocent queen from prison, and to save her life. Walsingham had notice of it; he deputed two of his spies, whom he had in constant pay, to associate with Babington and his companions, to sift out their whole plan, and to inform him of it. These crafty dissemblers, says Camden, egged on the young

gentlemen, till the plot was ripe for a discovery. They were then taken up at the time agreed on, indicted for treason, condemned, and executed in 1586. Walsingham and his spies had a fair opportunity of giving to Babington's plot any extent of criminality they pleased, for the sake of rendering the Catholic name as odious as possible to the nation. Whether from this or from any other fallacious source of intelligence, Mr. Camden has taken his account, we presume not to say: but without giving the least hint of any other proof, he has ventured to assert, that four of Babington's associates had bound themselves by oath to assassinate Elizabeth. The assertion still remains, like many others, wholly void of proof.

SECTION XXXI. *Catholic Colleges abroad.*

THE wicked and oppressive policy of Walsingham and his friends, in the council, seems to have had for its aim nothing less than the total extirpation of the Catholic religion from the kingdom of England. The continued rumour of Popish plots, the multiplicity of penal laws, bloody executions, and the confessions of the sufferers, either forged or extorted by the rack, were all wonderfully combined to persuade the multitude, that in the Catholic body there was a settled system of principles and doctrine which rendered their existence dangerous to civil society. The persuasion, falsely grounded as it was, fixed its roots deep in the minds of men at that time, which neither reason nor common sense, aided by experience, has been yet able to eradicate. The intolerant spirit of that and the succeeding age totally suppressed the worship and profession of the Catholic faith; it could no otherwise be exercised than by stealth in private houses, and that with great risk; no Catholic was suffered to take upon himself the office of a public or a private teacher; no schools were open but to those who conformed to the new mode of worship; ignorance or perversion was the sad alternative which Catholic parents had to choose for their children; the persecuting plan was laid to extinguish the very name of Catholic in one generation. Such was the plan of Severus, the imperial tyrant of Rome, in the third century. But the eye of Providence was still open upon its once most Catholic isle, and in spite of human decrees, with all their instruments of terror, has been pleased to preserve a precious remnant of its ancient faith.

Doctor William Allen, once of Oriel College, in Oxford, and afterwards vested with the Roman purple, being driven like many others from his country, to preserve his faith, formed a plan for collecting the scattered exiles together, with a view of establishing English colleges upon the continent, for the education of youth, and of providing a succession in the sacred ministry for the spiritual assistance of the Catholics in England. Alms were collected; a house was purchased in the town of Doway, for the reception of English students and masters; schools were opened in 1568; kind Providence blessed the undertaking; in a short time the numbers that composed the rising college amounted to a hundred and fifty. Doway then formed a part of the Spanish Netherlands; the townsmen after some time grew jealous of their English guests, beheld

them with an hostile eye, and insisted upon their being expelled. The magistrates did all in their power to restore a good understanding; but the mob was violent, and deaf to all remonstrances. Then, for the sake of peace, and to prevent mischief, the college spontaneously took the resolution of removing out of the Spanish dominions. It retired to Rheims in 1578, where it continued to flourish for fifteen years, under the protection of the Guise family. In the year 1593 it went back to Doway, and became a fruitful seminary of learning and religion, till the late revolution in France. Soon after the foundation of the English college at Doway, other establishments of the like nature were made at Valladolid, at Sevil, at Rome, and St. Omers. These owe their rise, says Mr. Dodd, to the zeal and industry of Father Robert Parsons, who, from being a Fellow of Baliol College, in Oxford, became a Catholic, and then a Jesuit at Rome; he was connected in habits of intimate friendship with Cardinal Allen. Through his interest funds were obtained from the courts of Rome and Madrid for the support of the newly erected colleges. The erection of these colleges presented nothing inimical to the civil constitution and government of England. They were the pacific nurseries of piety and learning, solely instituted for the preservation of a religion, which oppressive laws forbid to show itself in England. These religious establishments were not likely to escape the notice or the vengeance of Walsingham. Fresh statutes were enacted to prevent or to check their growth.

Besides these foreign subjects of religious jealousy, there was one at home, which gave the Anti-catholic party no less uneasiness: it was a treaty of marriage between the queen and the Duke of Anjou. The duke came to England, and so closely urged his suit, that it was thought to be upon the point of being concluded. Protestant bigots considered it as one of the greatest evils that could befall the nation, a prelude to toleration of the catholic religion: they wished to prevent its taking place. The fertile genius of Walsingham was never at a loss for some political contrivance to work his ends. From the erection of English seminaries abroad, he took the advantage of making them subservient to his design of breaking off the Queen's match with the Duke of Anjou. He sounded the usual alarm of Popery; he had his partisans to repeat the sound from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. He represented the two colleges of Rome and Rheims as seminaries of treason and sedition, and published to the nation, that he had discovered an infernal plot, there concerted for the destruction of Elizabeth and her government; and that the missionaries in England had pledged themselves, by oath, to the Roman Pontiff, for the execution of it. That wicked minister had his spies,* some as servants and some as students, in both those houses, for the purpose of collecting matter to give his accusations the appearance of truth: he had, moreover, in his pay, a band of swearers, whose business it was to lodge informations, and to procure false witnesses for their support. Of these wretches, the most notorious was one Elliot, who had been a servant in many Catholic families; one Slade, a servant in the col-

* Fuller Ch. Hist. l. 9.

lege at Rome; and one Munday, a strolling player. Upon the credit of these men, nine missionary priests were taken up, of whom Father Edmund Campian, a Jesuit, was one: he came over with Father Parsons the year before 1580, and they were the two first Jesuits that entered upon the English mission. The prisoners were accused of plotting against the queen and her government. On that charge they were tried, and, on no other evidence than that of perjured hirelings, were pronounced guilty of treason. The Reverend John Colleton was one of those who stood there accused of unreasonable practices committed by him in the college of Rheims. He pleaded with the rest, not guilty, and proved to the satisfaction of the court, that he never had been at Rheims. But amidst the confused din of perjury and clamour, too weak was the voice of justice to enforce its rights. The queen judged it necessary, that Catholic blood should flow to quiet the populace, and to silence the cries of enthusiastic Puritans. She granted a warrant for the execution of four of those silly priests, as Camden calls them,* "though she did not believe them guilty of plotting the destruction of their country." The devoted victims prayed for her majesty at the place of execution, and acknowledged her title to the crown. They suffered purely for their religion, though, like the martyrs under Nero, in the opinion of the vulgar they passed for traitors, because sanguinary statutes had declared their religion treason. Walsingham completely gained his ends by this political stroke, the queen's match was broken off, the Duke of Anjou quitted England, and the nation's fears of a French alliance soon subsided.

SECTION XXXII. *Catholic Religion truly stated.*

THE glorious triumphs of the Catholic Church over infidelity, in every quarter of the globe, had been achieved by the A. D. 1584: meek and peaceful ministers of the gospel. By these means, as we have seen, it was first established in our island, and had flourished for a long series of ages, before the name of a Protestant Church was even known, or thought of. To overthrow the ancient fabric, and to erect a new foundation upon its venerable ruins, Queen Elizabeth and her ministers judged the application of such engines necessary, as were formerly employed by a Dioclesian, and Nero, against the same Roman Catholic religion. What is then the nature, and what are the tenets of that religion, which a formal system of persecution has so long oppressed, and so violently endeavoured to expel from this once Catholic country?

The Roman Catholic religion, or the Roman Church, is acknowledged to be the ancient Church, planted by the Apostles over the whole earth, the mistress and mother of all churches. For all nations which have successively been converted to the faith of Christ, have upon the spot entered into her communion, and formed with her one universal Church, of which they are members under one head. This Church is built by our Saviour Christ upon a rock, secured in her existence against all the efforts of hell,† and guided by

* Annals of Eliz. p. 271.

† Matt. xvi. 18.

the Holy Spirit into all truth,* against every species of error in doctrine. Consequently her faith is invariable: her dogmas admit no reform. She is one, she is holy, she is Catholic, and apostolical. She is one in the unity of her belief, and in the union of her members with her head: she is holy in her doctrine and in the number of her saints, formed by the practice of that doctrine: she is Catholic in the universality of her existence, as to time and place: she is apostolical in her origin and continuance; she began in the apostolic age, she continues under the apostolic supremacy of St. Peter's successor in the See of Rome. The antiquity and continuation of the same doctrines through so many ages, the uninterrupted succession of bishops in the Roman See, and the universal respect paid to their spiritual supremacy, found a very advantageous opinion of the Roman Catholic religion, as the learned Jeremy Taylor impartially observes.† That opinion, says he, is wonderfully strengthened by the agreement of all Catholic nations in the same articles of belief, while their wide distance from one another, and their difference of language, of manners, of interest, and disposition, clearly show, that their unity of faith cannot be the effect of invention or design. The multitude, the variety of people, who are of the Catholic persuasion, continues the same author, their consent with elder ages, and their agreement with one another, form a strong presumption in its favour. Loud is the voice of prescription, which never ceases to repeat from one extremity of the globe to the other, that truth is more ancient than falsehood, that God would not have forsaken his Church, and left her in error for so many ages, while all those jarring sects, who have at any time started up in opposition to her faith, and have left her communion, have been ever branded with the appellation of heretics and schismatics. To this plausible mode of reasoning in favour of the Church of Rome, he adds the beauty and splendor of her solemn service, the stateliness of her hierarchy, the name of Catholic, which no sect has been ever able to wrest from her, the celibacy of her clergy, the pious austerities of her religious orders, her success in converting the heathen world to Christianity, the evangelical severity of her fasts and observances, the great reputation, in fine, of thousands and thousands of her children, who, by following her doctrine have made themselves eminent for their faith and holiness of life in all ages and in all nations. Such are the sentiments of that Protestant bishop.

These shining marks of true religion England had gloriously displayed for upwards of nine hundred years to the whole Christian world. The schismatical violence of Henry VIII. strangely altered the state of things: under Edward VI. religion mourned to see her altars overturned, her ancient faith and sacrifice proscribed, her discipline, in fine, dissolved, and her former mode of worship absolutely suppressed. Mary mounted the throne, religion revived, and began to recover something of its former splendor. The accession of Elizabeth threw every thing back into confusion. Being fixed in the resolution of reproducing the reformation, which had been suppressed in the late reign, she adopted such measures as seemed most

* John xiv. and xvi.

† Lib. of Propheying.

likely to insure success. As despotic as her father, she expected a blind submission to her royal will, and an universal acceptance of the religious system which she had judged to be the most commodious for herself and all her subjects. Hence the natural right which each one has to follow the lights of a revealed religion, was arbitrarily suppressed, and no one was left free to obey the dictates of his own conscience without being exposed to the severest penalties. The measures adopted by her majesty for the establishment of this system, were those of terror and defamation. The first tended to terrify the weak, the second to cheat the ignorant out of their faith. All exercise of the Catholic religion being rigorously forbidden, and no books of Catholic instruction being suffered to appear, the greatest part of the people soon lost sight of the sacred principles of Catholicity. Prisons, tortures, fines, banishment, and a violent death, constantly hung over the heads of those who dared to refuse their assent to the queen's creed, while innumerable publications, of what were called, The errors of Popery, issued from the pulpit and the press to destroy the ancient belief. Of these pretended errors, some were evangelical truths, real tenets of the Catholic Church, and by her adversaries styled idolatrous. Others were called superstitious, and refer to the religious practices and sacred ceremonies piously instituted by the Church in ancient times, to excite devotion, to render the divine service more solemn, and to strike our senses with a more palpable knowledge of the mysteries of our holy faith. The rest of those imputed errors are a malignant rhapsody of false and slanderous assertions, solely calculated to furnish lasting matter for persecution, the violence of which has been everely felt in a greater or a less degree from that time to this. Hence, for upwards of two hundred years, England exhibited the most cruel scenes that religious rancor could devise. Truth was oppressed, humanity was disgraced, peaceful and loyal subjects were barbarously stripped of their liberty, of their property, of their reputation, and their lives; the whole body, in fine, of Roman Catholics, without a crime, was despotically compelled to sacrifice either their conscience, or the enjoyment of those chartered rights which their Catholic forefathers had procured to the nation in the plain of Runnemed.

From Elizabeth's to the present reign the illiberal system of oppression remained in full force: glorious for England would it be, were the disgraceful remnants of it entirely done away. During the period of more than two centuries, each rising generation was regularly told that Papist and rebel, that Popish recusant and traitor, were synonymous terms, that the Pope was Antichrist, and the Church of Rome the Babylonian harlot, marked by St. John in his revelations; that Roman Catholics make religion consist in mere ceremonies and empty show, leaving the commandments of God to observe the constitutions of men; that they undervalue and condemn the word of God, choosing to follow human traditions rather than the scripture; that by principle they breathe blood and revenge upon their adversaries, and think it lawful to commit every sort of crime, providing the Church can be benefited by it; that they are idolatrous worshippers of creatures, in paying divine honours to the

Virgin Mary, to the Saints, to their relics and images, and to the pure elements of bread and wine in the holy Eucharist; that they, in fine, believe the Pope to be vested with a power of dispensing with the law of God, of granting leave to commit sin, and even a pardon for sins, which may be committed hereafter, if well paid beforehand. These, among many others equally slanderous, are some of the fictitious charges which modern reformers have had the weakness or the malice to produce against their Catholic brethren. In no age, and in no country, was it ever heard, that a papal dispensation has been either asked or granted for a Roman Catholic to lie, to steal, to resist lawful authority, or to violate any one of the ten commandments. If a Roman Catholic then, by the principles of his religion, is not such a monster as inveterate prejudice has represented him, let us now see what he really is in principle and religion.

A Roman Catholic is a professed follower of Jesus Christ. With a firm faith he believes all the divine truths which Jesus Christ, his only Redeemer, has revealed to the holy Catholic Church, and nothing more: he admits no private opinions of men into his religious creed. From the Church, the infallible and spotless spouse * of Christ, he receives the canonical books of scripture for his rule of faith, according to that sense in which he has always understood them. In all doubts, and in all controverted points of doctrine, he holds her to be the supreme judge, and to her decisions he humbly submits, as Christ commands.† In his religious character he pays to God alone that supreme and divine worship which belongs to the sovereign creator of all things. The angels and the saints in heaven he does not worship, but honours as the friends and happy favourites of God; he commemorates their virtues, grows virtuous by their example, and begs to be remembered by them before the throne of mercy: he respects their relics, as precious remnants of a Christian friend. Their images and their pictures he sets before his eyes, and pays a suitable respect to them; but he makes them not his idols; he neither worships nor invokes them, for he knows they cannot see, nor hear, nor help him. It is a gross slander to say, that he adores or renders divine worship to the Virgin Mary: for although he looks up to her with peculiar reverence as to the mother of God, and in that quality superlatively raised above the whole host of saints and angels, yet he still views her in the limited sphere of a pure creature. In the ineffable mystery of the holy Eucharist he adores Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the Father, true God, and true man, because in the plain and obvious meaning of Christ's own words,‡ he believes his sacred body and blood to be there really present, under the outward forms of bread and wine. In the adorable sacrifice of the Mass he offers up to God the pure and clean oblation, as the prophet Malichi foretold,§ and as the Catholic Church has always done, and thereby exhibits to the Almighty that sovereign honour of adoration, which cannot be given to any creature without the guilt of idolatry. He, in fine, believes, that for the comfort of repenting sinners, Christ has given || to the apostles, and

* Rev. chap. xx.

† Matt. xviii. 17.

‡ Luke xxii. 19.

§ Chap. i.

|| John xx. 23.

their successors in the priesthood, a power to remit sins for all such as seek it with a true contrition of heart. Such, in brief, is the Roman Catholic's religious character in matters of faith. To form his moral character, he takes the gospel for his rule; he holds its precepts to be binding in conscience, and its counsels optional, but still very meritoriously embraced by those who aspire to a more eminent degree of religious perfection. In his civil character he is submissive to the constituted powers of the state, as the apostle directs;* by education he is taught to cultivate peace and social order; by principle he is a friend to his country, and to the government under which he lives. Hence, while he acknowledges in the Bishop of Rome all those spiritual prerogatives which Christ gave to St. Peter,† the head of the apostles, for the government of the whole Church, he admits no obligation of allowing in him any civil jurisdiction over the independent rights of sovereigns in their temporal concerns.

SECTION XXXIII. *Religious Innovations in Scotland.*

IN foreign nations the seeds of reformation were first scattered among the people, in England they were planted round the throne. Here they struck deep root, and grew up under the fostering hand of despotic power; there they were nourished by fanatic outrage and rebellion. In the Netherlands, in France, and Scotland, the democratic doctrines of John Calvin had roused the people to revolt against the established government, both of church and state. In Scotland government was weak, the nobility powerful, the people uncouth. James IV. who married Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. King of England, in 1503, unadvisedly attacked his cousin Henry VIII. and was slain in the battle of Flodden-field, 1513, leaving an infant son to inherit his crown. This orphan prince, James V. when of age, married a daughter of the House of Lorraine, sister of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise. The issue of this marriage was a princess, known afterwards by the name of Mary, Queen of Scots, born 1545, a little before her father's death. When six years of age, she was conveyed to the court of France for security against the intrigues of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, next heir to the crown. In 1558 she was married to Francis II. dauphin of France, and in the following year became queen by the death of Henry II. Her reign in France was short, but absolute while it lasted, under the administration of her uncles, the Duke and Cardinal of Guise. Her royal consort, equally feeble in mind and constitution, left her a widow in 1560. In the following year she returned to Scotland.

The innovating doctrines of Geneva had infected many of the Scotch nobility; eager to establish and to propagate their new principles, they formed themselves into an association in 1559, which they called the Congregation of the Lord, in contradistinction to the established Church, which they denominated the Congregation of Satan. At that juncture arrived John Knox from Geneva. From

* Rom. chap. xiii.

† John, chap. xxi.

the mouth of John Calvin, Knox had inhaled the hot fumes of fanaticism, which the natural ferocity of his own temper rendered still more violent. He mounted the rostrum of sedition, and under the protection of the associated nobles, preached the necessity of making a change in the public worship. The gaping crowd listened with attention; the spirit of reform spread like wild-fire among the clans; a puritanical band of ruffians broke into the palace of Cardinal Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and put him to death; the sacred structures of religion were then attacked; monasteries were pillaged and destroyed, in the churches the altars were overturned, their ornaments effaced, their holy furniture profaned, and their very walls levelled with the ground. The bonds of licentious associations, as Mr. Hume remarks, are always the forerunners of rebellion, and this violent invasion of the established Church was the commencement of it. The numbers and the fury of these fanatical insurgents daily increased: force became necessary to stop their progress. The queen regent assembled an army; the covenanters were not dismayed, they opposed force to force, they disciplined themselves to arms, and dispatched agents into England to solicit succours from Elizabeth. For they were determined to wrest the reins of government out of the queen regent's hands, and to make themselves masters of the realm. The refined Elizabeth, instead of rejecting their seditious overtures, gave a favourable reception to their agents, entered into mutual articles of agreement with them, as with a government legally established, and granted them all they wanted. Proud of the encouragement they received from the British court, and emboldened by success, they called together a parliament in defiance of the regency. Parliament adopted the spirit and violence of its constituents. Catholics were treated as vassals of the Roman harlot; the ancient worship was abolished, the Presbyterian form of discipline was introduced.

In this confused state, the young Queen dowager of France found her hereditary kingdom at her return from the continent. Fanaticism ran too high, and the rebels were too strong to be subdued by force. The only chance she had of bringing them back to a sense of their duty, was by lenient measures. She abstained from every act of authority that might irritate their minds: besides the inherent advantages, which royalty bestows, nature and education had bestowed on the incomparable Mary charms and graces which the savage tribes of America must have admired and respected. They made no impression on the hearts of fanatic Scotchmen, from whom she received every sort of disrespect and insult. Knox proclaimed her the Jezabel of the nation. Though she had made no attempt to alter or suppress the new form of worship, which they had so violently introduced, it was with difficulty she obtained a chapel for the private exercise of her own religion. The defenceless Queen of Scots, thus insulted and degraded by her rebel subjects, hoped to find a protectress and a friend in the Queen of England. She exposed her distress to Elizabeth with great confidence, and implored her gracious protection. Less favourable to insulted majesty than to insulting rebels, Elizabeth confined her answer to general expressions of affection and unmeaning compliment; she promised no

protection, but she did something more. With Cecil, Murray, and Morton, as Mr. Whitaker informs us,* she concerted a plan to deprive a sister queen of her crown, of her liberty, of her reputation, and her life. The plan was so deep and so artfully contrived, that the unsuspecting Mary was imperceptibly led to concur in the treachery, of which she was the devoted victim. From her an heir was wanting to inherit the throne: a prince, trained from his infancy in the school of the reformed religion, would answer all their purposes. By the advice of her nobles, and the consent of Elizabeth, the Queen of Scotland married her cousin Henry Stuart, the Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lenox. In the following year, 1566, she was brought to bed of a son, named James, afterwards King of England. Darnley, a weak and profligate man, was supposed to have no great share in the queen's affections. The associated lords having plotted the ruin of their sovereign, whose religion they equally feared and hated, determined the murder of her husband, as a step to it. Darnley was blown up by an explosion of gunpowder, which had been privately conveyed into his house for that purpose. Earl Bothwel acted a chief part in the bloody scene: Queen Elizabeth was privy to it. Among the profligate characters in which Scotland then abounded, Bothwel held a conspicuous place; he aspired to a partnership in the throne. The rebel lords, judging him a fit tool for the accomplishment of their dark designs, encouraged him in his ambitious views. They proposed him to the queen as a proper consort in the present situation of her affairs. But the strong suspicion which the public had of his being concerned in the late king's death, was an hinderance to it. A trial was demanded, and granted, to give the villain an opportunity of publicly disavowing the charge. A packed jury declared him not guilty of the murder. The queen still refused to marry him. Force was agreed on; the time and manner fixed for its execution. Upon the day appointed, Bothwel, the regicide, carried off the queen, under an escort of horse, to the castle of Dunbar: there, shame to say, he violently ravished her, and soon after compelled her to join him in the marriage ceremony. A parcel of spurious sonnets and letters, that were supposed to have passed between them during the late king's life, was now handed about, to make the public believe that the queen had been not only false to her husband's bed, but also accessory to his death, with a view of marrying the murderer and adulterer.

Fanaticism and treason had now prepared all their materials for the completion of the most complicated villany that human depravity could devise. Under the pretence of avenging the late king's murder, the rebel lords drew together their armed clans, and made their queen, with the infamous Bothwel, their prisoner. Him they suffered to escape, lest he might betray their secrets. He fled first to the Orkney islands, and then to Denmark, where he went mad, and died in confinement. The captive queen they conveyed to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of the same name. Here she was compelled to resign her crown to her infant son, and to appoint Earl Murray regent: Murray was her natural brother and professed ene-

* Vind. of Mary, Queen of Scots.

my. After a year's rude confinement under the control of Murray's insulting mother, a loyal party effected her escape. But still she was not safe. Surrounded on all sides by rebels and fanatics, she was every moment in danger of being assassinated or betrayed. Which ever way she turned her eye, the prospect appeared equally gloomy. To cross the sea, and gain the coast of France, no vessel could be procured; to try the friendship or sincerity of Elizabeth she had no encouragement: she however concluded, that it was better to trust to Elizabeth's feelings as a woman and a queen, than to remain in the midst of avowed enemies. Through many difficulties and perils she reached the sea-shore of Galloway; a fishing boat took her in, and on the same day landed her safe in Cumberland. She immediately informed the Queen of England of her arrival into her majesty's dominions, whither an unnatural rebellion had forced her to fly for shelter and protection. For the present she asked for nothing more than a personal interview; that being refused, though granted to the rebel Murray, she requested either to be sent back with honour and safety into her own kingdom, or be permitted to depart for France. Elizabeth could dissemble no longer; she was obliged to speak; she spoke the secrets of her own deceitful heart; she gave orders for Mary Stuart, her royal guest, her distressed cousin and sister queen, to be put under an arrest. On various pretences she kept her prisoner for eighteen years, and then signed a warrant for her execution, which was carried into effect by her being beheaded on the seventh of February, 1587. Here let the reader pause, and if he has a heart to feel for injured majesty, let him not be ashamed to drop a tributary tear to the memory of Mary, the dethroned and murdered Queen of Scots. From the time of her return out of France into Scotland, her rebel subjects began to traduce her character with all the virulence that faction and puritanic rage is capable of. Knox, Buchanan, Hume, and Robertson, have contributed in their turn to confirm the prejudice which enthusiastic malice had raised against one of the brightest ornaments that ever graced the Scottish throne. After a lapse of two centuries the penetrating Mr. Whitaker has torn away the thick cover, and, with honour to himself, has exposed to public view the horrid artifices of the calumniators, and the amiable virtues of the calumniated.

SECTION XXXIV. *Civil War in France.*

THE democratic system of Calvinism had made many proselytes in A. D. 1590. France. Their numbers were diffused through different parts of the kingdom, ready to come into action at their leaders call. Their aim was nothing less than to eradicate the Catholic religion, and to plant the Calvinistical reform upon its ruins; an aim not to be attained but by force of arms. The jealousies and divisions of a weak government gave them an advantageous opportunity of making the attempt. Henry II. son of Francis I. met with an untimely death from the lance of Earl Montgomery, in a tournament at Paris, 1559. He left three sons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, who succeeded him one after another in the throne. Francis II. the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, reigned

but one year; the crown then devolved on his second brother Charles IX. a minor. His mother, Catherine de Medicis, undertook to govern, but the Guises still maintained their former influence in the administration. This disgusted the princes of the blood, divided their counsels, and weakened the springs of government. The discontented Calvinists seized the favourable moment, and broke out into open rebellion. The Prince of Condé, brother to the king of Navarre, espoused their cause, and put himself at their head. Government not being prepared against so unexpected an aggression, the rebels quickly overran a considerable part of the kingdom, and made themselves masters of many towns without much opposition. Every outrage of civil war, rapes, plunder, sacrilege, and murder, marked their progress. To show by what spirit these wild religionists were led, they banished the Catholic worship from every place they came to, profaned the churches, massacred the clergy, broke down the tombs of the dead, burned the body of St. Martin at Tours, and, in contempt of the holy Eucharist, committed the most shameful impurities upon the very altars which they overturned. This was the commencement of those fierce contentions which for above thirty years deluged France with blood. The reader is here desired to observe and remember, that the cause of these contentions originates with protestant reformers, the puritanical innovators of John Calvin's school. Subjects without provocation rise in rebellion against their lawful sovereign: their avowed purpose is to alter the laws, the constitution, and religion of the country; the means they employ are open force, with all the implements and horrors of civil war. To check fanaticism, and to quell rebellion, military force became necessary. The duke of Guise commanded the royal army against Condé, the revolted chief. On one side it was the invasion, and on the other it was the defence of just and ancient rights. Yet, in the accounts which Protestant writers give of these transactions, the reader's mind is constantly presented with the alarming ideas of persecution and oppression, heaped on harmless men. That the royalists, after the provocation given them, should not sometimes have retaliated upon the rebels in a manner which religion will not justify, we cannot well suppose. Cruelties were certainly committed on both sides, as it always happens in civil and religious contests. But then let not rebel insurgents be ever described by an abuse of language, as persecuted sufferers for their religion; and the chastisers of rebellion, as persecuting tyrants.

To put a stop to the miseries of war, it was proposed, that a conference should be held between the two parties, and measures be devised for a mutual reconciliation. A certain number of deputies met at Poissi, in 1561, to discuss and remove the cause of their disunion, which sprung from a disagreement of opinion upon religious matters. The conference chiefly ran upon two questions, the one, concerning Church authority; the other, the holy Eucharist. The Cardinal of Lorraine was the principal speaker on the Catholic side of the question, Theodorus Beza on that of the Calvinists. Beza was quite outrageous in his expressions against the real presence; his blasphemies were too shocking to be overlooked by the Catholics; he would make no apology, nothing conciliatory could

be concluded on; the conference abruptly ended; the parties went off much dissatisfied with each other. Hostilities were renewed. The Prince of Condé guided the rebellion for some years with various success in the field, but with all the enthusiasm and devastation of civil war; and although defeated in several battles by the royal army, yet he was still enabled to renew the attack by the succours he received of men and money from Queen Elizabeth, who considered the interest of rebel Hugonots as her own. He was at last slain in the bloody battle of Jernac, in 1569. His death deprived the rebels of a good general, but it broke not their spirit nor their strength. Cologni, the lord high admiral of France, stepped forward into the command, rallied their forces, and directed their operations. Fresh supplies of troops arrived from the Protestant states of Germany, and large sums of money from England. The dowager Queen of Navarre, a bigotted Calvinist, sent her son the Prince of Bearn, and the young Prince of Condé, to the army, who, with the title of commanders in chief, gave new energy to the undertaking. The king of France, who had taken the reins of government into his own hands, now found himself in such difficulties that he was obliged to compound with his rebellious subjects, and to grant them the free exercise of their religion in 1570. Several pacifications of this kind had been made before, and had never lasted any longer than suited the interest of either party. The Hugonots mistrusted the king's sincerity on this occasion; their leaders kept themselves upon their guard, and cautiously avoided coming near the court, not to put themselves in the king's power.

SECTION XXXV. *The League.*

By the enemies of monarchy it has been maliciously asserted, A. D. 1584. that the court of France perceiving how difficult it was to reduce the Hugonots by force of arms, resolved to do it by assassination. "Two whole years were employed," says Voltaire, "in preparing for the bloody day of St. Bartholomew." He pretends, that the king, with no other view than to lull their chiefs into a false security, and to put them off their guard, had made them many favourable concessions, had granted them the public exercise of their religion, had surrendered to them four of his fortified towns, on certain conditions, and, to remove all mistrust, had finally offered his sister in marriage to the Prince of Bearn. The offer was accepted; the Queen of Navarre came with her son to Paris. Soon after her arrival she was taken ill and died. The nuptials were consequently put off for some weeks, during which time many Hugonots of distinction flocked to Paris to be present at the ceremony. Amongst them was the ringleader of their party, Cologni, lord high admiral of France. A rumour, whether true or false, was spread through the town, that the Hugonots had a design upon the king's life. The king acted upon the presumption of its being true, and a bloody resolution was hastily taken to prevent its execution, by a general massacre of the Hugonots in Paris. Whether the scheme originated with the queen dowager, as the French writers say, or with the king himself, as our English his-

torians relate, it alters not the cruel nature of the fact. The motives alleged by government in its justification are, that the Hugonots, by principle, were enemies to monarchy; that they had entered into a combination to effect its overthrow; that they had engaged not to lay down their arms till the king had laid down his; that the king's crown and life were in continual danger from their machinations; that by their rebellion they had reduced France to its present desolated state, and had thereby forfeited their title to protection; that the ravaged provinces, in fine, the plundered monasteries and churches, the demolished altars, the blood of murdered citizens, and the heaps of loyal subjects slain in battle, called for vengeance. How far these reasons can justify an absolute monarch in the violent measures he adopted for the suppression of rebellion, let others judge. The eve of St. Bartholomew, 1572, was the day fixed for the shocking scene. In the dead of the night armed citizens and soldiers beset the houses of the Hugonots, forced the doors and murdered all within. Coligni, the admiral, was one of the first who fell. The slaughter was horrid, but not of that enormous extent as is stated by some authors, who have employed their imagination and their pen to dishonour humanity and their country, by exaggerating the horrors of an inhuman massacre at the expense of truth. Among these authors we discover Mezerai and Voltaire, the first of whom reckons 25,000, the latter 60,000, slain in cold blood. Their account is false. The massacre was chiefly confined to the Hugonots in Paris, more than half of whom escaped according to Mezerai. The king, indeed, directed private letters to the governors of the provinces for a similar execution there. But owing partly to the remonstrances of the bishops, and partly to the humane dispositions of the governors themselves, only few were sacrificed. Those who wish for more ample and more authentic information upon this subject, may consult the Abbés Soulier,* and Caveirac.†

This cruel massacre of the Hugonots in time of peace had a very different effect from what the king expected. Far from stifling, it roused the spirit of revolt; to former animosities it added a fierce desire of revenge. Civil war broke out again with fresh fury. Charles died in 1574, and as he left no legitimate issue, his brother Henry, Duke of Anjou, succeeded him in the throne. Henry the third of that name, though possessed of a reputation which he had acquired in the field, was destitute of the requisite qualities to support a kingly character in those calamitous times. The Prince of Bearn, who by the death of his mother was now become King of Navarre, quitted Paris in disgust, retracted the profession he had made of the Catholic religion, and put himself at the head of the revolted Hugonots. This unexpected change of affairs threw the court into the utmost consternation, and extorted an unwilling offer to compound for peace with the revolted chiefs. These assumed a lofty tone, and demanded a free exercise of the Calvinistical religion in all the towns of France. The king judged it expedient to come into their terms, save one exception for the city of Paris: he published an edict for that effect. The Catholic nobility took fire at this humiliating concession on the part of their

* Hist. du Calv.

† Apol. de Louis XIV.

sovereign, and entered into a general confederacy, which is known by the appellation of the Holy League. They chose the Duke of Guise for their commander in chief; they pledged their word to one another, and by a solemn oath bound themselves to oppose the Hugonots, and to defend the Catholic religion to the last drop of their blood. Their agreement was fairly stated in a list of articles, which they sent to the king, with an invitation and request that he would sign them. His majesty hesitated; he summoned the states, with an order to meet him at Blois. There the league was proposed and unanimously adopted. Henry enrolled his name in 1576, and openly declared that none but the Catholic worship should be tolerated in France.

Upon this the Hugonots took up arms again, and plunged the nation back into civil war. At the end of four years Henry grew tired of the contest, and by his mother's advice made peace with the rebels. In the year 1584, he lost his only surviving brother the Duke of Alençon, by whose death Henry, King of Navarre, became heir apparent to the crown of France. From being enemies in the field, the two kings were now friends in the cabinet. This coalition split the nation into three different parties, the royalists, the league, and the Hugonots. The king was at the head of the first, the Duke of Guise directed the second, the king of Navarre commanded the third. The public mind was strangely agitated, and distracted. The Catholics acknowledged the King of Navarre's title, but were determined to let no Hugonot reign over them. Henry, by his unsteady conduct, lost the affection and confidence of his Catholic subjects; they began to consider him no less their enemy than the King of Navarre. The base assassination of the Duke of Guise, perpetrated by his order, confirmed them in that opinion. At his return from Blois to Paris the furious citizens shut the gates against him. He was obliged to retire with disgrace. He came back not long after with the King of Navarre, and an army of thirty thousand men, to lay siege to the city. He took up his lodgings at St. Clou. A fanatical assassin, James Clement, a Dominican, under the pretence of important business, got admittance to him, and with a knife suddenly gave him a mortal stab, of which he died the next day, August the first, 1589.

With Henry III. ended the royal race of Valois. The courtiers and army immediately proclaimed the King of Navarre, King of France. He is known by the name of Henry IV. the first of the Bourbons who sat upon the French throne. He descended in a direct line from Robert, Count of Clermont, and Lord of Bourbon, the fifth son of St. Lewis. His title to the crown was clear, but the confederate nobility for some time disputed his taking possession of it, on account of his Calvinistical principles. On a former occasion he had hastily professed himself a Catholic to escape the fury of a Parisian mob: he now at his leisure turned his thoughts to the consideration of religion, of which he had hitherto lived almost wholly ignorant. Instruction opened his mind to conviction. On the twenty-fifth of July, 1593, he publicly abjured the errors of Calvinism, and entered into the communion of the Catholic Church. After that the league died away, and Henry experienced every mark of loyalty from his peaceful subjects.

SECTION XXXVI. *Revolt of the Netherlands.*

FROM France the spirit of innovation and revolt spread to the Spanish Netherlands. The democratic principles of Calvin had found their way thither, and made many proselytes. Philip, the monarch of Spain, foresaw the evil, and had taken measures to prevent it. For the better instruction of the people in their civil and religious duties, he increased the number of bishoprics from five to seventeen. For the endowment of these bishoprics, he applied the revenues of several rich abbeys, which he suppressed. The monks and nobles took offence at this extraordinary act of power. Complaints and discontent arose among the inferior classes of men. They looked upon the transfer of religious property as an arbitrary and preparatory measure for introducing the inquisition amongst them. The inquisition, though not half so oppressive as Queen Elizabeth's ecclesiastical commission, was an odious tribunal, of which the Belgians had an insuperable abhorrence, and to which they were determined never to submit: nor does it appear that Philip ever exerted his authority to force it upon them. The Calvinists, whose numbers were become formidable, and their pretensions daring, were led away by other motives, which blind enthusiasm usually inspires. Enemies by principle to the episcopal order, and eager for the propagation of their new doctrines, they grew seditious. In defiance of the civil power their ministers began to dogmatize without reserve, they preached to numerous assemblies of men, who came together with arms in their hands, ready to repel any force that the magistrates might bring to silence them. From these assemblies the licentious populace soon passed to acts of open violence against the churches, the monasteries and convents. These outrages first began in the province of Flanders, in the year 1566. The same tumultuous spirit quickly showed itself in the great commercial towns, it spread like wild-fire through the other provinces, and meeting every where with the same combustible materials, every where produced the same ruinous effects. In Antwerp the reformers carried their outrages to the most extravagant excess. They insulted the Catholics in the very exercise of their religious duties, they furiously forced their way into the rich cathedral church, which they despoiled of its costly ornaments, overturned the altars, defaced the fine paintings, and destroyed the images of the saints.* Similar disorders were committed in almost all the other towns.

Margaret, Duchess of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. was then governess of the Low Countries, under Philip of Spain. In this disturbed state of his Flemish dominions, Philip judged a female hand too weak to guide the helm of government through the swelling tide of rebellion. Military force became a necessary evil. The Duke of Alva had orders to repair from Italy to the Netherlands, and to reduce the rebels to obedience. He arrived with a powerful army in 1568. William, the Prince of Orange, headed the insurgents; the Belgic plains were drenched with blood. The prince was too weak to stand the contest for any long time. He

* Watson's Hist. of Spain, Vol. I. B. 7.

disbanded his troops, and retired into Germany, till a favourable opportunity should offer for renewing his hostile operations. Alva in the interim exerted the utmost severity in bringing the state offenders to public justice. Whether he exceeded the powers of his commission, or whether he wantonly indulged a natural disposition to cruelty or revenge, of which he is accused, or whether, in fine, the Spanish monarch himself pursued the most prudent means of regaining the good-will of his revolted subjects, is a matter of opinion: party writers make it their theme of illiberal declamation. The exertion of authority, made by a sovereign in defence of the laws and constitution of his kingdom against rebellion, is no other than the exercise of a just and lawful power, which no prudent man will venture to question or condemn. If in the execution abuses were committed, they are to be lamented. Those abuses will always be of less pernicious consequence to the public, than the outrages of civil war. The country was brought back to a state of tranquillity, when the intrigues of the Prince of Orange threw it back into rebellion. From the Hugonot camp in France he maintained a correspondence with the Calvinists in Holland: by his emissaries and preachers in disguise he diffused a spirit of revolt through the country, granted military commissions in his own name, and from all who betrayed any disaffection to the Catholic religion, or to the Spanish government, he collected voluntary contributions to defray the expense of his intended operations.

When the plot was ripe for execution, the insurgents suddenly assembled in great force, and gained several advantages, before the Duke of Alva had any suspicion of their machinations, or could make head against them. The years 1570, 1571, and 1572, are marked with the progress they made in their rebellious enterprize; several towns in Holland and Zealand, where the reformers chiefly prevailed, joined their standard. The victories of the Protestants were sullied by that savage ferocity which spends itself equally upon the defenceless monk, as upon the armed soldier. They listened not to the dictates of humanity or religion, but promiscuously tore in pieces every thing that fell in their way.* In rebellions lenity is seldom shown, while fierce revenge steels the heart on one side, and severe justice whets the sword on the other. Success gave the Prince of Orange an absolute power to regulate every thing he pleased in the towns he was master of; but political considerations made him cautious not to show that power: with seeming deference he affected to consult the states, and to have their sanction for all he chose to do. By him the exercise of the Catholic religion was banished from the churches, and the only worship, publicly allowed, was the Protestant, as taught by Calvin, and practised in Geneva and the Palatinate. In private every one was free to follow whatever religion, or even none, as he should like. These regulations were adopted by the seven maritime provinces, which had entered into a separate confederacy, under the Prince of Orange, to form themselves into a republic, and never to submit again to the Spanish yoke. The ten southern provinces retained the Catholic religion,

* Watson's Hist. Spain, Vol. I. B. 10.

though equally determined to concur with the Calvinists in shaking off their allegiance to the monarch of Spain. This convention was ratified in a general meeting of the States at Ghent, in 1576.

The Duke of Alva was recalled from his government at his own request in 1573. His successors in the command were men of characters less obnoxious to the Belgians. But the war still continued with great animosity on both sides, and with various success. Alexander Farnese, the Duke of Parma, was appointed governor in 1578. This experienced general directed his attacks with such vigour and success against the rebels, that they were obliged to sue for foreign aid and protection. They received it first from France, and then from England. Elizabeth made a treaty of alliance with them, as with an independent state, and liberally furnished them with men and money. But the political prudence and military talents of Farnese were still victorious. Every campaign brought fresh success to the Spanish arms. The strength of the Belgic provinces was broken into a reluctant submission to the conqueror, but their antipathy to his government was not subdued. Philip's declaration of war against France, in 1594, was a favourable circumstance, and gave them hopes that they should at last succeed. By the Pope's mediation a peace was concluded between the two monarchs in 1598, at which time the fate of the Netherlands was also decided. It was proposed and agreed, that the ten southern provinces should be erected into a separate and independent state, under its own sovereign. On the sixth of May, 1598, Philip signed the deed of abdication, by which he resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands to his eldest daughter Isabella, and her husband Albert, the Archduke of Austria, and after their decease to the issue of that marriage, whether male or female. The seven northern provinces did not choose to come into that agreement; they claimed the independence of a separate republic, which was at length allowed them by the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648.

SECTION XXXVII. *Affairs of Italy.*

THE German Lutherans were very desirous of introducing their doctrines among the Greek schismatics. They had mis- A. D. 1600.
carried in a former attempt; they resolved upon a second. In the year 1574, they sent deputies to Jeremy, the patriarch of Constantinople, with instructions to procure from him a declaration in favour of their new confession of Augsburg, which they held forth as entirely conformable to the seven first general councils. The Greek received their proposal with disdain, reproached them for their heresy, and ridiculed their insolent presumption, in pretending to be more enlightened, and to be better judges of religious doctrines, than all the fathers and renowned doctors of ancient and modern Rome. He told them to depart, and to trouble him no more with their heterodox opinions, which he could not approve, but would soon confute.

In the year 1570, an unexpected attack from Selim II. the faithless Sultan of Constantinople, threw all Italy into the utmost consternation. With a formidable force under the command of Mus-

tapha, he ordered a sudden descent to be made on the Venetian island of Cyprus, which he wished to add to his Turkish dominions. The island was not provided with sufficient troops to face the Infidels in open battle, nor had the Venetians troops to send for its relief. The governor's gallant defence, though unsuccessful in the end, gave the republic time to collect a force strong enough to repel any further invasion that the Infidels might be inclined to make. Pius V. who then sat in St. Peter's chair, used his utmost endeavours to unite the Christian powers in a general confederacy against the common enemy. Internal troubles, raised by the restless spirit of a religious reformation, too seriously engaged the attention of most of the European nations to let them think of an expedition against the Turk. Spain alone listened to his Holiness's representations. A formidable fleet was soon equipped, and sent to sea under the command of Don John of Austria, a natural son of the emperor Charles V. Hali, the Turkish admiral, had notice of his sailing, and was out at sea ready to receive him. The two fleets met in the gulf of Lepanto, on the seventh of October, 1571. A furious battle ensued; the Infidels lost thirty thousand men, and a hundred and thirty of their galleys. The victory was complete; the isle of Cyprus was recovered, and Italy secured for some time to come against all insult from the Turkish crescent.

Pius V. not less revered for his severity against public offenders, than esteemed for his piety towards God, died in the following year, 1572, and was succeeded by Gregory XIII. Under the direction and sanction of this Pope, a wise correction was made in the Julian calendar. A defective calculation in that system had in process of time introduced a difference of ten days short of the real course of the solar year. To bring the order and the count of time to one and the same point, ten days of the year 1582, were passed over in the calendar, and a system of calculating the annual revolutions of the heavens, conformably to the astronomical observations of the learned in that age, was established and adopted by the Catholic world. It is called the new or the Gregorian style; it perhaps approaches as near to a just calculation of times and seasons as human capacity can reach. This change of style had nothing to do with religion; its utility was manifest; but such was the peevish temper of the age, that because it sprung from the Vatican, neither Greeks nor Protestants would receive it. After a lapse of a hundred and seventy years, when the heat of prejudice began to cool, the English legislature, at length, in 1752, adopted the system so strongly recommended by good sense and astronomical observation. During the Pontificate of Gregory, arrived an embassy from the Christian kings of Japan, to pay their homage to the primacy of the Roman See. That remote Church, first planted by the zeal and labours of St. Francis Xavier, and then cultivated by the care of his apostolical successors, grew in the space of thirty years into a very flourishing state. The infernal enemy of mankind saw his idolatrous empire sinking into contempt; jealous of the divine honours which were there paid to Jesus Christ, he exerted his utmost malice to destroy them. In three successive persecutions, hundreds of Christians generously sealed the truths of their religion by the effusion of their blood.

Some were burnt to death by slow fires, some were crucified, some beheaded, some thrown into the hollow of burning mountains, some, in fine, were hung up with their heads downwards, and there left to expire. A resolution was at last taken by the persecutors to banish the very name of Christian from the whole empire of Japan. For that effect an imperial edict was published in 1639, which made it death for an European to set foot on Japanese ground, unless he first trampled on a crucifix, to show he was no Christian. Whether that anti-christian ceremony has been performed by any European, the Dutch traders of the seven united provinces are the only people who can with certainty inform us.

Upon the death of Gregory XIII. in 1585, the memorable Sixtus Quintus was advanced to the Pontifical throne. From the lowly state of a peasant's son, he rose by his own merit to the highest dignity in Christ's Church. Having a natural turn for piety and study, he solicited and obtained admittance into the religious Order of St. Francis. His superior talents, improved by application, raised him to the first offices amongst his brethren. His affability, his manner, and his learning, gained him friends and patrons in the Roman court. He was first made bishop, then cardinal, and at last Pope. The designs he drew and executed for the embellishment of the city, are lasting monuments of his taste and genius; the sums he expended for the public good were immense; his ideas were sublime and princely. In the punishment of public crimes he was rigorously just, an enemy to vice, the friend of virtue, and a magnificent encourager of learning. He died in 1590. His three immediate successors, Urban VII. Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX. followed him at short distances to the tomb. Clement VIII. was elected in January 1592, and reigned twelve years. In 1595 deputies came to Rome from different parts of Russia, to renounce the Greek schism, and to make their submission to the holy See; the Archbishop of Livonia appeared in person to abjure the errors of Lutheranism. Thus, notwithstanding the numbers which had strayed from the fold of Christ, the Church of Rome was still acknowledged to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, in every nation where the Catholic religion had ever been received.

Seventeenth Century.

SECTION I. *Death of Queen Elizabeth.*

QUEEN Elizabeth never enjoyed herself after she had signed the A. D. 1603. death warrant of Mary, the incomparable Queen of Scots. A dark melancholy, the usual effect of inward remorse, took possession of her soul. She rejected all consolation; with envy and regret she beheld her career now drawing to an end, and a false world turning from her to court her successor, the son of her hated rival. The decay of health and spirits gradually consumed her aged and decrepid frame, till she finally sunk into the silent tomb on the 24th of March, 1603. The interesting transactions that distinguish the long and memorable reign of Queen Elizabeth, call for some account of her personal character. It is differently drawn by different authors, according to the medium through which they view her actions. By some it is drawn in the most glowing colours, by others it is loaded with the darkest shade. Her treatment of the Catholics was too cruel and oppressive to expect commendation from their writers; and the strictures they have passed upon her memory may be thought by others too severe to claim much credit. The total subversion of their religion, the violence offered to the rights of conscience, the sufferings they endured from the lash of her persecuting laws, fines, imprisonment, tortures, and the instruments of a barbarous execution, inflicted for no other cause than a conscientious attachment to the ancient faith of their forefathers, are facts that must naturally excite the most quick sensations in the breast of a Catholic writer. Of him then it may possibly be suspected, that his judgment has been warped by prejudice, by resentment, or by some other passion. Nothing of this sort can be suspected in a Protestant writer, who, from his youth, has been taught to look up to the illustrious Queen Elizabeth as the nurse of learning and religion, the virgin foundress of the reformed Church of England, as it now stands. From this unexceptionable authority alone the following sketch is given of the character of Elizabeth. Those Protestant authors, who are the most lavish of their encomiums upon their darling queen, consider her merely as a rational being, placed upon a throne, and entrusted with the government of a powerful nation: and indeed, if we only look at the dazzling blaze of success that distinguished the long reign of Elizabeth, we must allow, that in political skill, and in the art of maintaining the dignity and prerogatives of her crown, she ranks among the first characters of English monarchs. Her vigour, her constancy, says Mr. Hume, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, merit the highest praises; but a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, and more indulgent to her people, was wanting in her to form a perfect character.

“In my Infancy,” says the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, in his *Vindication of Queen Mary*,* “I was taught to lisp the name of Elizabeth, as the honour of her sex, as the glory of our isle, and one of the most enlightened sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England. But now, when I see this same Elizabeth, regardless of her own invitation, regardless of her own promises, regardless of every sanction, human and divine, flying upon the unhappy Queen of Scots, seizing her as a prey, and imprisoning her as a felon, I blush as an Englishman to think, that it was an English queen who could do all this.” Elizabeth’s life was a life of mischief† and of misery; of mischief to others in the plots which she was always forming against them; and of misery to herself in the visionary fears and apprehensions, which she was always entertaining of them. Her private life was stained‡ with gross licentiousness. The maiden queen had many gallants, and her politics were one vast system of chicane and wrong to all the nations about her. These are no hazarded assertions, they are founded in fact, they are corroborated by other Protestant testimonies. “The abetting of subjects against their sovereign,” says Mr. Collier,§ “was not every where understood; the queen suffered in her reputation upon this account.” Rebels in Scotland, in France, and in the Netherlands, were under her protection: she drained her exchequer to support them against their lawful sovereigns. Elizabeth used to say, that she desired no higher character, and no fairer remembrance of her to be transmitted to posterity, than to have it inscribed upon her tomb, “Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden Queen.” Modest is the inscription: but was the conduct of Elizabeth always so modest as to create no doubt about her title to it? Little consistently with the modesty of her declaration, she had it inserted in a public act, that no person is, or ought to be, her heir or successor, except the same be the natural issue of her body. Lawful issue was the original term; it was altered into the natural issue.|| “And I myself, when a young man,” says Camden,¶ “have heard some oftentimes say, that the word *Natural* was inserted into the act on purpose by Leicester, that he might one day obtrude upon the English some bastard son of his for the queen’s natural issue. Gregorio Leti, the Protestant writer of her life, in counterbalance to the encomiums he bestows upon her wit, her beauty, her skill in governing, and her zeal for the Protestant cause, recounts her habits of amorous dalliance with certain favourites in such a manner as to impress no advantageous opinion of her virgin modesty. “Her extreme fondness for Leicester,** Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and Admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, renders her chastity very suspicious.” We will close these weighty testimonies of Queen Elizabeth’s public and moral character with a citation from Mr. Collier’s *Church History*,†† which regards her religious character, too interesting to be omitted.

“Had the interest of Queen Elizabeth’s subjects lain wholly in his world,” says that author, “few princes would have left their

* Vol. I. p. 36. † Ibid. p. 27. ‡ Ibid. p. 27. § Vol. II. B. 6. || Whit. p. 29.

¶ Hist. Eliz. p. 167. ** Hume Eliz. p. 593. †† Vol. 2. B. 7.

memory better recommended ; but as to the service of religion, I am sorry to say, her conduct was not so happy. She restored the reformation, it is true ;” but by what means ? By despotic violence, by oppression, by penal statutes, by fines, by imprisonments, by tortures, by the halter and knife, by compelling her peaceable subjects either to resign their conscience and religion, or the comforts of civil and domestic life ; and after all left little provision to maintain it.* She completed the reformation by the same methods it was first begun. Pulpit incendiaries inflamed the ignorance of the people, pushed them on to sacrilege and fury, and worked them up to such a pitch of distraction, that the beauty of the great towns was scandalously blemished, the public ornaments of the kingdom laid in rubbish, the tombs and monuments of the dead rifled, registers, libraries destroyed, the remains of learning and antiquity thrown into the fire. To see noble structures, consecrated to the honour of the blessed Trinity, thus ravaged and razed, the holy furniture made plunder, and the church estates seized, gives a frightful idea of some of these reformers : and to consider the fact, without knowing the whole history, would almost make a man believe some rough and unconverted nation had made an invasion and carried the country. The queen was wholly bent upon plundering the Church for the benefit of the state, after her father’s example, as appears from the same author.† In the fifth of Elizabeth an act passed for the encouragement of fishing, and for abstaining from flesh on certain days, to maintain the navy : upon which the same historian remarks,‡ that to lay the whole stress of embering and abstinence upon reasons of state, is somewhat singular. “ This restraint of appetite,” says he, “ these fasts of Lent reach up to the earliest times of Christianity, they were imposed with a prospect upon the other world ; they were enjoined to reduce the senses and make the mind more absolute. Is it not a misfortune that the apostles’ canons, the authority of the fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church, should be struck out of all consideration ? Must all this discipline be only for the benefit of navigation ? Have we not sins to fast for, and temperance to guard ? Are we not bound to distinguish times upon spiritual motives, and to prepare for the solemnities of religion ? But when secular men prescribe for the Church, when those who are strangers to antiquity, give laws for discipline, it is no wonder if they mistake their devotion.” Turn back, gentle reader, and compare the two portraits of Mary and Elizabeth, as they are drawn by the same protestant pen. Let vulgar prejudice be silent for a moment, and let candor decide which of the two appears the fairest, as they stand on record.

SECTION II. *Gunpowder Plot.*

By the death of Queen Elizabeth the crown of England devolved A. D. 1604. on James VI. of Scotland, great grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter to Henry VII. King of England. He inherited in right of his mother Mary, Queen of Scots, and

* Vol. II. p. 471.

† Ibid. II. B. 8.

‡ L. 6.

from his father's name seated the House of Stuart upon the British throne. The news of the queen's death was brought to him at Edinburgh. As soon as some necessary arrangements were made, he quitted Scotland, and arrived in London on the seventeenth day of May, amidst the loud acclamations of a loyal people. On the twenty-fifth of July he was anointed King, and crowned at Westminster by Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Though educated by Puritans, amongst whom he had passed thirty-seven years of his life, King James entertained favourable notions of the Catholic religion, for the maintenance of which his renowned mother had sacrificed her crown and life. He looked upon his new Catholic subjects of England as a loyal body of people, who had been long oppressed, and most heavily aggrieved. He made no secret of his friendly disposition towards them; they, in consequence, fondly hoped to see their grievances redressed, the penal statutes reversed, and the free exercise of their religion legally restored. His Majesty's gracious speech from the throne, to both houses of parliament, raised their hopes still higher. They moreover received the most positive assurances from Sir Robert Cecil, the secretary of State and prime minister, that their grievances would be redressed. This Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, was a younger son of the late Sir William; from his earliest youth he had been trained up in the school of duplicity and political deceit, under his father and Sir Francis Walsingham, the secret manager of all those sham plots which were so skilfully played off to serve a state purpose in the last reign. A parliament met for the first time on the nineteenth of March, 1604; it sat till the seventh of July, and was then suddenly prorogued for the seventh of February of the following year.

The king's speech at the opening of parliament, which contained strong expressions of regard for the Roman Catholics, gave great umbrage to the Puritans. They were not a little exasperated to hear themselves branded from the throne as men of a turbulent and republican spirit. This avowed disposition of the sovereign alarmed the whole Protestant interest. They knew the number of professed Catholics to be great throughout the nation; they also knew that many of those who had conformed, were still Catholics in their hearts, and only waited for an opportunity to declare themselves such, without risking their property or their lives. They had seen Henry IV. of France abjuring the principles of Calvin, and Catholicity triumphing over all the adverse powers in that extensive country. It was thought and apprehended that a similar event might happen in England, unless some vigorous exertion should be made to prevent it. The king's affections were to be weaned from his Catholic subjects, and doubts of their loyalty to be infused into the royal mind: the Catholics were to be baffled in their expectation of redress, and on that ground a foundation to be laid for the supposition, that disappointment had put them upon a most desperate scheme of revenge; the result of which would be to raise a monument of lasting slander upon the name of Catholic. Here a wide field was opened for the inventive genius of Cecil to work in. The throne was immediately beset with Puritanical declaimers against Popery; ministers supported the popular clamor, and spoke loudly

of public dangers, arising from the machinations of Jesuits and Popish priests. The indolent and pacific temper of James received these reports upon the credit of those who made them: unwillingly to offend his Protestant subjects, or to quarrel with his ministers on the subject of religion, he published two proclamations soon after the recess of parliament; by the one he commanded all Priests and Jesuits to quit the kingdom; by the other he confirmed the ecclesiastical government and Book of Common Prayer, as Elizabeth had left them. This put an end to the flattering hopes which the Catholics had hitherto entertained from the beginning of the present reign. They were disappointed; but their disappointment neither lessened their loyalty nor stimulated revenge. Their fidelity had stood the test of severer trials in the last reign; whenever government or the country was attacked, their activity, though curbed by oppression, was most conspicuous in coming forward to their assistance, as history attests, at the time of the Spanish Armada,* and afterwards in the great rebellion against Charles I.

The principle on which Catholics ground their duty of loyalty to the sovereign, stands upon too firm a basis to be shaken by disappointment, or by sufferings. Some few individuals, however, of the Catholic body, being stimulated by a diabolical desire of revenge upon that occasion, are generally reported to have formed one of the most execrable plots that ever entered the thoughts of man; it is commonly called the Gunpowder Plot, the design of which was to blow up the royal family, and both houses of parliament, at the very time that the king addressed them from the throne. The atrocity of the treason, and the manner in which it was carried on to the time of its disclosure, was such as to induce many to believe that the whole was a mere political contrivance, planned by Sir Robert Cecil, the secretary of state and prime minister, to furnish government with a pretext of persecuting and oppressing the Catholics, as disaffected men and enemies to the state. The plan was well calculated to answer that purpose, and it will not be denied but that such may have been the secretary's design, who had been profoundly tutored in that kind of mischief under his intriguing father, the Lord Burleigh, prime instigator of all the cruelties inflicted upon the Catholic body in the late reign. But to whatever extent Cecil may have carried his malice against the Catholics and their religion, it cannot be inferred from thence, as some imagine, that no real plot on the part of the conspirators existed against the king and parliament. Undeniable are the proofs on record, that a plan was really formed, with an intent to destroy the king and parliament by the explosion of gunpowder, and that the few deluded Catholics, who were the ostensible actors in it, seriously meant to execute their execrable treason. Whether the treason originated with those wretched men, who visibly laboured for its execution, or whether it was traitorously suggested to them by some of Cecil's emissaries, and fanatically adopted by them, time has not yet discovered. That the latter was actually the case is a pretty common opinion, and several Protestant writers have positively asserted it.† Other writers give

* Hume Eliz. † See Higgons, Echard, Wood, &c.

the invention and the execution of the plot, as far as it went, solely to the conspirators. But so confused and unsatisfactory are the accounts they give, that they still leave us in the dark.

The whole number of conspirators amounted to no more than nine, viz. Robert Catesby, Thomas Piercy, John and Christopher Wright, Francis Tresham, Thomas Winter, Gui Fawkes, Robert Keys, and Thomas Bates. A few others, among whom was Sir Everard Digby, a Mr. Grant, and a Mr. Stephen Littleton, were arraigned and executed on suspicion of being privy to the plot, though it does not appear that they had the least knowledge of a gunpowder plot, or that they knew any thing more than, in general terms, that something was in agitation which might benefit the Catholic cause. Three Jesuits moreover were dragged into the scene, upon the charge of being acquainted with the plot, and of not disclosing it to government; their names are John Gerard, Henry Garnet, and Edward Oldcorne. They were taken up, sent to the Tower of London as state criminals, and doomed to an ignominious execution. Mr. Gerard, though crippled in every limb by the severe torture he had undergone, made his escape by the help of his friends, quitted England, and got safe to Rome. His two companions, whom he left behind, were brought to trial, and although no proof could be produced that they had any other knowledge of the gunpowder treason than what they had heard by common report, or under the sacred seal of sacramental confession, were condemned and executed. The innocence of these Jesuits is fully vindicated by Monsieur de la Boderie, ambassador at the time from France to the court of England.* Mr. Gerard, who was certainly ignorant of the plot, until the miscarriage of it was promulged by public fame, has diligently collected as much as was then known of that dark affair, and has left us a circumstantial account of it in a manuscript of 170 pages, written at Rome. From this interesting manuscript it appears highly probable, that although Cecil may not have been the original contriver of the plot, he was secretly made acquainted with it by Tresham, and that famous letter to Lord Monteagle was consequently dictated by that minister. The circumstances and singular incidents, mentioned by many of our historians, favour this conjecture, and bring it nearly to a certainty.

Public fame has generally given the design of this gunpowder plot to Mr. Catesby, a country Catholic gentleman of fortune, and of an ancient family. Having settled the matter within himself, as authors tell us, he communicated his thoughts to a Mr. Piercy, a court pensioner, and a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. These two associates imparted their scheme to a few more, whom they judged worthy of trust, and whom they bound to secrecy by a solemn oath. Of these new associates Thomas Winter was one, a gentleman of no note. It occurred to them, that a certain Gui Fawkes, then in Flanders, a soldier of fortune in the Spanish service, would be an useful man in the work they were upon. Winter went abroad to make proposals to him, and to bring him to England. They came back together. Gui engaged in the plot, and, to deceive

* See his *Negotiations*, printed at Paris, 1749.

the world, appeared as footman to Mr. Piercy. Adjoining the parliament-house was an edifice, as Speed tells us, which served as withdrawing rooms for the lords when assembled in parliament, and during the recess was at the disposal of the keeper of the place. Catesby hired the house with an intention of running a mine from the cellar under the parliament house; Fawkes undertook to work it. But they were obliged to wait, before they could get possession of the rooms, by reason of the Scotch commissioners, who there held their deliberations on the projected union between England and Scotland. It was the eleventh of December before the conspirators could enter upon the premises: they were seven in number, Mr. Tresham, an acquaintance of Cecil was one of them. Mortimer,† from an authentic paper of Cecil, assures us that they entered by night, and never after appeared in sight; having provided themselves with baked meat, they had no occasion to send out for provisions. Fawkes took with him mining tools and timber frames to support the earth. On that very day, the eleventh of December, 1604, they began to dig in the cellar, sunk their mine, and carried it on as far as the partition wall by Christmas eve. The wall was nine feet thick, and it employed them till Candlemas day before they got half way through.* No more than five days remained, when the parliament was to meet. The work in so short a time could not possibly be ready for their destruction. Parliament was prorogued to the third of October, and then to the fifth of November. This double prorogation afforded sufficient time for the conspirators to complete their operations, and founds a strong suspicion that the minister was no stranger to their mad undertaking.

When they had worked half way through the wall we have mentioned, they were suddenly startled at a noise coming from the other side. Fawkes went out to see what it was. He returned with the pleasing account, that the noise came from a large cellar, directly under the House of Lords, full of coals, then on sale, and to be let as soon as the coals were removed. Piercy hired the cellar, bought the remainder of the coals, and sent to Holland for thirty barrels of gunpowder. He hired a house in Lambeth, near the river, to receive the combustible cargo, as soon as it should arrive. There he stowed it, and from thence removed it by night into his cellar. The barrels were carefully covered over with iron bars, with a thousand billets, and five hundred faggots, as his fire provision for the winter. After this the plotters thought it prudent to disperse. Fawkes went over to Flanders, as John Speed relates, came back in September, received the keys of the cellar, laid in more powder and more fuel, and then retired into the country, where he remained till the end of October. From the circumstance of his taking the keys, it appears that the cellar door was kept locked, though Mr. Hume assures us, that it was boldly flung open, and every body permitted to enter, as if it contained nothing dangerous. From these minute and incoherent circumstances, stated by different authors, it seems that every one has laboured to make out a plausible account of this dark conspiracy, without being able to ascertain what is to be relied on,

* Hist. Eng.

† Mortimer, *ibid.*

and what not. The unaccountable proceedings of the conspirators are represented in so strange a light, that it might be thought a matter of doubt, whether any real plot ever existed, did we not know it from other circumstances. The existence of a plot is a fact, says Mr. Hume, as certain as it appears incredible. By a few fanatics, more fit for Bedlam than for civil society, an execrable plot was devised, without the least prospect of advantage to themselves, or to the body of which they were reputed members. So indigested even was their plan, and with so little forecast was it begun and carried on, that they had advanced some way in the mine, as we are told, before they thought of what was to be done after the explosion had taken place.

SECTION III. *Detection of the Plot.*

TEN days before the parliament met, an unknown person put a letter into the hand of Lord Monteagle's servant, with A. D. 1605. a strict charge to deliver it safe to his master. Monteagle was a Catholic peer, the son of Lord Morley. The letter had no date and no name subscribed. In words very obscure and enigmatical it warned his lordship, with warm expressions of friendship, not to attend parliament on the day of its meeting, "as God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of this time; for they should receive a sudden blow, and not see who hurts them." Monteagle knew not what to make of the letter; he at first fancied it to be a trick, that some one had devised to frighten and laugh at him; but, upon reflection, he began to doubt, whether something more serious might not be couched under that enigmatical language; and in the end concluded, the most prudent step would be to carry the letter to Secretary Cecil, lately created Earl of Salisbury. This unexpected openness of Lord Monteagle seems to have disconcerted the earl's plan of sending similar notices to the other twenty Catholic peers, who sat in parliament at that time. The design of those notices, as it is conjectured, was to deter those peers from appearing in their places on that day; their absence by that means would have furnished plausible grounds for charging them with the guilt of being privy to the plot. This is no vague conjecture. For the two Catholic lords, Mordaunt and Stourton, were actually fined, the former ten thousand pounds, and the latter four thousand, because their absence raised a suspicion of their being made acquainted with the conspiracy.* Salisbury perused the mysterious letter, and affected to treat it at first as a ridiculous matter not worth notice. He showed it to some of the privy council; they could make nothing of it. The king was hunting in the country, and not expected in town before the first of November. The letter was handed about as a jest from one lord to another for five whole days. It was given to the king as soon as he came to town. His majesty read it, and from the singularity of its style, conjectured that it hinted at something dangerous and important to the state. From a letter in Winwood's memorials,† it is inferred, that the artful secretary

* Hume.

† Vol. II.

guided the king in his conjectures: every sentence and every word of Lord Monteagle's letter was diligently canvassed; the conclusion of his majesty was, that the suddenness of the unseen blow must denote a destructive contrivance by gunpowder, and that the warning given to Lord Monteagle was from some friendly hand, that he might keep out of the way of danger. That this notice to Lord Monteagle was given by some one well acquainted with the plot, is most evident; some writers positively say it was by one of the conspirators. Upon unquestionable authority, it moreover appears highly probable, as mentioned above, that Tresham acted a double part, and betrayed the whole secret of his fellow traitors to Cecil. Hence it appears highly probable, that the letter was composed by Cecil himself, and conveyed to Lord Monteagle in the manner stated above, either by Tresham, or by some other ministerial agent.

It must be observed, that notwithstanding the advice given by the privy council, to have all the vaults under the parliament house diligently searched, three days elapsed before any search was made, or even an order given for it; as if the sagacious minister was guided solely by his own views, and had already fixed the hour and the mode of detecting a secret of which he was well apprized beforehand. On the fourth day of November, in the afternoon, the Lord Chamberlain, with Lord Monteagle, went, as it were, out of mere ceremony, in compliance with his official duty, to visit the adjacent rooms and vaults, and to see if all was safe. The door of the noted cellar stood open; the chamberlain went in, and observing a man standing in a corner, asked him who he was, and to whom that quantity of fuel belonged. This man was no other than Gui Fawkes; he answered, that his name was Johnson, and that the fuel belonged to his master, Mr. Piercy. Your master is well provided against the blasts of winter, replied his lordship, and departed, as if he suspected nothing. The chamberlain made his report to the privy council: the fixed time for a public discovery of Cecil's important secret was now spun out to its full length. Sir Thomas Knevelt, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, received an order to go with proper attendants, at midnight, to the said cellar, under the pretext of searching for stolen tapestry. Sir Thomas went, as directed, and found a man cloaked and booted, standing at the cellar door, whom he took into custody as a suspicious person: it was the same Gui Fawkes, with a dark lantern, a tinder box, and three matches in his pocket. They entered the vault, turned over the faggots, and discovered the barrels of gunpowder. Catesby and Piercy, with some of their accomplices, hurried out of town next day, and repaired to a certain spot in Warwickshire, where they had agreed to meet some other gentlemen, as they gave out, upon a hunting party. The discovery of the plot in London being quickly rumoured through the country, the posse comitatus was immediately raised to apprehend the conspirators. Catesby being resolved to defend himself, persuaded Sir Everard Digby, and the other gentlemen that were with him, to provide themselves with arms, and to prepare for a vigorous resistance. The Sheriff closely pursued them; they took refuge in a house belonging to Mr. Stephen Littleton, near Stourbridge; there the sheriff's men attacked

them. Catesby, Piercy, and the two Wrights, were shot dead upon the spot; the rest surrendered.

To judge from the extraordinary accounts which our historians have given of the gunpowder plot, there can be little doubt of the part that Cecil acted in it: by the means of his spies he most probably had the knowledge, and perhaps the direction, of its whole process. Can it possibly be supposed, that the buildings adjoining the parliament-house, and appropriated to the use of the lords during the session, should be let and taken possession of in the manner they were by Catesby, without being noticed and reported by some of those emissaries and watchmen employed by Cecil in every corner of the town and country? That Piercy, with his six associates, carrying mining tools and timber frames, should enter and begin to dig on the very day that the Scotch commissioners went away; that they should provide themselves with baked meats, and none of them be seen abroad from the eleventh of December to the twenty-fourth, without raising some suspicion? That the sturdy strokes, necessary to pierce a wall nine feet thick, should be continued from Christmas-eve till Candlemas-day, and no inquiry made? That they should have had no knowledge of the adjoining cellar being to be let, but by mere accident, though lying in the very spot where the mine was to be sprung? That Piercy should be permitted by the keeper to remain in his lodgings, and to lay in such quantities of fuel for his winter provision, as if the lords were to give up to him the use of the rooms and their wardrobe during the session? That six and thirty barrels of gunpowder, or of any other commodity, could be brought from Holland, lodged in a private dwelling hired for the purpose in Lambeth, and be from thence conveyed into a cellar under the parliament-house, without exciting some curiosity and some talk? It is difficult to account for that torpid inactivity of the prime minister in a matter of such peril and magnitude, as Lord Monteaule's letter portended, unless we suppose him to have been acquainted not only with the meaning, but with the design of the letter. Six days passed, and the whole was considered as a joke; the king by a fancied impulse of the Holy Ghost, who is said in the parliamentary statute to have inspired his royal mind, then seriously declared, that gunpowder was at the bottom of it: still four days more were suffered to elapse with the greatest unconcern and visible security. How did it happen that the Lord Chamberlain took so superficial a view of the terrific vault after so serious a warning? Why was another inspection to be made, and that at midnight, by a peace officer, under the pretext of searching for tapestry? Did the privy council, did the king stand in need of so pitiful a pretext to warrant their nightly proceedings, or to disguise their care for the public safety? In the right honourable secretary of state it may have been all a trick; it has very much the appearance of one; his supine security, carried on to the very eve of the threatened explosion, favours such a suspicion. And what proof has ever been adduced to show, that the whole inflammable apparatus was not arranged with the knowledge, and perhaps by the contrivance, of the dark designing Cecil? King James used to call the fifth of November, Cecil's holiday. Tresham, one of the nine

conspirators, was committed to the Tower of London, in order to take his trial, as was thought, with the other state prisoners. But a sudden death, occasioned by poison, as his physician Dr. Butler declared, puts him, opportunely for the minister, out of the way of being heard. For had he been permitted to live and appear in a public court of justice, strong is the suspicion that he might have betrayed a secret which Cecil did not wish the world to know.

SECTION IV. *The Gunpowder Plot no Popish Plot.*

THE plot had thus far been managed according to Cecil's wish : A. D. 1606. his next undertaking was to perpetuate its memory, and to fling the whole odium of its destructive design upon the Roman Catholics. With that intent he took care to diffuse a general notion through the nation, that the gunpowder treason had been wickedly concerted and carried on by the machinations of that body, and he therefore gave it the denomination of a Popish plot. How unjustly that odious denomination has been applied and propagated to the present day, a few remarks will suffice to show. The denomination is evidently meant to insinuate, that the plot was either planned in common by some principal members of the Catholic persuasion, or sanctioned by the tenets of their religion ; neither of which ever was or ever can be proved.

1st. No Catholic of any distinguished note or character stands accused of being either an accomplice or an abettor of that execrable conspiracy. History furnishes us with the names of nine men, and calumny itself has not been able to muster more than nine, who any ways concurred or consented to the plot ; all in a private station of life, men of no rank, of no authority, and of no great connexions. But they were reputed Catholics. Be it so : whatever may have been their religious profession or their practice before they engaged in treason, the moment they engaged they departed from the principles and the duties of their Catholic profession. Now, on account of the treason of nine such men, whom no Catholic ever did or ever will attempt to justify, is it reasonable, is it consistent with common justice, or with common sense, to stigmatize the whole Catholic body ? If the errors or misdemeanours of a few individuals are to be cast upon the whole, where shall we find an assemblage of mortal men secure from censure ? Will any one dare to charge the crime of treason upon the whole apostolic college, because Judas, one of the twelve, betrayed his divine master ? What outrage and what folly would it be to load the Catholic Church with the imputation of schism, of Lutheranism, or of Calvinism, because Henry VIII. Martin Luther, and John Calvin, were once members of the Catholic communion ? To magnify the number of conspirators, some authors include those country gentlemen and their attendants who met Catesby in Warwickshire on the sixth of November, and defended him against the sheriff's posse. It appears evident, from Sir Everard Digby's trial, that those gentlemen at that time had no knowledge of the gunpowder treason. That Catesby and his associates, from London, were accused of some misdemeanour, they most probably knew ; but that they were

guilty of a plot which was known to nine persons only, they could not possibly conjecture. It was the calamity of those days to accuse Catholics of dark plots, which had no existence any where except in the ministerial cabinet.

2d. It is not credible that the body of Roman Catholics could so far forget their religion and their interest, as to engage in a desperate plot, from which they had the worst of consequences to dread, and no good to expect. Twenty Catholic peers, the ornament and chief support of the Catholic cause, then sat in the upper house; in case of an explosion they all must have perished in the common wreck. Their destruction would have been an irreparable misfortune to the Catholic interest, and clearly demonstrates that the gunpowder plot cannot with any propriety be denominated a Popish plot, or a plot designed by Catholics to promote the Catholic cause. Can any man in his right senses imagine, that the explosion was to have acted like a magic sound, and that from the ashes of the dead, a new king, a new ministry, and a new parliament, were instantly to start up and to re-instate the Catholic religion? The conduct of the conspirators, indeed, was such as if they thought so. But, in fact, they did not think about it; from the authors whom we have quoted above, it appears, that the future welfare of religion made no part of their plan, nor ever entered their thoughts. In an account of the plot we are expressly told that they had advanced some way in the mine, without having once considered what measures were to be pursued after the mine was sprung. So wholly were they bent upon the sole object of revenge, that they seem to have had no other object in view. Let impartial men now judge, whether so indigested and so mad an undertaking, of nine vindictive fanatics, can possibly be deemed a Popish plot, as is generally represented.

3d. It is pretended, that Roman Catholics hold every undertaking, however horrid, to be lawful, if the mother Church is benefited by it. Certain writers, to their shame, generally betray no less malevolence than ignorance, almost as often as they touch upon Catholic doctrines. They are much in the habit of asserting one calumny in support of another,* when neither has the least foundation in truth. So it has happened in the many declamations that have annually been made upon the subject of the gunpowder treason. The knowledge of what Catholics really teach and believe in matters of faith and morality, is to be gathered from their approved authors, not from the loose assertions and abusive declamations of their adversaries. Upon examination it will be found, that the Catholic doctrine differs not from that of the apostle, who declares, that "evil is not to be done that good may come from it."† That no intention whatever can sanctify any sinful or immoral action, and that no prospect of any eventual advantage can ever justify treason or murder, is a maxim held by all who faithfully adhere to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion.

4th. To make the story of a Popish plot pass more current through the world, the enemies of the Catholic cause have employed much misrepresentation, much virulence, and much falsehood, in

* See Sect. XXXII.

† Rom. iii. 8.

endeavouring to prove that several of the Catholic clergy were concerned as principals in the gunpowder treason. They have failed in their endeavour: but had they succeeded still they would have proved nothing against the Catholic clergy at large, unless they could have shown that such conspiracies and treasons were by principle authorized amongst them. John Speed, with other historians, but without proof, has asserted, that the three Jesuits, Gerard, Tesmond, alias Greenway, and Garnet, were implicated in the plot; and Smollett has moreover added, that Mr. Garnett administered an oath of secrecy to the conspirators. If so, how did it happen that the sagacious attorney-general, Sir Edward Coke, should know nothing of it; or if he did, that he should let it pass unnoticed in his charge? From the manner in which that learned lawyer conducted the prosecution, it is evident, that he wanted neither inclination nor abilities to expose the accused, in as criminal a light as the case would admit. Can it be contended, that it was a more heinous crime in Mr. Garnet to have kept a secret, which he could not have disclosed without sacrilege, than to have concurred in a wicked oath for the encouragement of treason? Why was he indicted for concealing only, if he had been guilty of committing it? The conclusion then must be, that either no oath was ever administered by Mr. Garnet, or that no evidence could be found to prove it. The public attestation given by the French ambassador, Monsieur de la Boderie, as mentioned above, is alone sufficient to wipe off every aspersion that has been cast upon Mr. Garnet and his brethren, respecting the gunpowder treason. Mr. Garnet, from the station he held in his Order, was a well-known character. Had he been possessed of less talents, and of fewer virtues, probably much less would have been said and written by the enemies of his religion to make him appear different from what he was. He was universally respected for his meek and humble deportment, for his prudence and charity, for his sweet and engaging behaviour towards all men, as a contemporary writer witnesses of him. He finally died a martyr for his religious fidelity in the exercise of his ministerial function. A brief account of his conduct in the last stage of his mortal pilgrimage, may not be unacceptable, as it is in substance transmitted to us in a manuscript, penned by an eyewitness of his trial and death.

The reverend Henry Garnet having been arraigned for concealing the knowledge he had of the gunpowder treason, and being found guilty by a jury of men who regarded not the sacred tie of sacramental confession, under which he received that knowledge, was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. On the third of May, 1606, in the morning, he was conducted out of his chamber in the Tower, placed in a sledge upon a bundle of straw, and publicly conveyed through the city to St. Paul's church-yard. There, opposite to the west gate of the church, a scaffold was erected, and adjoining to it a high gibbet; on one side a stage was raised, on which he was to be quartered, and near it a blazing fire for the burning of his entrails. Being helped out of the sledge, the motion of which had made him dizzy, he went up the steps of the scaffold, and with a smiling countenance saluted the crowd; then lift-

ing up his eyes towards heaven, he thus addressed them: "This day is the finding of the holy cross, under the protection whereof it has pleased God that I am to put an end to all the crosses and miseries of the present life; it is a day of solemnity and jubilation to us. The cause of my death you are already acquainted with, and I willingly submit to the order of divine Providence. As for the late treasonable attempt of blowing up the parliament house, as I hope for salvation I never was acquainted with it, only in confession, which I was obliged not to reveal. I have always detested such treasonable practices, I know them to be contrary to the sentiments of the Bishop of Rome, and not countenanced by any doctrine in our Church." He was proceeding to say something concerning his faith, when the recorder interrupted him, and pressed him to own his guilt against the king, and to ask forgiveness. "As far as I have offended his majesty," replied Mr. Garnet, "so far I ask pardon with all my heart." "Do you hear him," exclaimed the recorder, "he asks pardon of the king for the gunpowder plot." "Mr. Recorder, you wrong me," said Mr. Garnet, "I was never guilty of such a design: whatever regards that design, I am obliged to declare myself innocent." Having made this solemn declaration, he prepared himself for his last moments by fervent prayer. Lifting up his eyes to heaven, and making the sign of the cross, he devoutly said, "We adore thee, O Christ, and we bless thee, because by thy cross thou hast redeemed the world; this sign shall be in heaven, when the Lord shall come to judge. Alleluia." Then calling upon the blessed Virgin Mary, and several times repeating the words, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," he placed his arms across, and was turned off the ladder. The executioner was about to cut him down immediately, as had been done to many others who suffered for religion, but the people would not permit it; and when his severed head was held up to them, instead of shouting, as was usual at the execution of a traitor, they moved off in silence, and with discontent in their looks: many of them said, that his behaviour was a plain contradiction to the character which his enemies had given of him.

5th. To make the tale of a Popish plot still more popular, it was maliciously reported, that the gunpowder conspiracy owed its birth to two papal Bulls, in which the Catholics of England were supposed to have been exhorted not to admit any other than a Catholic sovereign to reign over them. In answer to this calumny it must be observed, that the charge alludes to two pastoral letters, which Pope Clement VIII. a virtuous and enlightened prelate, addressed to the English Catholics in 1599. But no exhortation of a disloyal or seditious tendency is to be found in either of those letters, or in any other that is known to come from Rome. Clement, like a good shepherd, exhorts his little flock in the British dominions to bear their sufferings with a Christian patience; to pray for the grace of fortitude, to remain firm in faith, steadfast in their duty, and resigned to the divine will. The parliament met on the day appointed, and immediately adjourned to the ninth. The king then told them in his speech, that the plot should make no alteration in his plan of

government; that he knew how to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty; that he did not charge the plot upon the body of Catholics, nor upon any foreign power; and in his proclamation for apprehending the conspirators, he declares it to have been the contrivance of more no than eight or nine desperados. A declaration so authentic from the throne surely ought to have prevented, or to have wiped away every tinge of suspected guilt from the great body of Catholics. But to satisfy the political views of the ministerial and puritanical party, a lasting stigma was to be fixed upon the Catholic character. A loud cry against Popery resounded through the nation; the sound, after a lapse of two hundred years, has not quite subsided. A day was appointed to commemorate the villany of nine abandoned men; the institution is still observed with no other effect than to perpetuate ill will among Christians, distrust and animosity among subjects. Bitter declamation, calculated to mislead and inflame the public mind against loyal subjects, has too long disgraced the pulpit in the morning, mobbish bonfires in the evening have continued to blaze on the fifth of November, to the great annoyance of peaceful citizens, and to the discredit of a civilized nation.

SECTION V. *Situation of Catholics in England.*

THE Earl of Salisbury and the Puritans had now succeeded in A. D. 1606. their malicious schemes against the Roman Catholics. The treasonable practices of nine individuals had given them an efficacious handle for preventing that ascendancy which they feared the Catholic interest might possibly obtain under King James. James had been baptized a Catholic, he was educated a Calvinist, and crowned head of the established Church in England. Whether he ever meant to befriend the Catholic or not, is very doubtful; that he was no friend to persecution, appears certain; yet on many occasions he was compelled by the temper of the times to permit the execution of those penal and sanguinary laws, which were enacted in the foregoing reign. During the twenty-two years that he reigned, he signed the death warrant of twenty-five priests and laymen, and sent above a hundred into banishment, while enormous fines were extorted from the laity for not conforming to the established worship. For a cover to the persecuting plan, ministers devised the formation of a new oath, which all should be obliged to take as a test of their civil allegiance. The real intention of the devisers was very different from what they professed. Their intention was to perplex and divide the Catholics; to persecute and misrepresent all those as disaffected persons who should refuse to take it. Archbishop Bancroft was charged with the formation of this ensnaring oath; Christopher Perkins, an apostate Jesuit, lent him his assistance. They executed their task in so complete a manner as to answer every ministerial purpose, which was to entail either spiritual or temporal ruin upon every Catholic in England. The equivocal shape in which this treacherous oath appeared in 1606, produced the very effect which was intended, disagreement and confusion. The ambiguous meaning of the words was such, that serious doubts arose

whether it could be taken with a safe conscience ; it was rejected by some, adopted by others ; the intention of the minister was, that it should be taken by none of the Catholic persuasion.

In this disagreement of opinions upon a subject so important and so delicate, Catholics had the misfortune at that time of having no ecclesiastical tribunal in the nation, to which they could recur for the solution of their doubts, and the direction of their conduct. All their national bishops were extinct ; the last of them, Dr. Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, died under confinement in 1584. Upon his death the episcopal order entirely ceased in England, the Catholics became a flock without their particular pastor, the hierarchy was broken, England was reduced to the situation of a foreign mission, under the immediate jurisdiction of the apostolic See. The clergy applied to the Pope for the appointment of a bishop or bishops to preside over them. The application was well received ; but, upon consideration, it was apprehended that the appointment might give umbrage to the queen and her ministers. The scheme was then abandoned for a time, and by the authority of Cardinal Cajetan, protector of the English nation, the secular clergy missionaries were put under the government of a dignified priest, bearing the title of Archpriest, and enjoying episcopal jurisdiction. The cardinal protector, by an official letter in 1598, constituted the Rev. George Blackwell in that prelatial dignity. The nomination at first gave uneasiness to some of the clergy, till it received the Pope's confirmation, upon which all disagreements ceased. The regular clergy were under the direction of their own respective superiors.

This was the face of the English mission, when James's new oath of allegiance came forth. Its merits were canvassed by the Catholics in several meetings. Most agreed, that it could not conscientiously be taken. The archpriest differed from them, and his example drew several of the clergy and laity to take it. Father Preston likewise, superior to the Benedictines, agreed in opinion with the archpriest, and his authority engaged several of his brethren on the same side of the question. A schism ensued. To prevent further mischief, a copy of the oath was sent to Rome for the Pope's decision. After a minute discussion of the terms, in which it was expressed, it was judged to contain things contrary to faith, and consequently could not lawfully be taken. This decision his Holiness signified in a Brief, dated September 22nd, 1606. Several retracted, others persevered, and went even so far as to maintain their opinion in written treatises. The Pope renewed his censure in a second brief, on the 23d of August, 1607. Foreign divines also undertook to discuss the point : they decidedly pronounced against the oath as ambiguous, as captious, and trespassing upon the spiritual jurisdiction of the holy See. The opposite party was still unwilling to submit ; the controversy went on during the greatest part of James's reign, though with some respite, as ministry was more or less active in pressing the oath. In a treatise, entitled, *The Advocate of Conscience Liberty*, and published in 1673, the Protestant writer remarks, "that the refusal of Catholics to take the oath was no proof of their disloyalty ; that it was but the effect of a delicate conscience, which can never give the least disturbance to the

sovereign or his government." Their loyal conduct in the civil wars was the strongest test they could possibly give of their allegiance and fidelity. No Catholic of any rank or character failed in his allegiance, while numberless Protestants, after they had taken the oath, joined the standard of revolt, and never quitted it till they had imbrued their hands in their sovereign's blood.

During the rebellion and the usurpation of Cromwell, Catholics remained free from the tender of any oath; they were suffered even to remain unmolested for some time after the restoration, till the echo of pretended plots against the state, and the swell of puritanical clamour against Popery, prevailed on a pliant king to increase the code of penal laws. The proposal of a simple oath of allegiance, divested of all ambiguous and ensnaring clauses, had been often made, and had as often fallen to nought; nor was it before the present reign, that Catholics were allowed to testify their civil allegiance by an oath, which leaves their religious principles untouched.

Mr. Blackwell was one of those who continued to maintain the lawfulness of James's oath after its condemnation, and on that account was deprived of his ecclesiastical dignity in 1608. Mr. George Birket succeeded him. The government of the mission, under an archpriest, was carried on till the year 1623, when Dr. William Bishop received the episcopal character under the title of Chalcedon, and was placed over the Catholic Church of England. He erected a chapter, consisting of a dean and eighteen canons, to be his standing council; besides these he appointed five vicar generals, and twenty archdeacons, with rural deans to help him in the government of the distant counties.*

SECTION VI. *Thomists and Molinists.*

POPE Clement VIII. died in the year 1605, his successor Leo XI. A. D. 1607. followed him at the end of twenty-five days: Paul V. of the Borghese family was then chosen. The beginning of this Pope's reign was marked by his severe proceedings against the Venetians. The Venetian government had published a decree prejudicial to the rights of religion. The Pope represented its injustice to the senate, and demanded its suppression. The senate considered the demand as an attack upon their civil rights, and refused to comply. Upon that his Holiness excommunicated the senate, and laid the whole republic under an interdict. War was the consequence, which for two years was carried on with violence by the two contending parties. Henry IV. of France interfered, and by his mediation the quarrel was amicably settled. During the dispute no less animosity had been displayed by the pen, than by the sword. Then it was that Paul Scarpi, a man of talents, usually known by the name of Fra Paolo, distinguished himself among others by his acrimonious writings against the See of Rome. Of this author's publications, perhaps the most mischievous is that which he calls the History of the Council of Trent, a spurious and malignant compilation, for authentic information little to be relied on, yet often

quoted by more modern writers, who bear a semblance with him in sentiment and style. From not knowing his real character, these writers may possibly imagine, that in quoting Fra Paolo's authority they appeal to an orthodox and candid author. Fra Paolo was neither.

A theological controversy, which had for some time engaged the attention of the learned, deserves to be here mentioned. Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, published a treatise upon the nature of divine grace and free will. His manner of explaining how they concurred together in the production of a free and meritorious act in man, was new to the old disciples of St. Thomas of Aquin, and consequently drew from them a spirited attack. No new article of faith was here set up. Both parties were orthodox, both agreed in the same Catholic belief of free will in man, and of God's supreme dominion over all his creatures. The difference of opinion lay solely in the manner of reconciling the two extremes. Two rival schools of speculative theology, under the denomination of Molinists and Thomists, were now opened. The first were thought to allow too much, and the second too little to the freedom of man's will. The nature of the question, and the character of the disputants, made it an interesting subject of scholastic controversy. As an earnest of their sincere submission to the Church, both parties consented to lay the merits of the question before the supreme judge of theological disputes. Clement VIII. instituted a congregation of learned men at Rome to hear and judge. Public disputations were held, at which the Pope himself frequently assisted. The disputants engaged on very unequal terms. The Molinists, as authors of a new opinion, were constrained to act upon the defensive only; their judges were all Thomists, and of course strongly prepossessed in favour of the old system against the new. Clement lived not long enough to terminate the question. Paul V. put an end to it in 1607, by permitting both parties to hold their own opinion, but under a strict charge of observing that moderation and decorum towards each other, which the nicest attention to fraternal charity requires from religious men. Paul died in the year 1621: his successor was Gregory XV. who, after a reign of two years, was succeeded by Urban VIII.

SECTION VII. *Heresy of Jansenius.*

JANSENISM is one of the most subtle and most pernicious heresies that ever infested the Church of God. Although it takes its name from Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ipres, in the Low Countries, it draws its existence from a cabal of five other innovators, who were linked with him to overthrow religion, while they professed themselves its most devoted friends. The three distinguished members of the cabal were Jansenius, the Abbé Saint Cyran, and the Sieur Antony Arnaud. These dark designing men, knowing that an open attack upon the doctrines of the Church would involve them in the same anathemas which had ever been pronounced against false teachers, constructed their plan of operations on a very different principle from that of the reformers in the foregoing century. They hoped to effect by stratagem, what they could not yet

expect to do by open force. They declared against no one article of Catholic belief, and not one did they reject. But by misconstruction they drew erroneous conclusions from the writings of St. Augustin, and by false reasoning held them out for Catholic doctrines. They publicly avowed the tenets of the Catholic Church, but by straining the observance of her practical precepts to a point too rigid, and too impracticable to be complied with, they tacitly undermined the foundation of all morality and religion. They professed themselves the true disciples of St. Augustin, and staunch followers of his doctrine. Under the shield of that enlightened doctor the hoped to lurk concealed within the bosom of the Catholic Church, while they lay gnawing, like a brood of vipers, into her very vitals. Each chief of the cabal had his task assigned him, an excessive severity of morals was the lesson which each one had to teach ; its obvious effect was to deter men from the practice, and to lead them by degrees into a disbelief of the religion, which, according to their new teachers, exacted duties above their strength.

Cornelius Jansenius, the reputed father of Jansenism, was son of a Dutch peasant ; he began his studies at Utrecht, and finished them at Louvain. His talents and learning merited him a doctor's degree and a professorship in that university. His connexions with an ancient professor, called Janson, laid the foundation of his ruin. This grey prevaricator was strongly attached to the errors of Baius, a Louvanian doctor, condemned for heresy some years before, and he instilled the same sentiments into the young Jansenius. Proud at the thought of reviving the principles and credit of Baius in the university of Louvain, Jansenius seriously began to qualify himself for the hazardous undertaking. Baius had built his system upon the misconstrued text of St. Augustin, and called himself his true disciple. Jansenius followed his footsteps, and devoted almost the whole of his time to the study of St. Augustin's works. With his associates in error, he agreed to take upon himself the task of compiling a complete treatise upon divine grace, justification, and free will. The work is one large folio volume, entitled *Augustinus* ; it is held up by the party as containing the pure doctrine of St. Augustin upon those subjects. Jansenius's application to the theological disquisitions was not so close as to allow him no time for political intrigue. He deeply engaged in a plan of union between the Belgic provinces, like that of the Catholic and Protestant cantons of Switzerland. This treasonable attempt had nearly proved his ruin in the court of Spain. But a timely publication of his *Mars Gallicus*, which is a violent invective against the French nation, particularly for the assistance it had given to the revolted Belgians, not only cancelled his political transgression, but moreover merited him the bishopric of Ipres. He had then put the finishing stroke to his long laboured *Augustinus* ; he wished to introduce it with credit to public notice, but that was a difficulty which perplexed him. He knew the doctrines it contained to be different in substance from that which was taught in Catholic schools ; he knew it could not escape censure ; how to prevent the disgrace of those censures from falling upon the author, was his great concern. He flattered himself that every purpose would be answered by submitting his work before its pub-

lication to the judgment of the holy See. He accordingly sent a fair copy of his manuscript to the Pope, with a pompous profession of his readiness to submit to the decision which his Holiness should pass upon his Augustinus. Soon after this he was seized with a putrid fever, which carried him to the grave on the sixth of May, 1638. A few hours before he expired, he ordered his Augustinus to be brought to him; on the first leaf he wrote a direction to his two intimate friends, Framond and Calenus, for its publication; he directed them to follow that very copy which he sent them, and in which he believed no alteration could be made; but if the holy See should think proper to alter the text, that he was a child of obedience, and would be obedient to the Church, even in his last breath. He then gave the book back to his secretary, with a charge to see his order executed. How this order for the speedy publication of a work, which he had submitted to the holy See, and which he knew must be condemned, can possibly be reconciled with a sincere profession of obedience, is not easy to ascertain.

Scarce had the Bishop of Ipres ceased to breathe, when, conformably to his will, Framond and Calenus set the press to work. The famous Augustinus appeared in print soon after, nor was it long before this first edition was followed by three others, one at Paris, with the approbation of six doctors of Sorbonne; another in Holland, and a third at Rouen; a manifest proof, that St. Cyran and his friends of the secret cabal, had not been idle in preparing proselytes for its reception. Grotius read it, and did not hesitate to say, that if the Catholics admitted the principles of Jansenius, an union between the Roman and reformed Churches might be speedily effected. Pope Urban VIII. in a Bull, dated March the sixth, 1641, published a general condemnation of the Augustinus, as fraught with many errors already anathematised by the holy See. The condemnation operated as a warning against the danger of seduction, but suppressed not the growing evil. Religion was attacked, the Faithful were alarmed, the bishops of France and Flanders apprehended serious consequences. In an accurate analysis of the Jansenian volume, the whole drift and substance of its contents are reduced to the five following propositions.

1st, Some of God's commandments are impossible to the Faithful, though they desire and endeavour to keep them as far as they are able, nor have they the grace which is requisite to render their observance possible to them.

2d, In the state of corrupt nature man never resists interior grace.

3d, To merit and demerit in the state of corrupt nature a liberty exempt from the necessity of acting is not requisite; but sufficient is the liberty which is exempt from coercion.

4th, The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of a previous interior grace for every action in particular, even for the beginning of faith, and their heresy precisely consisted in this, because they pretended that this grace was of such a nature as to leave man's will free, either to resist or to embrace it.

5th, It is an error of the Semipelagians to say, that Jesus Christ died and shed his blood for all men, without exception.

These five propositions were juridically denounced to the holy See, and in a formal instrument, signed by eighty-five bishops of France, were laid before Innocent X. the successor of Urban. Innocent, after a discussion of the doctrines they contained, solemnly condemned and proscribed them as heretical, in a dogmatical Bull, bearing date May 31st, 1653.

SECTION VIII. *Jansenism detected.*

THE condemnation of the five propositions had been dreaded by A. D. 1670. the Jansenian faction, from the moment they were denounced. Saint Amour, their agent at Rome, was instructed to use all his interest and all his talents to prevent the blow. But the blow was struck : every artifice was then tried to break or elude its force. The first clamour of the party was, that the Bull, in condemning the five propositions, had condemned so many Catholic truths. Arnaud, a celebrated doctor of Sorbonne, and after the death of the Abbé Saint Cyran, in 1643, the head and oracle of the Jansenian faction, immediately saw how weak and futile the objection was which the first burst of passion had started against the Bull. He set it aside, and immediately started another equally futile and absurd. He allowed the propositions to be heretical in the obvious meaning of the words, as they there stood ; but he denied them to be the propositions of his late friend, the Bishop of Ipres, or to be found in his *Augustinus*. He maintained his assertion in a printed letter, which drew upon him a public censure from the Sorbonne. A warm dispute arose, the sentiments of men divided, recourse was had a second time to the holy See for a solemn decision. Alexander VII. had succeeded Innocent X. His Holiness took the matter into immediate consideration. In a Bull, dated October 16th, 1656, he declared to the Christian world, that the five controverted propositions were extracted from the book of Jansenius, and condemned in the very sense in which the author himself had explained them. The decision was clear and positive ; but Arnaud was determined not to be satisfied.

To protract and perplex the cause, his subtle genius suggested the distinction which is to be made between a matter of doctrine and a matter of fact. Whether the sense of the five propositions was heretical or not, he acknowledged to be a matter of doctrine, to be adopted or rejected as the sovereign pontiff, the judge of religious controversies, should decide. But whether the said propositions were contained or not in the book entitled *Augustinus*, he contended to be a pure matter of fact, in the decision of which the Pope, like any other man, was liable to err, and to the best of his judgment had actually erred. The distinction in the present question was too frivolous to attract any public notice. The French bishops received the two Bulls of Innocent and Alexander ; the civil power concurred in giving them support. To guard against the entrance of false teachers into the sacred ministry, it was proposed and enacted, that a formulary, expressing a sincere and unequivocal condemnation of the five propositions, should be exacted from all who aspired to any ecclesiastical office or preferment. In this state

matters rested during the reign of Alexander, to the year 1677. His successor Clement IX. being apprised of the violent ferment, occasioned by a rigorous exaction of the formulary, resolved to try more lenient measures, and permitted each one to interpret and subscribe it in whatever sense he should think fit to choose. This condescension, instead of lessening, increased the evil. An obstinate attachment to the new system of grace, in opposition to the decisions of the holy See, banished the hopes of union. After the death of Clement IX. in 1669, Lewis XIV. being eager to stop the abuses which a relaxation of discipline had introduced, gave an order for renewing the subscription of the formulary in full rigour, as had been first ordained. Arnaud was summoned: he refused to obey; the Sorbonne struck his name from the list of doctors; he retired in disgrace a voluntary exile into Holland, and at last died at Brussels in 1694.

During the pontificate of Clement's successor, who also took the name of Clement, Jansenism lay hushed to silence, but still brooding fresh mischief. Soon after the death of Clement X. another kind of contest arose between his successor Innocent XI. and Lewis XIV. on the subject of privileges, claimed by the king, in the collation of ecclesiastical benefices. Innocent considered the king's pretensions as a trespass upon his spiritual jurisdiction. Both were equally tenacious of their respective claims; neither would give way; very disagreeable consequences ensued. Consequent to the fleeting shortness of human life, many of the bishoprics in France became vacant; the king nominated new subjects to fill the places of the deceased; the Pope refused to ratify the royal nomination, so that in the course of a few years many particular flocks were left destitute of a pastor for want of canonical institution. The exasperated monarch sought revenge: he sought to mortify the Pope without rejecting his authority; the high prerogatives of power prompted him to vent his spleen in a manner the most unwarrantable and dangerous to religion. A general assembly of the French clergy was held in 1682; it consisted of thirty-four bishops only, and other ecclesiastical deputies convened by royal authority. The king demanded of them an explicit declaration of the papal power, with respect to temporal as well as spiritual concerns. The bishops, who seem either to have assumed or to have been disposed to flatter the resentment of their sovereign, made their famous declaration under four distinct propositions, in the name of the Gallican Church. Without pretending to infallibility themselves, they presumed to pronounce their sovereign pastor fallible, even in his dogmatical decisions of faith. The declaration was new, and although not contrary to any known article of faith, yet manifestly tended to loosen the tie, and to lessen the respect which should inviolably exist between the visible head and members of Christ's mystical body, the Church. The Faithful were scandalized, the Jansenists rejoiced, the Pope condemned the declaration, the king confirmed it by a public edict, the monarch's authority awed his subjects into silence.

It was not long before Lewis experienced the ill effects of his inconsiderate mode of revenge upon Innocent: his quarrel with the holy See emboldened the internal enemies of his crown in their

intrigues against the state. The Calvinists of France and Holland kept up a close correspondence with the Jansenists, whose cause they considered as their own. Lewis was not ignorant of their secret machinations : by his spies he knew every thing of consequence that was done in the most distant corner of his kingdom. The history of his grandfather furnished him with proofs the most deplorable, of what mischief religious enthusiasm is capable, if not timely checked. Hugonots and Jansenists were by principle equally hostile to regal and episcopal government. The numbers of the former were formidable, their dispositions menacing. From the year 1598, the edict of Nantes had secured to them the free exercise of their religion, with the enjoyment of certain civil privileges, and those privileges they might have continued to enjoy, had they known how to demean themselves as dutiful subjects, and peaceful citizens. But their restless and seditious conduct at that time rendered their toleration dangerous to the state. This determined the king with the advice of his council, to strike the evil in its very root. In 1685, he published an edict, which annulled that of Nantes, formerly made by Henry IV. The measure was strong and decisive, dictated as it seems by cautious policy, not by tyrannical persecution, as is generally represented by Protestant historians. Forty years of Lewis's reign had passed, and to the Hugonots no molestation was given, till they themselves had provoked it. The danger of seeing France once more involved in civil war, through the intrigues of democratical innovators, was visible on one hand, and on the other, no less visible was the loss arising from the banishment of so many industrious mechanics ; which of the two ought in sound policy to be most attended to, is a question for statesmen to decide. The political monarch of France judged, that public tranquillity could not be secured at too high a rate. In his royal mandate he ordained, that for the public safety the whole body of French Hugonots shall, within a certain time, either abjure the doctrines of Geneva, and embrace the Catholic faith, the religion of their forefathers, or quit the kingdom. To direct them in their choice, he ordered Catholic books of instruction to be distributed amongst them, and missionaries appointed to explain to them the articles of Catholic belief. The generality of them conformed ; but many hundreds chose to abjure their country rather than their principles ; they retired to a foreign land, some into Holland, Denmark, and England, others into Prussia and the Palatinate. Lewis XIV. has incurred severe censures for this arbitrary exertion of power against his Protestant subjects. But Lewis had seen to what lengths the democratic followers of John Calvin had carried their levelling principles against the throne in England : he took the most vigorous precautions for preventing the like tragical scenes in France. The vigour of his measures warded off the blow for the present, to fall with greater force at a more distant period. In less than a hundred years France has had to mourn the public murder of her king, his throne overturned, and a government of democratic tyranny erected in its stead.

SECTION IX. *Catholics in England oppressed by the Stuarts.*

WE have mentioned the appointment of a titular bishop of Chalcedon, with delegated powers to govern the English Catholics in their spiritual concerns. He died two years after his appointment in 1625, and had for his successor, Doctor Richard Smith, vested with the same title, and the same delegated powers. Bishop Smith imprudently affected the exercise of ordinary jurisdiction, at which the Protestant prelates took offence, and laid their complaints before the king. The king in consequence issued a proclamation, with the promise of a hundred pounds reward for any one, who should apprehend him. Upon this the persecuted bishop secretly withdrew into France, where he passed and ended the remainder of his days. From that time, to the death of Charles II. no superior of the episcopal order presided in England. The defect was supplied by the dean and chapter, who acted under the authority of Bishop Smith, till he died in 1655: after his death the chapter was empowered to exercise the same jurisdiction by a special grant from Alexander VII. This regulation lasted to the accession of James II. Innocent XI. then named four vicars apostolic, who divided the mission into as many districts, independent of each other, under the immediate jurisdiction of the holy See. They are all titular bishops of some foreign See; each one had his own district here assigned him for the exercise of his episcopal functions. From the time that these apostolic vicars have been appointed, the chapter's authority ceased, nor has it been renewed since.

Upon the demise of James I. his son Charles I. ascended the British throne, 1625. A treaty of marriage had been set on foot between him and the Infanta of Spain. The treaty came to nought; his majesty married the Princess Mary of France, daughter to Henry IV. This alliance procured the Catholics a temporary relief from the pressure of penal laws. Some of the Protestant bishops, particularly Archbishop Laud, seemed to lean towards the side of Catholic principles. The king's preachers openly commended them from the pulpit. This show of moderation in the Protestant clergy furnished the Dissenters with ample matter for declaiming against the Catholic as well as the established Church. They represented them both as the enemies of liberty, the abettors of arbitrary power, and obstinate supporters of the high prerogatives of the crown. Popery, the watch word of popular commotions, never failed of its effect. The sound caught the ear of the vulgar, it was loudly echoed through the land. In this the Puritanic faction had a double view, the one to draw the attention of government from the Dissenters, the other to stigmatise the Catholics, by charging them with the very traitorous design, which they themselves were preparing to execute. Their design was nothing less than to undermine the constitution of the realm, and to overset the throne. They seditiously accused the king of indulging the Catholics contrary to law, they persuaded the mob that England was upon the point of falling back under the papal yoke. By these and the like insinuations the populace was worked up into a kind of religious frenzy. A rebellion commenced with all the devastation of civil war. The king erected his royal standard in 1641,

and invited all his faithful subjects to come forward in defence of his crown. The Roman Catholics, though fettered with penal laws for their religion, and branded with the repute of disaffection towards a Protestant sovereign, hastened among the foremost to testify their loyalty. They levied troops at their own expense, they marched against the rebels, they sacrificed their property, their ease, their health, and lives, for the king and constitution : and this at a time when many of their clergy were inquitously dragged like malefactors to prison, and from prison to the gallows, for no other cause than that they were Catholic priests, peaceful ministers of a religion which taught the principles of piety to God, of fidelity to the king, of submission to the laws, of obedience to the civil magistrates, and of charity towards all men, even their enemies and persecutors.

After a bloody struggle for eight years, the republicans at length prevailed ; the scene was closed by the infamous trial and execution of the king on the 30th of January, 1649. His son Charles II. drew together the scattered royalists, and took the field against Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the rebel forces. The two armies met in battle near Worcester, on the third of September, 1651. Victory declared for the rebels ; the royalists fled in every direction. The king was left with a few attendants, amongst whom was Lord Wilmot and Colonel Giffard, a Catholic gentleman of Staffordshire, who undertook to guide them to a place of safety among his Catholic and loyal acquaintance. Night favoured their retreat. Early the next morning, which was Thursday, they arrived at White Ladies. Here the king dismissed his attendants, and committed himself to the fidelity of the Pendrels. William, the elder of five brothers, rented a little farm called Boscobel, belonging to the Fitzherberts, near White Ladies. His two brothers, Richard and John, lived in the neighbourhood, and earned their bread by day-labour. His majesty now assumed a peasant's dress and character ; to disguise himself the better, he cut his hair quite short, stained his hands and face with walnut leaves, put on a patched coat, a coarse shirt, and clouted shoes. He took a wood-bill in his hand, and spent the rest of the day in Boscobel wood with Richard Pendrel. In the dusk of the evening they set off for Madeley, a village in Shropshire, near the Severn, hoping to cross that river and escape into Wales. But when they approached the village, they were met by one Mr. Wolf, a Catholic gentleman, who told them that all the fords were guarded by the rebels, and that it was not safe for them to advance any further. The king then passed the Friday in one of Mr. Wolf's barns, and towards evening went off for Boscobel with his trusty guide, Richard Pendrel : they reached the place on Saturday morning, and as they were every hour exposed to a visit from some of the rebel party, the king concealed himself all that day, and part of Sunday, in an oak tree, since called the royal oak. John Pendrel in the interim, who had undertaken to be Lord Wilmot's guide, finding it dangerous to proceed through a country strictly watched by the rebels, brought him to Moseley, the seat of Mr. Whitgrave, a gentleman of good estate. He then went over to Boscobel to inquire what was become of the king. He found him returned from the Severn, disappointed of a passage, and greatly perplexed what

course to take. John immediately went back to Moseley, and related how matters stood. It was agreed that the king should be conducted thither, where they might concert measures for his escape into France. On Sunday evening his majesty was set on a miller's horse, and conducted to an appointed place, where Mr. Huddleston, the priest of the family, was ready to receive and lead him to Moseley. Under this loyal roof the king was sheltered from Sunday till Tuesday night. He slept in Mr. Huddleston's room on account of its being near to a hiding-hole, which those persecuting times rendered necessary for the priest's safety, against the search of blood-thirsty pursuivants. There his majesty thought it prudent to conceal himself on Monday night, when a sudden alarm was given that a party of soldiers were coming to search the house. Mr. Whitgrave met them at the gate, and prevailed upon them to go off. Three miles from Moseley lived Colonel Lane, a Protestant loyal gentleman, who had luckily procured a passport for his wife and servant to go to Bristol. It was proposed that the king should personate the servant, and under that disguise remove from the seat of danger. Lord Wilmot went over on Monday and settled the matter with Mr. Lane; the king was conducted thither on Tuesday night. He then quitted his peasant's dress for a new grey suit of cloth, took the name of William Jackson, mounted before Mrs. Lane on a double horse, and got safe to Bristol. From thence he made his way with much difficulty and various adventures to Brighthelmstone, where the vessel was provided to carry him to France.

Low vulgar prejudice, from which the noble historian of that calamitous rebellion was not exempt, has shamefully induced most Protestant writers either to suppress or deny these facts, which do so much honour to Catholic loyalty. Sir Roger L'Estrange has collected the names of those Catholics who contributed to King Charles's providential escape from the fatal third of September to the tenth, during all which time he was solely in the hands of Catholics: they were in number fifty-two, whom duty to God and their king lifted above the reach of temptation, above the terrors of danger, and allurements of gold, which the usurper set upon the king's head. General Monk, in the year 1660, had the good fortune to restore the monarch, whom the Catholics had saved. The loyalty of these was not requited in the manner they had reason to expect. Charles, in the tide of his prosperity, seems to have forgot, or never to have considered, how much he stood indebted to the faithful services which he received from Catholics in his distress. On some few individuals, indeed, he conferred distinguished titles, and then consented to deprive them of the most precious advantages, to which their rank entitled them. Against the whole Catholic body, which he knew and experienced to be true and steady in their allegiance by principle, he listened to the foulest calumnies, and gave is sanction to penal statutes more degrading even than the sanguinary laws of Elizabeth. He connived at the groundless fictions of Popish plots, maliciously fabricated by a disaffected party; he daily beheld inoffensive men accused, condemned, and executed for crimes which had no existence but in the invention of perjured hirelings, a Titus Oates or a Bedloe. In a fit of political resentment Ashley Cooper,

the unprincipled Earl of Shaftsbury, proposed an act for the creation of new oaths and tests, with no other view than to exclude some of the most able and most trusty men from the king's service; and the condescending king, less attentive to his interest than to his pleasures, gave his royal assent to the act; the operation of which, as Macpherson observes, could only tend to multiply perjuries, without enforcing obedience to government. Besides the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England, the test moreover requires a solemn declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints, as idolatrous.*

SECTION X. *The Test.*

STRANGERS to the pliant doctrine of making conscience and religion subservient to temporal interest, the Catholics of A. D. 1673. England then were, and still are, sorely aggrieved by a test, which compels them either to forswear themselves, or to forego every post of honour and emolument, every employment of public trust, and every offer of rendering any signal service to their king or country. By the existence of such a test they feel themselves degraded in the eyes of their fellow subjects, their honour stigmatized, their loyalty called in question, their religion insulted. Yet to all this they silently and patiently submit, rather than sacrifice their conscience, and betray their obligations to God: and should a Catholic be so weak and wicked as to declare himself a traitor to his conscience and religion, by taking the test, what assurance would he thereby give of his fidelity to the state? The declaratory disbelief of a speculative point of doctrine can be no pledge of practical allegiance. To those who through established custom admit the test, it is a subject of serious consideration, lest they take a rash or a false oath. To escape the guilt of perjury, they must, to the best of their knowledge, be certain of the truth for which they call God to witness. Now are they sure that the words of Christ, in the institution of the holy sacrament of his body and blood, are not to be understood in their literal and obvious sense? In this sense they were understood by the universal Church for fifteen hundred years, from the beginning of Christianity to Luther's reformation, as all histories testify. Are they sure, that for so many ages the whole Christian world, east and west, that all the fathers who made religion their study, the Cyrils, the Cyprians, the Gregorys, the Chrysostoms, the Ambroses, the Austins, the Jeroms, were so many idolaters? For their writings vouch for their belief being the same with that of Catholics in the present age. Are they who take the oath then, sure that the heathen world has been converted from the idolatrous worship of a Jupiter or a Venus, to give it to a bit of bread or to a cup of wine? Are they certain, that a combination of holy and learned men has existed in every nation, in every climate, and in every age, from St. Peter to Martin Luther, an apostate friar, to propagate idolatry? Is it rational to sup-

* Stat. Car. 30.

pose it, is it safe to swear it? Is it not rash, is it not impious to call on God to witness a fact against the obvious and literal meaning of his own divine word? Again, are they sure that Catholics adore or give divine worship to the Virgin Mary, or to any other Saint? If they consult a Catholic catechism they will find no such thing. Is it then prudent to swear it? Are they, moreover, sure, that the invocation used by Catholics, to beg the prayers of the Virgin Mary, and of other Saints, is a superstitious and idolatrous act? St. Paul thought it not, when he begged the prayers of the Christians at Rome. For whether the Saint be in heaven or on earth, the address to him is still the same: of him nothing more is asked than his prayers and intercession before the throne of mercy: he is invoked in no other light than as a friend of God, nor is he honoured as a God, or with God's honour. By giving the royal assent to these impious tests and oaths, Charles established a system of religious persecution and oppression, which remains to this day. Equally void of principle and of conduct, he little cared to what difficulties he exposed his friends, as long as he could free himself from the importunities of his malignant ministers. Composed at his ease in the lap of indolence and voluptuousness, he has suffered himself to be handed down to posterity as a passive persecutor of the religion in which he chose to die. By the ministry of Mr. Huddleston, the Benedictine, who had been so instrumental in his preservation after the battle of Worcester, he was reconciled to the Church of Rome on the fifteenth of February, 1685, received the sacraments of penance, of the holy Eucharist, and extreme unction, and died the next day.

SECTION XI. *James II. King of England.*

KING CHARLES having left no legitimate issue to succeed him, his brother James, Duke of York, mounted the British throne with every mark of public approbation and attachment to his person, notwithstanding his open profession of the Catholic religion. Congratulatory addresses were presented from every part of the kingdom. The general disposition of the people opened to him the prospect of a prosperous reign, and probably he might have reigned in tranquillity, and died in peace upon the throne of his ancestors, had he been less zealous in the cause of religion, or had he placed less confidence in those who, by false advice, led him into a snare. The spring of James's subsequent misfortunes may be traced to the choice he made of the Earl of Sunderland for his prime minister and secretary of state. This perfidious minister was a man of abandoned principles; and though endowed with talents, seems to have possessed only such as fitted him for stratagem, deception, and intrigue. He so artfully wormed himself into favour, that he gained the entire confidence of his sovereign in all public concerns. Knowing the king's zeal for religion, he professed himself a convert to the Catholic belief, that he might ruin him the more effectually, while he seemed to exert his best endeavours to serve him. James saw not through the dark designs of the hypocrite, but blindly gave in to every unpopular measure suggested by that traitor.

The Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the late king, cast his eye upon the crown of England. He was then in Holland, and being flattered with the hope of success, by the assurances he received from the Prince of Orange and the traitor Sunderland, embarked on board a Dutch frigate and landed at Lime, in Dorsetshire, on the ninth of June, 1685. From thence he moved on to Axminster and Taunton, where he caused himself to be proclaimed king. A raw multitude, to the amount of five thousand men, joined his standard. The town and corporation of Bridgewater received him with great demonstrations of joy. A regular force of the king's troops lay encamped on Sedgemoor, within three miles of him; he went to attack them, was defeated with great slaughter, taken prisoner, and beheaded. Before his execution he let the king know, that Sunderland and others, in his confidence, were partners with him in treason. But the king was too prepossessed in favour of his confidential minister to believe him guilty, or to suspect his loyalty. A special commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to Jefferys, the lord chief justice, and four other judges, for the trial of the rebel prisoners. Jefferys, in the execution of his commission, is generally represented to have been bloody, arbitrary, and savage. For although in law there was no doubt of the prisoners' guilt, yet the numbers of those who underwent the rigour of the law, made the acts of public justice look like the acts of cruelty and revenge. The odiums of these severities was unjustly cast upon the king, although he neither knew nor countenanced them. In his memoirs he even complains with apparent indignation of the strange havoc made by Jefferys, and Colonel Kirk, in the west, and ascribes the violence of those pretended friends of his authority, in some degree, to a formed design of rendering his government odious to the nation.

Monmouth's rebellion was scarce suppressed, when the good understanding which had hitherto appeared to subsist between the king and parliament, began to be interrupted. His majesty informed the Commons, that a disposition in the people to revolt made the increase of a military force absolutely necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the realm; that in the time of danger he had employed officers in his army, who had not taken the qualifying tests, that they had rendered essential service to their country, and could not be dismissed without being exposed to disgrace. The parliament was dissatisfied. They expressed their disapprobation of a standing army, though they unanimously voted a supply to pay the men. They then resolved upon an address to the king, that he would immediately dismiss all unqualified officers from the service; and strongly represented to his majesty, that they looked upon the dispensing power as incompatible with the rights of the people: they concluded by humbly beseeching his majesty, that he would be careful in future to prevent all apprehensions and jealousies, which the exercise of such a power might excite in the hearts of his subjects. The king considered the power of dispensing with penal statutes as an inherent prerogative of his crown, and was resolved not to relinquish his claim. The twelve judges were consulted upon it: eleven of them declared the practice to be legal. Their predecessors in the reign of Henry VII. and of James I. had declared

the same doctrine, and that doctrine had ever since been received as undoubted law.* Sir Edward Coke, the great oracle of English law, has delivered the same in his reports; and moreover adds, that he believes the dispensing power to be so inherent in the crown, that parliament itself could not abolish it, because the king, from the law of nature, has a right to the service of all his subjects. But what is more, the parliament itself had more than once acknowledged this prerogative of the crown, and even the act† by which it was abolished admits its legality before that period. But as it then seemed to favour the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, much was preached from the pulpit, and much was published from the press against it.

The treacherous Earl of Sunderland was all this while furnishing the nation with new subjects of jealousy and discontent, by pushing the king on from one unpopular step to another. At his suggestion in the beginning of the following year, 1686, the king formed a secret council of Roman Catholics, to consult upon matters of religion. This council was composed of the Earl of Powis, the Lords Arundell, Bellasis, Dover, and Castlemain, together with Father Petre. Of all the measures that this religious council advised or framed, Sunderland himself was the first mover. An English ambassador was sent to reside at Rome, and a Pope's Nuncio was publicly received in England. The management of affairs relating to the national church, was consigned to an ecclesiastical court of commission, consisting of seven members, of whom three were bishops, the other four were laymen, all Protestants. These commissioners were vested with the same powers as those formerly given by Elizabeth to the like court, equally exorbitant and odious. The Archbishop Sancroft refusing to act, the Bishop of Chester was substituted in his room.

While Sunderland, who was secretly in the pay and correspondence of the Prince of Orange, was thus paving the way for a revolution, by depriving James of the affections of his subjects, the prince himself was active in forming schemes for mounting the throne of his father-in-law. By the means of Sunderland he kept Dyckfeldt, his agent, in England to promote a revolt.‡ D'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, informed his court of what was going on, and Lewis XIV. informed James of the storm that threatened him. But James would neither credit his Gallic majesty's account, nor accept his friendly offers of assistance. Ignorant of the discontents which his measures had already given to many of the established Church, and still placing implicit confidence in the man of whose duplicity so many instances had been pointed out to him, he hastily proceeded, in virtue of his high prerogative, to a general suspension of all disabling and penal statutes on the score of religion. Upon the fourth day of April, 1687, a royal proclamation appeared, which granted to every British subject an entire freedom to follow that mode of worship which conscience should dictate. This indulgent grant, so honourable to the sovereign, so desirable to a free people, and so suitable the mild spirit of Christianity, was

* Herbert's Vind. † Stat. 2, first of W. and M. ‡ D'Avaux, Vol. IV.

joyfully received by the Catholics and the Dissenters of every denomination ; by others it was loudly censured, as tending to overthrow the national Church, as by law established. Their censures were directly levelled against the king himself, but indirectly fell with greater force upon the established Church, in acknowledging it to be too weak to stand, unless supported by the prop of restraining tests and persecuting laws. The law of the land was alleged as the sole basis of its existence ; of the law of Christ, upon which the constitution of the Catholic Church is wholly framed, not a word is said. The many addresses that were presented on that occasion, flattered the king into a belief, that his edict of toleration gave general satisfaction to the nation : impressed with this idea, he sent forth a new declaration for liberty of conscience, in the following April, 1688, to which an order was subjoined, that it should be read in every church and chapel of the kingdom after divine service. The order occasioned much obloquy among the clergy, who considered it as an insult upon the national Church. Six of the bishops resisted the mandate ; they were committed to the Tower, and indicted for disobedience. Their case was argued in the Court of King's Bench ; the jury declared them not guilty. This contest with the bishops completed the king's unpopularity ; his secret enemies, without being suspected by him, had prepared the nation for a general revolt ; their revolutionary plan was now ripe for execution.

The Prince of Orange, who was minutely informed by Sunderland of every thing that passed in England, continued his schemes for mounting the throne with unabated diligence ; he had a fleet ready for sea, and troops prepared for a descent on the British coast before the beginning of June. But various incidents delayed the expedition for some months. James, in the interim, was roused from the state of security into which the treachery of Sunderland had fatally lulled him ; he saw the storm that was to precipitate him from the throne, now beginning to burst with violence upon him. The prince, at length, after several disappointments, put to sea on the first day of November, with a formidable force, consisting of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, and as many fire ships, which, with transports, are said to have made up in all six hundred sail. They had land forces on board to the amount of fifteen thousand two hundred men. Lord Dartmouth, who commanded the English fleet, let them pass unmolested ; they sailed down the channel, and on the fourth of November anchored safe in Torbay. William landed his troops without opposition, and directed his march to Exeter. This loyal city shut its gates against them ; the country showed no inclination to join him ; his officers advised him to turn back and re-embark. This he refused to do, being well assured that the present difficulties would soon disappear. The king being apprized of the invader's landing, put himself at the head of his army to oppose his progress. He had ordered all his forces to rendezvous on Salisbury Plain, under the command of the Earl of Feversham. There he joined them on the nineteenth of November ; but in reviewing them he discovered such symptoms of disaffection among the officers and men, that he was at a loss what to do. Even of those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he saw but few on

whom he could rely. Many of them had deserted to the enemy, others were inclined to follow. In a council of war, a retreat towards the capital was resolved on. The enemy advanced; James left the remains of his army in quarters, and he himself returned to London on the twenty-sixth of the same month. Successive misfortunes were now daily heaped upon the helpless monarch. Every hour almost brought intelligence of some fresh defection or disaster; his nearest friends were among the first to desert him; they, who remained, only served to distract his counsels, and to embarrass his measures, by opposite opinions and demands, under the mask of friendship. The spirit of revolt spread from county to county, as if the whole nation had at once combined against its lawful sovereign. The unfaithful nobles forsook his side one after another; his son-in-law, the Prince of Denmark, went off to join his other son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, who was marching on to snatch the crown from his head. But what wounded his feelings more than all that, was the flight of his darling daughter Ann, who secretly withdrew under the conduct of Compton, the sanctified Bishop of London, to join the rebels. This defection of a daughter, whom he fondly loved, wrung his heart with inexpressible grief. His usual constancy gave way, tears started from his eyes; in bitter anguish he exclaimed, "God help me! My own children have forsaken me in my utmost need." The terrors of the queen for her own and her infant's safety added greatly to his distress. He resolved to send them off privately to France. The traitorous Earl of Dartmouth had refused to him that service; the generous Count de Lauzun, a French nobleman, undertook it, and succeeded.

James now began to tremble for his own personal safety. All hopes of an accommodation with the invader were gone. Deserted by his former friends, by his council, by his officers of state, by his army and his navy, he had not one on whom he could rely either for advice or support. Being informed at the suggestion of the prince, that there was no security for him in any part of the kingdom, he took the resolution of quitting a country which had brought his father to the scaffold, and of retiring to France. With this design he privately left his palace, about twelve at night, on the tenth of December, crossed the river in disguise to Vauxhall, where Sir Edward Hales and another friend met him with horses, and conducted him as far as Feversham. There he was unfortunately discovered, and forced to return back to Whitehall, amidst the insults of a militia guard, who had orders to take care of his person. On the seventeenth at night, he was alarmed at the approach of Dutch troops, who came with positive orders to displace the English guard, and to take possession of the palace. At one o'clock the king was waked out of his sleep, with a message from the prince, to quit his palace before ten the next day. His majesty requested a guard of his own foot to attend him to Rochester. His request was not granted. A hundred Dutch soldiers were ordered to escort him thither, and to guard him as their prisoner. The captain, however, had orders from the prince not to look strictly after the king, that he might have an opportunity of escaping. The back door of the house in which the king lodged was left without a guard. His

majesty seized the opportunity, after three days confinement, went on board a smack that lay waiting for him, got safe to the opposite shore on the twenty-fifth of December, and immediately taking post, soon joined his queen at St. Germain.

After the king's departure for the continent, an acephalous convention of revolted lords and commons met under the usurped authority of the Prince of Orange, and declared his quitting the kingdom to be a desertion of his people, and an abdication of his crown. No two terms were ever more improperly applied. If in any sense of the word it can be said, that James deserted his people, it was not till after his people had deserted him: and how a forced retreat from the violence of an ambitious invader, who purposely came from Holland to seize his throne, who had insolently stript him of his English guards, and commanded him to retire from his palace under an escort of Dutch soldiers, who had declared his son, the infant Prince of Wales, a supposititious child, who, in fine, had intimated to him, that he could not remain with safety in any part of England, can be termed an abdication of his crown, both lawyers and statesmen have been puzzled to show. Strange does it seem, as Mr. Hume remarks, that a prince whose chief blame is attributed to imprudence, and misguided measures, should experience such unjustifiable treatment, as a Nero, a Domitian, or the most flagitious tyrants of former times never met with from their friends and family. King James is allowed even by those who are lavish in bestowing abuse upon him, to have been an indulgent father, a tender husband, a generous and steady friend, a virtuous man, as well as a good monarch, frugal of the public money, an encourager of commerce, zealous for the honour of his country, and the welfare of his people. The exertion indeed of his kingly power was in some instances unpopular, it was never oppressive or illegal. His aim was to make all his subjects equally free and happy. If vulgar prejudice opposed his laudable design, if free-born Englishmen still wished to see their fellow citizens bending under the galling yoke, which wicked ministers in the despotic reign of Elizabeth, or in the licentious reign of Charles II. had imposed upon them, it was a misfortune, no crime in James. James, when Duke of York, had upon conviction embraced the Catholic faith; it was the ancient faith of the nation, it was the faith of those who framed the wise and glorious constitution of the English government. He had the heroic fortitude to sacrifice three crowns for the preservation of that faith, which on sure grounds he believed to be the faith of Christ. To his subjects, whom he loved, he plained the way for a free profession of that holy faith, by suspending those penal terrors which frightened men from following the dictates of their own conscience. King James died an exile for his faith at St. Germain, in France, 1701, aged 68.

SECTION XII. *Pacification between Innocent XII. and Lewis XIV.*

A MISUNDERSTANDING between Pope Innocent XI. and Lewis XIV. King of France, as mentioned above, grew by A. D. 1693. mismanagement into a serious quarrel. The dispute began about the regalia or royal privileges upon the subject of ecclesiastical benefices, which were claimed by Lewis, and refused by Innocent. Lewis, unaccustomed to contradiction, was piqued at the Pope's refusal, and sought revenge by calling the Pope's authority into doubt. He engaged the celebrated Bishop of Meaux, the learned Bossuet, in his service. To gratify the pride and resentment of his royal master, the courtly prelate imprudently went farther into that affair than was consistent with the splendid reputation he had acquired for virtue and learning. Four propositions, highly derogating from that sacred authority, which the supreme Pastor of the Church derives through St. Peter, to feed the whole flock of Christ, were drawn out and laid before a general assembly of the clergy of France, then sitting at Paris, in 1682. Out of a hundred and thirty French bishops, only thirty-four were present; Bossuet took the lead. In compliance with the king's will the assembly adopted the four propositions, and declared them to contain the doctrine of the Gallican Church respecting ecclesiastical power and papal authority. The king, eager to vent his spleen against the holy Father, sanctioned the episcopal declaration by a public edict. The declaration was censured and condemned by Innocent, as soon as it appeared in the Vatican. His Holiness considered the king's conduct not merely as a passing affront meant personally for him, but as an open attack upon the spiritual authority of the holy See, and in consequence took the resolution not to grant canonical institution to those whom his most Christian majesty might nominate to the vacant bishoprics of France, before reparation was made for the scandal given. His two immediate successors, Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII. followed his example. In the lapse of ten years death deprived no fewer than thirty dioceses of their bishops; the king's nomination to replace them remained without effect. The dispute continued; Rome was steady; Lewis at last relented; a plan of accommodation was proposed and accepted on certain conditions. On the part of France it was agreed, that the king, in a letter to his Holiness, should solemnly promise to suppress his obnoxious edict, and that all those prelates whom he had nominated between the years 1682 and 1692, should disclaim the doctrine contained in the four propositions, and declare their disapprobation of the episcopal decree which approved them. On the part of Rome it was agreed, that the Pope should engage to grant the customary Bulls of canonical institution to those whom the king had nominated to fill the vacant Sees. These conditions were faithfully fulfilled by the parties concerned, and perfect harmony was restored between the Vatican and Versailles, precisely upon the same terms on which they stood before. The king's letter to Innocent is dated Versailles, September 14th, 1692, in which his majesty assures the Pope, that he has given the necessary orders for

rendering his edict in question null and void, as if it had never existed. The new bishops at the same time transmitted, each one in a separate letter, but in the same terms, their disavowal of the four propositions. The other bishops of the realm silently acquiesced in the deed of their brethren, and their acquiescence has been construed into a general relinquishment of the pretended doctrine of the Gallican clergy, as it was expressed in the said propositions. As a more palpable proof of the rejection of those opinions, in practice as well as in theory, we have seen the venerable body of French bishops in our days throwing themselves without reserve into the arms of the sovereign Pontiff for protection and advice, respectfully looking up to his paternal authority, and receiving his decisions as dogmatical decrees, to direct and guide them through the perplexing difficulties into which a revolutionary system of policy and religion had violently hurled them, and out of which the eccentric maxims of the assembly of 1682 never could have drawn them. The maxims of that assembly manifestly tended to weaken the confidence, and to subvert the religious principle, which cemented and cements the indissoluble union that subsists between the head and members of the Catholic Church. The Jacobinical parliaments of France, in the last century, clearly saw the schismatical tendency of those maxims; and as their ambition was to undermine and finally to overthrow the supremacy of St. Peter's chair, they exerted their whole authority, for some years before their own dissolution, to have those maxims taught in all the public schools of France. They did not succeed to the extent of their wishes, though they undoubtedly had their share in preparing the way for that acephalous democracy, which has so dreadfully convulsed that miserable country, both in church and state. The Jansenistical cabal powerfully concurred with the parliaments to the same pernicious effect, and took the doctrine of the four Gallican propositions as the firmest ground, on which they made their stand against the dogmatical decisions of the apostolic See.

Jansenism, under the assumed title of St. Austin's doctrine, had insnared many into error. Under the disguise of a sanctified severity, it crept into the religious retreats both of men and women: it so artfully instilled its poison, that many grew intoxicated with its fumes without perceiving its infection, and by overstraining the duties of Christian piety, banished the practice of them from its deluded proselytes. France swarmed with the compositions of Jansenistical writers, all tending some one way and some another to upset the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to erect a new system of anarchy and confusion. Some exhibited to the reader's view a most enchanting display of speculative virtues, far above the reach of human practice; others plausibly discarded upon the irresistible power of divine grace; some openly defended the famous propositions of Jansenius, as the undoubted doctrines of St. Austin, and insolently arraigned the sacred tribunal that condemned them; while others vented the keenest satires against their Catholic opponents, whom they stigmatized as defenders and promoters of a lax morality. They singled out the Jesuits, whom they considered as the most able and most vigorous of their antagonists, and therefore spared no pains to

traduce and criminate them. With this view Pascal wrote and published his celebrated Provincial Letters, a virulent and malicious libel against the disciples of Loyola. The party and their friends procured it a quick circulation, and palmed it upon the public as a masterly performance, for its style, for its purity of language, for the neatness of its composition, and pleasant poignancy of expression. It was ushered into notice as the production of Lewis Montalte, a fictitious name; and in effect it was admirably well adapted to please the taste of all such readers as have a relish for slander and detraction. The sanctified Nichole, under the name of William Vendrock, honoured it with a Latin translation and notes of his own. The disturbance it raised among the people, drew the attention both of the ecclesiastical and civil power. Alexander VII. in a decree published at Rome on the sixth of September, 1657, condemned the Provincial Letters of Pascal, and forbade the reading of them, under pain of incurring the usual censures. Lewis XIV. having commissioned four bishops and nine doctors of Sorbonne to examine and give their opinion upon Nichole's version and edition of the said Letters, the commissioners unanimously declared, that the heresies of Jansenius were contained and defended both in the Letters of Lewis Montalte, and in the Notes of William Vendrock. They moreover declared, that the rage for detraction was so bold and insolent in these two authors, that they spare no one, Jansenists excepted, of whatever rank he may be, not even the sovereign pontiff, nor the bishops, nor the king, nor the ministers, nor the sacred faculty of Paris, nor the religious orders. In consequence of this declaration the king in council issued an order, that the Provincial Letters, with their annotations, should be torn and burnt by the common hangman: the order was executed on the 23d of September, 1660. They underwent a similar execution at Aix, in Provence, by order of the parliament, on the third of February, 1657, "as replete with falsehood and slander." The ecclesiastical tribunals in Spain passed the same censure on them.

After the disgrace and retreat of Antony Arnaud, a new leader of the Jansenistical faction started up in the person of Father Quesnel, a priest of the oratory. Under the external show of a most rigid virtue, Quesnel concealed a stubborn pride of heart, which would suffer no contradiction. Attached from his youth to the Jansenian system of divine grace, he devoted his whole study, his talents, and his reputation, to its defence. Glowing with enthusiasm, and indefatigable in his pursuits, he quitted France, where he felt himself hampered by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and went to join his friend Arnaud at Brussels. There he put the finishing stroke to his book of Moral Reflections upon the New Testament. The work was published in 1694. It became the topic of general conversation, and excited much clamour. To the errors of the Bishop of Ipres, Quesnel added many more of his own invention. No fewer than a hundred and one propositions were extracted from the work, and laid before the Holy See. Clement XI. a prelate of eminent virtue and discretion, then governed the Church; he had succeeded Innocent XII. in the year 1700. In 1708, his Holiness, after a due examination, censured the propositions in general terms

only. This censure did not allay the controversial disputes in France ; Quesnel composed an angry treatise against it. Party ran high, religious contention increased, Jansenists grew insolent ; Lewis judged their principles and conduct to be no less hostile to his crown than to religion. He applied to the Pope for a more explicit condemnation of Quesnel's propositions. Clement then issued his celebrated Constitution, which begins with the words *Unigenitus Dei filius*, bearing date September the eighth, 1713. It is a dogmatical decree, which regards faith and morals, and as such is received by the whole Catholic Church.

END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Eighteenth Century.

SECTION I. *Intrigues of Jansenism.*

No sooner was the Bull *Unigenitus* transmitted from Rome into France, than the Jansenists were every where in motion A. D. 1732. to oppose its acceptation. They mustered all the strength they could among the bishops and the courts of parliament. Their great reliance was on the interest of Mons. de Noailles, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. This obstinate and vain prelate, pleased with the idea of being at the head of a party, became at once their protector and their dupe. Unfortunately for himself and the flock committed to his charge, when Bishop of Chalons, he had publicly approved the moral reflections of Quesnel. That approbation, when promoted to the Sec of Paris he would not retract. The king had flattered himself that a formal decision of the holy See, on the controverted points of doctrine, would silence all disputes; and when supported by his royal authority, would meet with no opposition either from the bishops or his parliament. To the bishops he recommended the Bull for their acceptance; to the parliament he sent an order for its being entered upon their register. The parliament demurred for some time, but at last agreed to register it under certain restrictions. Of the bishops, forty published their pastoral instructions for the acceptation of the Bull; some remained silent, and others absolutely declared against it, till its meaning should be more fully explained. The cardinal archbishop headed the opposition, and forbade the Bull to be received within his jurisdiction. The king was irritated at this resistance, and as it was in a matter highly important to religion and the state, he resolved to enforce obedience. But in the midst of his preparations for the exertion of his royal prerogative, death suddenly surprised him on the first of September, 1715, after a vigorous and magnificent reign of seventy-two years. His great grandson, Lewis XV. an infant only five years old, inherited his crown. Philip, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed sole regent of the kingdom.

Under the government of this unprincipled and licentious prince, Jansenism lifted up its head again; its disciples sallied from their dark abodes, drew their forces together, and commenced open hostilities against the Church. Those bishops whom the late king had banished to their dioceses, now appeared, and were well received at court. Four of them, viz. of Mirepoix, of Boulogne, of Senez, and Montpellier, made their solemn appeal in the college of Sorbonne, from the Bull *Unigenitus*, to a general council. In the following year Cardinal de Noailles made a similar appeal, the faculty of Sorbonne adopted the schismatical act. The Universities of Rheims, Nantes, and Caen, followed their example. Appeals now became fashionable, flowing as it seems more from the tongue than from the heart. Money bribed the signatures and consciences of many, witness those whom the stings of remorse forced to confess and retract their error. But numbers, any way procured, were thought to add

weight and respectability to the party. The regent began to apprehend mischief to the state from the multiplicity of these schismatical appeals; he issued an order to forbid them.

The pastoral charge of a diocese furnished the appellant bishops with an opportunity of diffusing error in a manner the most silent and most effectual. No catechism could be put into the hands of children, except such as was set forth or adopted by their respective bishop. The catechism of Montpellier was an elaborate composition of sound and corrupt doctrine mixed together, an elegant and concise exposition of Catholic truths, artfully interspersed with the errors of Jansenism: by the industry of the appellants it became a kind of general vehicle of seduction through the whole kingdom: it reached Portugal and Italy. The press teemed at the same time with other pestilential productions, the purport of which was to sap the foundation of Catholicity, to depreciate the pre-eminence of the apostolic See, to decry the authority of the Church, to degrade its pastors, to defame and ridicule its most active defenders. The obvious effect of these publications was to prepare the minds of men for a change, and even for a total subversion of religion in France.

It had for some been time suspected, that a project of this sort was in agitation, and that Dupin, a doctor of Sorbonne and notorious Jansenist, was the man employed to carry it into effect. His epistolary correspondence with Doctor Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury, formed the ground of this suspicion. An order was obtained from the king's council to search his apartments, and to seize his papers. The dark project of an union between the Gallican and Anglican churches was now brought to light. In these papers, which were communicated to Mons. Lafitau, the bishop of Sisteron, by the regent's order, as he tells us, in his History of the Bull *Unigenitus*,* the Gallican doctor asserts, that the principles of Catholic belief may be easily reconciled with those of the Anglican Church; that without infringing the integrity of faith, auricular confession, religious vows, the celibacy of priests, the fasts and abstinence of Lent, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Pope's supremacy, and a submission to his dogmatical decisions might be dispensed with, and totally laid aside. Upon these ample concessions, made by Dupin, the archbishop, in a letter dated Feb. 13th, 1717, tells him, that to effect the proposed union he will find but little in the Church of England which he would wish to change. In another letter, without date, the archbishop writes thus: "I pray God to second your charitable and pious undertaking for the peace and union of his Church; as no man has this union more at heart than myself, I shall esteem it as a work the most meritorious and important of my life, if I can any way contribute to its advancement. Whatever the success may be, God will bless us for our good intention." By a third letter, dated Oct. 1st, 1718, we are informed that Dupin had sent to his Grace a copy of his treatise upon the projected union, and that his Grace, after having read it with singular satisfaction, then said to himself, "Happy is the Church of France in possessing so able and so bold an assertor of her rights." With what propriety a refractory cabal of Jansenists is here called the Church of France, we cannot well

conceive : and whether an union with such a cabal would have been deemed by the Church of England a meritorious work, may be doubted. After Dupin's death, which happened in 1719, nothing more of such an union has been since heard of.

In the same year died the famous Quesnel, at Amsterdam, in the 86th year of his age. The pains and hardships undergone by this obstinate innovator in a bad undertaking, were enough to have made him a saint in a good one. He died as he had lived. Cardinal de Noailles continued to patronize his disciples and his doctrines. A puritanical abbé in deacon's orders, by name Paris, was held in high consideration among the saints of Quesnel's little Church. Under the appearance of a mortified and abstemious life, he covered a stubborn pride, and rank disobedience to lawful authority : he died with his appeal in his hand, in 1727, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Medard. The party immediately proclaimed him a saint, published a panegyric of his virtues, and the deluded Bishop of Montpellier, in a pastoral instruction, announced him to the world as a new Thaumaturgus, gifted with the supernatural privilege of working miracles. A fanatical rabble daily crowded round his tomb, some to indulge curiosity, others to act their parts in the sacrilegious farce. Beggarly wretches were hired to counterfeit the sick, the blind, and lame, while the ecclesiastical gazette daily gave an account of some miraculous cure that never happened. Then, for the amusement of the spectators, and to show them how the Church, the chaste spouse of Jesus Christ, was become a prostitute to error, were renewed the obscene exhibitions which history relates of the Anabaptists in Westphalia, and of the Hugonots in Languedoc. The civil magistrates exerted their endeavours to put a stop to these abuses, but without effect, till the year 1732, when the king ordered the church-yard of St. Medard to be enclosed with a high wall. The Cardinal de Noailles had long been the powerful and avowed protector of the Jansenian faction, an obstinate appellant from the sentence that condemned their heresy to a general council. He at length became sensible and ashamed of his error, retracted his appeal, and subscribed the Bull *Unigenitus*. But he lived not long enough to repair the harm he had done.

SECTION II. *Antichristian Conspiracy.*

IN looking back at the various heresies which infested the Church in former ages, we generally find them erring in one particular article only ; such was the error, as we have seen of Arius, of Macedonius, of Nestorius, of Eutyches, of Pelagius, and others. But in these latter days heresy became more bold, and levelled its attacks against many articles at once, as Lutheranism and Calvinism have done. Jansenism with greater guile, places the observance of God's commandments out of the reach of human weakness, and so darts its malice against the whole practical system of the gospel, while it seems solely occupied with the system of divine grace. Under the shield of evangelical morality it hurls men down to everlasting perdition for doing what they have not the grace to avoid, or for not doing what they have not the power to do. Thus, from being rigid Jansenists, men have been gradually trans-

formed into licentious Deists. Deism, under the delusive name of reason and enlightened philosophy, throws off all disguise, both in practice and profession, and directs its shafts against the whole substance of a revealed religion. To insult, to vilify, and ridicule every religious form of divine worship, constitutes but a small portion of its exterminating plan; its spite, its rage, and blasphemies, are levelled at Christ himself; its undertaking is to annihilate all that Christ our Saviour has done for the redemption and happiness of mankind. That some such Infidels have existed at different periods, and in different countries, there is no doubt: but that an association of such Infidels should start up in the very centre of Christianity, and trace out a regular plan for the extirpation of the Christian religion in all nations, we hardly should believe, did we not see and feel its deplorable effects. About the middle of the last century three notorious Deists, Frederic, King of Prussia, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, were leagued together in a literary correspondence upon the subject of religion. Not satisfied with the liberty of enjoying their own impious opinions in private, they digested a methodical plan of operations, contrived with the finest art to divest mankind of their ancient principles of religion, and imperceptibly to lead them on by slow and silent steps into the intricate mazes of scepticism and infidelity. To this deistical triumvirate may be justly added the enthusiast Diderot, on account of the share he had in this antichristian enterprize. Under the influence of these chiefs, great was the number of secondary agents, who were drawn in by degrees to take an active part. That men should exist of so depraved a disposition as to conspire against the gospel, without the least prospect of advantage, either to themselves or to society, might appear incredible, had not the conspirators themselves furnished us with the most convincing proofs.

The prime author of this execrable conspiracy was Voltaire, a vain, aspiring genius, but prone to infidelity from his earliest youth. He was ambitious of literary fame to an excessive degree, and he thought of raising to himself an everlasting monument upon the ruins of the Christian religion. To that object he directed his whole study, and flattered himself with the idle fancy, that he should one day accomplish his design. He would often say, as Condorcet, his confident and biographer relates,* "I am tired of hearing it repeated, that twelve men have been able to establish Christianity; I shall show the world, that one man will be enough to effect its ruin." Proud was his boast, and impotent his endeavour: deplorable, however, is the change he has wrought in the principles of numerous readers, whose taste in their choice of books will ever expose them to the temptation of being seduced by the pleasing language of a deceitful writer. To silence public opinion, and to eradicate an inbred respect for ancient truth, was an undertaking too vast and arduous to be effected at once by open force, or by the pen of one man. Voltaire at first flattered himself, that he should be able to accomplish the work alone. He soon found, that associates would be necessary. His lewd and impious writings, finely polished in the style and turn of expression, had gained him many admirers, and many proselytes,

* Life of Voltaire, edit. of Kell.

calling themselves philosophers. Amongst these he selected D'Alembert, whom, of all the royal academicians devoted to his service, he judged to be the best qualified to second his views. The Prussian monarch gave effectual assistance by his powerful influence and protection.

The compilation of an universal dictionary of the arts and sciences, properly executed by a society of literary men was proposed and resolved on as the fittest vehicle to convey their philosophical opinions to the wide world. D'Alembert and Diderot undertook the task. The task was of too extensive a nature to be executed by the labours of two men. Coadjutors were engaged to furnish articles on various subjects; D'Alembert chose only such helpers as he thought would effectually suit his purpose: for his first divine he chose the Abbé Raynal, a man of letters, but whom, for his impiety, the Jesuits had lately expelled from their society. The work was announced in a prospectus as a masterly performance of men the most scientific, and the most accomplished in every branch of knowledge, that France could produce: it was declared, that the articles of religion were to be treated and digested by divines well known for their learning and orthodoxy. In effect, it appears, that in many articles, religion is treated with the most profound deference and respect imaginable; but by a reference to some other article, where the reader looks for further information, and suspects no harm, he finds the pernicious doctrines of the sceptic, of the deist, and materialist, inculcated with full force. The supervisors of the work suffer a few religious truths to be uttered, the better to conceal their attack against them. Such was the cheating game played by D'Alembert. Voltaire, more bold and fiery, declares his determined wish for an open attack upon religion, and in a plausible style tells his friend, how grieved he is to see him under the cruel necessity of printing the very reverse of what he thinks.*

At that time the Parliament of Paris had usurped the exercise of a spiritual jurisdiction over the bishops, and had enforced its pretensions with great violence for some years past. The faithful mourned to see the sanctuary invaded by a lay court of judicature; the ministers of the altar were cast into prison, or driven into banishment; the pastoral instructions of the bishops were condemned as so many abuses, and their censures declared null. A weak king, surrounded by unprincipled courtiers, and governed by an intriguing mistress, suffered those disorders to continue, or if he sometimes attempted to check them, it was with so feeble a hand, that they soon began again with fresh insolence. Whilst the public attention was taken up with these religious contentions between the bishops and parliament of Paris, Voltaire presses D'Alembert † to lay hold of "the fair opportunity to fill the Encyclopedia with those truths which they should not have dared to utter twenty years ago." "In the Encyclopedia, (as he writes to Damilaville, ‡) I place all my hopes." What his hopes were, he repeatedly expresses in other letters. His malignant hope was to see a good philosophical work, which by its weight should crush the antiquated belief of a revealed religion,

* Let. Oct. 9th, 1755.

† Let. Nov. 13th, 1756.

‡ May 23d, 1764.

which should obliterate the doctrine of the gospel, and for ever banish from the earth what impiety prompted him to call the infamous worship of Jesus Christ. This seems to be the true and full meaning of his blasphemous expression, *Ecrasez l' Infame*. The pompous advertisement of this elaborate work, and the literary reputation of its compilers, had raised the public expectation; its deistical design was rumoured about; the friends of truth were alarmed; the religious dauphin had interest enough to stop its publication for some time. But faction was not to be easily foiled; deism rallied all its powers; religion had lost its influence at court. The voluminous Encyclopedia received at length its last poisonous polish, and was ushered into the world, with the names of its celebrated authors, to make it more current. No library was thought to be complete without it.

SECTION III. *Suppression of the Jesuits in France.*

THE deistical chiefs, though proud of the progress they had made, could not dissemble their apprehensions of a check, A. D. 1762. as long as they beheld associations of men devoted by their profession to the service of the altar, ever upon the watch to oppose all innovations of doctrine, and ever ready to defend the interests of religion. In the bishops and inferior clergy, in the universities and religious orders, they saw a formidable phalanx, prepared to counteract their operations, and perhaps strong enough in some future day to overthrow their whole plan. Amongst the religious orders they particularly distinguished the Jesuits, from whose talents, activity, and zeal, they feared the most. They marked them all out for destruction: but where to make the first attack was a further subject of debate. Frederic, the flattered Solomon of the north, was for beginning with the monastic Orders, on the plea that they were useless to the world, and that their suppression might be effected without much noise and without detriment to the common interests of mankind. As a friend to the new philosophic system, he could wish to see its most vigorous opponents first annihilated; but, as a politician and a king, he wished to preserve the Jesuits, as a body of learned men, useful to the state and the republic of letters. Upon this principle he protected and maintained them in his Silesian states, even with the approbation of Pope Ganganelli himself,* for some years after their suppression by that pontiff. But at the time that the question was moved, whether the Jesuits should be the first sacrificed or not, his Prussian majesty's opinion was overruled by the Patriarch of Fernèy, and his plodding myrmidons. These shrewd speculators clearly saw, that the destruction of the Jesuits must by degrees draw on the destruction of all other Orders, who were chiefly supplied with candidates from the Jesuit schools of education. The Duke de Choiseul, the ruling minister of state in France, and powerful supporter both of Jansenists and Deists, was strongly of that opinion, and his influence so far prevailed in the council, that the destruction of the Jesuits was finally resolved on.

* Let. to Voltaire, July 7th, 1770.

The work was already begun and even far advanced by the Jansenistical parliaments, who from persecuting the bishops and secular clergy had turned their malice against the Jesuits. The Sophists smiled to see those blinded gentlemen of the robe "forwarding the plans of reason with all their might, whilst they thought that they were serving religion."* D'Alembert wrote for Mons. de la Charlotais, attorney-general of the parliament of Bretagne, one of the most artful and most virulent declamations that was penned and spoken against the Jesuits; he concluded for their destruction. Nor was Voltaire less active in composing and circulating memorials for the same effect. Strange were the incoherences into which these false reasoners fell on that occasion. For if D'Alembert believed the Jesuits to be such as he described them to Charlotais, he should have concluded his harangue in a very different tone, and have voted not for their destruction but for their preservation; or if Voltaire himself had really thought them to be such men as his memorials represented, men corrupt in principle and doctrine, men prepared for the commission of every crime conducing to their interest, he should have endeavoured to prolong, instead of shortening their existence, as, in his hand, they might have been useful instruments for the overthrow of religion, which he so ardently desired. In the opinion then of Voltaire and his Deists, the Jesuits were virtuous men, innocent of the odious charges which the dealers in calumny have so profusely heaped upon them.

Pressing solicitations in the interim were made to the king for his consent to the extirpation of a religious body of men, whom he esteemed and cherished in his heart, but durst not openly protect. Occult revolutionists, studious to conceal and to promote their own wicked designs, by one and the same manœuvre, sought to make the Jesuits suspected of those very crimes of which they themselves were really guilty. They accused them of loose morality, of dangerous doctrine, and of principles in government incompatible with the safety of the French monarchy. Lewis naturally irresolute and pusillanimous, was at a loss how to act. Afraid of injuring his most loyal subjects, on one hand, if he yielded, and of exposing himself to the bloody knife of a second Damien† on the other, if he resisted, he resolved to consult his bishops.

At the royal summons a synod of cardinals, archbishops and bishops, about fifty in number, met at Paris in 1761, to deliberate upon the points laid before them, concerning the doctrine, the usefulness, and constitutional government of the Jesuits. The result of their deliberations was highly honourable, though of little use to those whom it chiefly concerned. "The Jesuits are of infinite service to us in our dioceses," say the prelates; "they enforce and give new life and vigour to piety and religion by their sermons, their catechistical instructions, their missionary excursions, their confraternities, and spiritual retreats, all which they perform with our approbation and by our authority. To hinder them from performing these religious exercises would be an essential injury to our dioceses; and to shut up their schools would be an irreparable loss

* D'Alembert to Voltaire, Let. 98, 1761. † A fanatic of that name attempted his life in 1757, by the stab of a knife.

to the education of youth. There are none to replace them. To religion and the state their usefulness is manifest; their doctrine is sound, from the nature of their internal government no danger to France is to be apprehended." In the following year the bishops and clergy of the realm met in a national assembly, and unanimously embraced the opportunity of renewing their remonstrances to the throne upon the same important subject.

These zealous efforts of the French bishops to preserve the Jesuits, were seconded by the supreme pastor of the Church, Clement XIII. The holy Father, in a letter dated June 9th, 1762, tells his most Christian majesty: "The enemies of this holy Institute of the religious Society of Jesus have for a long time aimed at their destruction; they have long considered that event as absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of their wicked schemes, and now rejoice to see it upon the point of being realized. With bitter grief we lament the intended abolition of that Order in your majesty's dominions, where those religious men are so advantageously employed in the instruction of youth, in teaching sound doctrine, and promoting the practice of all those pious works, by which faith and religion are cultivated and maintained. We then implore your majesty's powerful protection, not simply for the Fathers of the society of Jesus, but for religion itself, the welfare of which is so intimately connected with theirs." The languid spirit of Lewis was in too torpid a state to be roused: the dread of an assassin left him no longer free: against his inclination he consented to the suppression of the Jesuits in France, the steady and faithful defenders both of the altar and the throne. The friends of virtue wept, the enemies of religion triumphed.

SECTION IV. *Total Suppression of the Jesuits.*

By the suppression of the French Jesuits, the Jacobins were encouraged to pursue their exterminating plan with more liberty, and with fewer obstacles in their way. Their plan comprised the whole extent of Christendom. In the Society of Jesus they saw as many opponents of their schemes as it contained members. They devoted the whole body to destruction. The body of Jesuits at that time consisted of about twenty thousand men, united together by religious vows, under one general superior, according to the pious institute which St. Ignatius of Loyola had written for their observance, and which the Church by her sovereign pontiffs, and in the council of Trent, had approved. The end of their institution was to promote the service of Almighty God and the salvation of souls, to combat vice, and to establish the evangelical virtues of true religion. For the attainment of this noble end, they were employed in every quarter of the globe, some in propagating the Christian religion among barbarous Infidels, some in preaching the word of God and in administering spiritual assistance to their neighbours at home, while others were occupied in giving a gratuitous education to youth, and in cultivating the study of useful knowledge through every branch of science. A religious society of this description could not fail of being extremely obnoxious to an antichristian cabal, whose aim was to throw the world back again into a chaos of anarchy and infidelity.

The first public blow that shook the existence of the Jesuits, was given in Portugal by Carvalho, the prime minister of state, in 1759. Carvalho had a brother vested with extraordinary powers in the government of Brasil. The abuse which this man made of his exorbitant power in that distant country, was no less prejudicial to the state than to religion. The Jesuits, impartial friends to both, represented to their sovereign the injustices which were there going on. Carvalho was provoked, and vowed revenge. An unhappy event not long after furnished him with an opportunity. The king, whose passions were as strong as his understanding was weak, had given great offence to the noble family of Tavora, by his criminal attachment to the young marchioness. She gave him no encouragement; but his majesty still persisted in his vicious pursuit, which at last exposed his royal shoulders to the chastisement of a severe bastinado.* This unwarrantable debasement of sovereign majesty was represented to the world by Carvalho as a malicious attempt upon the king's life, by the discharge of a blunderbuss through the back part of his carriage, as he was returning to the palace. A long detail of a supposed conspiracy, in which care was taken to involve the Jesuits, appeared some time after, too full of incoherences to impose upon the public. "The conduct of this minister, Carvalho," says Voltaire,† "with regard to Father Malagrida, and the pretended conspiracy of the Jesuits, was the summit of ridicule and the excess of horror." The excess of horror, committed by that ferocious murderer and jailor of so many innocent victims, showed itself in the cruel executions of nobility and clergy. By his order, for he had his sheets of blank paper, with the king's signature at the bottom, to be filled up with any thing he should please to dictate in the king's name, all Jesuits, wherever situated within the Portuguese dominions, were at once arrested; and except a certain number of them, whom he selected for capital punishment, or for a lingering death in subterraneous dungeons under the Tagus, were stowed together in ships, and sent in insult to the Pope. The queen after her father's death published a royal manifesto, dated April 8th, 1771, in which she announced to the whole world, that the victims of Carvalho's malice had been wrongfully accused, and were wholly innocent of the charge for which they had been condemned to suffer. The surviving prisoners were set free.‡

The next deadly stroke inflicted on the Jesuits was in France, in 1762, as we have mentioned before, when they were turned out of their colleges, and stript of their civil existence. Strong efforts at the same time were made at Madrid to persuade his Catholic majesty into similar measures. The intrigues of D'Aranda, the friend of D'Alembert, and protector of infidelity, prevailed at the end of three years, in 1767. The feeble king signed a decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits out of all the Spanish dominions, declaring his motives for so doing to be a profound secret, locked up within his own royal breast, never to be known by man. The decree was executed all over Spain in one night, and at the same hour, when

* The adventure here related was current and generally believed fifty and sixty years ago. Time has since disclosed circumstances of that dark affair, which probably will hinder it from being admitted as genuine history.

† Age of Lewis XV. ‡ Mem. of Pombal, and D'Albon's Dis. on Hist.

there was not the least suspicion of any such scheme being in agitation. An officer received a sealed order to take a military guard and attend a waggon or waggons to such a college of the Jesuits, to be precisely there at a certain hour, when all was quiet, to rouse the fathers from sleep, to put them into the waggons, and to conduct them to a place of rendezvous on the sea shore, where two frigates lay at anchor to receive and transport them to Italy. By a similar arrangement all the Jesuits in the foreign settlements, both of Spain and Portugal, were collected and conveyed to the ecclesiastical state. In the same year, 1767, the young King of Naples, under the guidance of his father, the Spanish monarch, published an edict for the perpetual expulsion of the society from the kingdom of the two Sicilies. A desperate faction was all this while at work both in Poland and Germany, where the principles of Jacobinism had taken deep root. The civil existence of the Jesuits now seemed to totter in every Catholic state of Europe: their canonical existence depended on the Pope; their total extirpation had long been the wish and endeavour of their enemies. It is said, that Innocent XIII. the immediate successor of Clement XI. in the year 1721, was inclined to gratify them, but that death prevented him. His two successors Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. were steady friends to the Jesuits; Benedict XIV. who mounted the papal throne in 1740, professed himself their friend. His marks of friendship often disappeared, he smiled and frowned upon them by turns, as influenced by honour, or by those about him. This Pope distinguished himself by his learned writings, which fill sixteen volumes in folio.

The death of Benedict XIV. in 1758, opened the way to the promotion of the virtuous Cardinal Rezzonico, who took the name of Clement XIII. Jansenism and Deism had of late years acquired vast powers; their powers as we have related, were combined against religion, but they pointed their destructive shafts through the sides of the Jesuits, "the Pope's life-guards," as the King of Prussia called them, on account of the vigorous stand they made in defence of the Church. The Pope was pressed to sign a brief for their suppression; it was insidiously pretended, that the peace of the Church required such a sacrifice. On the other hand, letters daily arrived from bishops in every state of Christendom, to solicit his Holiness for the preservation of a religious body, which they found every day to be more and more necessary for the support of religion. Under that persuasion, the Pope published an Apostolic Brief, dated 7th January, 1765, which was a new confirmation of the Society of Jesus and of its Institute. Notwithstanding this, the faction still persisted in its destructive pursuits; the holy Father stood firm in the defence of innocence, of justice, and religion, till spent with grief at the prospect of growing evils that threatened the Church, he sunk under the weight of affliction in 1769. The famous Cardinal Ganganelli was chosen to fill the vacant chair of St. Peter, under the name of Clement XIV. The election of this prelate cast a sudden damp upon the spirits of those who knew his character, and wished well to religion. Ganganelli, a Franciscan friar, the offspring of obscure parentage, had been brought forward into public notice by those very Fathers whom, as the event has shown,

he was raised to destroy. On the twenty-first of July, 1773, he signed a Bull, by which he suppressed the religious Order of the Society of Jesus, and placed its disbanded members upon the footing of secular clergymen.

SECTION V. *Indefectibility of the Roman Catholic Church.*

WHETHER any glimmering hope of peace, whether the threats of schism, or any hidden motive induced Clement XIV. A. D. 1800. to dissolve the Society of Jesus, he had no reason to pride himself for what he had done: the sad effects of his exterminating Brief the world has felt, and rising generations still may rue. Unrelenting enemies of the Jesuits may secretly exult in their overthrow, may continue to revile their memory, and even persecute their departed ghost; they will find themselves foiled in the end. The arm of God is not shortened, his divine word is unalterable. The Jacobins most certainly reckoned too fast, when they boasted that the extinction of the Jesuits would hasten the ruin of the Christian religion. They should have recollected what they had once been taught, that the Christian religion is the work of God, no device of men; that its existence rests on the promises of Christ our Lord, which no human machinations shall ever shake or overturn. A body of twenty thousand religious men, formed and acting upon the plan of St. Ignatius's pious institute, was most certainly of signal service to the Church, but not necessary for its existence; the Church had existed full fifteen hundred years before a Jesuit was known. Ganganelli lived but little more than a twelvemonth to see the melancholy scenes, occasioned by his Brief. In 1774 he left the holy See involved in greater difficulties than he found it, and fewer champions to come forward in its defence. But the protecting hand of Providence was not withdrawn. The cardinal electors entered the conclave, as usual; no long time was spent in consultation, the eminent qualifications that shone in the character of Cardinal Braschi soon fixed their unanimous choice in his favour; he took the name of Pius VI. Lowering was the prospect he had before him: powerful and numerous were the adversaries he had to contend with.

The deistical cabal had of late acquired a considerable increase of strength: it had its correspondence, its emissaries, and its clubs, in every state of Europe. The Jacobins in France, with the cry of liberty and equality, broke out into the most desperate acts of violence, burst the bonds of social order, threw off the restraint of laws both human and divine, imprisoned and beheaded their inoffensive sovereign Lewis XVI. with his Queen and amiable sister, the Princess Elizabeth, on a public scaffold, seized upon the lands of all the clergy and nobility as national property, erased every distinctive mark of eminence and rank, and placed all upon the same level of French citizenship. Proscriptions and bloody executions desolated the land. They then opened their mouths in blasphemies against the most High God, pulled down the churches, overthrew the altars, expelled or massacred the bishops with all their clergy, such only excepted as lay concealed or became apostates, demolished the ancient monuments of religion, struck the Sunday and every Christian festival out of their calendar, and suffered no

marks of their belief in a deity to remain on public record. Their wicked ambition, or their frenzy, shall I say, was to spread the like horrors through the nations round them. Like a horde of ferocious Vandals they overran Flanders, the states of Holland, great part of the German empire, Switzerland, Savoy, and the principalities of Italy. France, that began by being her own scourge, was now become in the hands of Providence a general scourge to all the nations that lay within her reach. Bloodshed, anarchy, and oppression, accompanied the march and victories of her armies; sceptres fell from the hands of kings; ancient states and ancient forms of government disappeared, to make place for new ones in their stead; the Jacobin tree of mobbish liberty was planted on the Vatican hill, and a Roman republic started into existence out of the fragments of the ecclesiastical state. The venerable and peaceful pontiff, Pius VI. was loaded with the grossest insults and abuse in his own palace, was rifled of his private property, stripped of his pontifical ornaments, even of the fisher's ring from his finger, and carried off a prisoner into France. There, worn out with infirmity and ill-treatment, he exchanged a life of suffering for a life of bliss, in the year 1799, the 82d of his age, the 2d of his captivity, and 25th of his pontificate.

Narrow-minded theorists, judging of divine as of civil constitutions, vainly fancied, that the downfall of the papacy was completely effected; more inclined to credit the profane rant of an enthusiastic almanack-maker, than the sacred oracles of an inspired writer, they did not hesitate to say, that after Pius VI. no other Pope would be ever seen or heard of; and that the Popish, as they term it, or Roman Catholic religion, would consequently perish with him. But how great was their surprise when, after the lapse of a few months, they were informed that the cardinals had assembled at Venice, and by a canonical election had placed a new Pope, by the name of Pius VII. upon St. Peter's chair.

In this event, we gratefully acknowledge and adore the wonderful hand of Providence, which never ceases to support and preserve the Church of Christ under the severest trials. In this short view we have taken of the Catholic Church through every age, from her first existence, we find her suffering nothing new, nothing which was not foretold and repeatedly experienced in a more or less violent degree, through every age of her existence. The first three hundred years exhibited one continued series of sufferings in her head and members. But she suffered no hurt either in her faith or doctrine; she gathered strength from persecution; the good grain was sifted from the bad; she still subsists unimpaired and untainted by error, and will so continue to subsist as long as the world shall last. The infallible word of God warrants her duration to the end of time.* The heavens and the earth shall pass away, says Jesus Christ,† but my words shall never pass away; nor shall so much as a single iota‡ be retrenched from the law that I have established. It comes not within the reach of any earthly power whatever to alter or abolish any one ordinance which we find instituted by Christ our Lord for the sanctification of his people. We have seen the Church assailed by the most violent storms of persecution; we have seen a deluge

* Matt. xviii. 20. † Matt. xxiv. 35. ‡ Ibid. v. 18.

of evils pouring down upon her from every side, ready in appearance to overwhelm her with destruction. The powerful hand of God has ever buoyed her up, she has ever risen like Noah's Ark above the rising flood. Jews, Pagans, Philosophers, and Jacobins, have combined against her; schismatics and heretics of different descriptions have by turns attacked her unity and her faith; their attacks have as often failed. Tyranny may strip the Church of her temporal possessions; they are fortuitous acquisitions, not essential to her existence. Penal statutes may forbid the public exercise of her religious worship, she will silently preserve the inviolable rights of conscience, till the tempest ceases, and she will ever reign triumphant in the hearts of the Faithful.

In these our days we have seen the sovereign pontiff robbed of his patrimony, dragged from his See, and carried into exile. The same violence, as we read, had been offered to many of his predecessors. Though despoiled of his temporal riches, he retains his spiritual prerogatives undiminished and untouched; these he holds from Christ, those he received from man. What one man gives, another man may snatch away. But the spiritual powers, conferred by Christ upon St. Peter, no man shall or can destroy. The lawful successor of St. Peter, whether in affluence or distress, whether seated on his pontifical throne in the Vatican, or confined to exile and a prison, will ever be acknowledged by the Catholic Church for her supreme Pastor, the centre of union, and the vicar of Jesus Christ. Whether a natural or a violent death shall carry him out of life, another will succeed, vested with the same spiritual supremacy to govern the Church of God, as the experience of eighteen centuries attests. By an uninterrupted succession of Roman pontiffs, history enables us to point out the visible Head which has presided over the whole Catholic body in every period of time, from St. Peter to the present Pope Pius VII.

To set forth the indefectibility of Christ's Church in a single point of view, as it has visibly existed under one supreme Pastor, through a period of eighteen hundred years, a list is here subjoined of the Bishops of Rome, who, in one uninterrupted line of succession, have canonically sat in St. Peter's chair, and with their apostolical authority have governed the whole Catholic Church, as the vicars or vicegerents of Jesus Christ, its invisible Head and Almighty Founder. Jesus Christ, the second Person of the most adorable Trinity, true God of true God, infinite in all perfection, and eternal in his existence, has been pleased to become Man in time for our redemption and salvation. He shed his blood upon the cross, and gave his life for our ransom. He has instituted a holy religion for our observance and belief. This religion is but one; it is preserved and taught in that infallible Church which he has established for our guidance through the narrow way that leads to everlasting bliss. If the bliss of heaven were attainable any other way than this, why did the Son of God become man, why has he pointed out to us that one only way, why has he not left it lawful for every man to go his own way? God is the sole master and distributor of his heavenly graces; he is the sovereign Lord of his creatures; he is to be adored and obeyed in all his appointments. The establishment of the holy Ca-

tholic Church is his own work. Christ loves his Church,* he has delivered himself for it, that he might sanctify it. He therefore has the will, and being God, he has the power to preserve his Church against all the earthly and infernal powers that have conspired, or ever shall conspire, to effect her overthrow. He has moreover promised to protect her, to remain with her as long as the world shall last,† and by his holy Spirit to teach her all truth to the end of time. He has built her upon an impregnable rock, and this rock is Peter.‡ St. Peter fixed his apostolical See at Rome; his successors in this See stand in the following order:

CENTURY I.		A.D.			A.D.
St. Peter	34	34	St. Sylvester.....	314	
St. Linus	68	35	St. Marcus	336	
St. Cletus.....	78	36	St. Julius	337	
St. Clement	91	37	St. Liberius	352	
		38	St. Damasus	366	
		39	St. Siricius	385	
		40	St. Anastasius	398	
CENTURY II.			CENTURY V.		
St. Anacletus	101		St. Innocentius	402	
St. Evaristus	102		St. Zosimus	417	
St. Alexander	111		St. Bonifacius	418	
St. Sixtus	119	41	St. Celestinus	425	
St. Telesphorus	129	42	St. Sixtus III.	433	
St. Hyginus.....	139	43	St. Leo the Great	440	
St. Pius	143	44	St. Hilarius	461	
St. Anicetus.....	157	45	St. Simplicius	468	
St. Soter	168	46	St. Felix II.	488	
St. Eleutherius.....	177	47	St. Gelasius	492	
St. Victor	193	48	St. Anastasius II.....	496	
		49	St. Symmachus	498	
CENTURY III.			CENTURY VI.		
St. Zephyrinus.....	202		St. Hormisdas.....	514	
St. Callixtus	219	51	St. John	523	
St. Urban.....	224		St. Felix III.	526	
St. Pontianus	231		Boniface II.	530	
St. Anterus	235	53	St. John II.	532	
St. Fabianus.....	236	54	St. Agapetus	535	
St. Cornelius	251	55	St. Silverius	536	
St. Lucius	253	56	Vigilius	588	
St. Stephanus	255	57	Pelagius	555	
St. Sixtus II.	257	58	John III. ...	560	
St. Dionysius	259	59	Benedict	575	
St. Felix	269	60	Pelagius II.	579	
St. Eutychianus	275	61	St. Gregory the Great	590	
St. Caius	283	62			
St. Marcellinus.....	296	63			
CENTURY IV.			CENTURY VII.		
St. Marcellus	304		Sabianus	604	
St. Eusebius	309				
St. Melchiades.....	311				

* Eph. v. 25.

† Matt. xxviii. 20.

‡ Matt. xvi. 18.

	A.D.		A.D.
Boniface III.	607	Romanus	897
St. Boniface IV.	608	Theodorus II.	898
St. Deus-dedit	616	John IX.	898
Boniface V.	620	Benedict IV.	900
Honorius	625		
Severinus	640	CENTURY X.	
John IV.	640	Leo V.	904
Theodorus	642	Christophorus	904
St. Martin	649	Sergius III.	905
St. Eugenius	654	Anastasius III.	912
St. Vitalianus	657	Lando	914
St. Adeodatus	672	John X.	915
Donus	677	Leo VI.	928
St. Agatho	679	Stephen VIII.	929
St. Leo II.	682	John XI.	931
St. Benedict II.	685	Leo VII.	936
John V.	686	Stephen IX.	939
Conon	687	Martin III.	942
St. Sergius	688	St. Agapetus II.	946
		John XII.	956
CENTURY VIII.		Leo VIII.	963
John VI.	701	Benedict V.	964
John VII.	705	John XIII.	965
Sisinnius	707	Benedict VI.	972
Constantinus	708	Donus II.	974
St. Gregory II.	715	Benedict VII.	975
St. Gregory III.	731	John XIV.	984
St. Zachary	741	John XV.	985
Stephen II.	752	John XVI.	985
Stephen III.	752	Gregory V.	997
St. Paul	757	Silvester II.	999
Stephen IV.	768		
Adrian	772	CENTURY XI.	
Leo III.	795	John XVII.	1003
		John XVIII.	1004
		Sergius IV.	1009
CENTURY IX.		Benedict VIII.	1012
Stephen V.	816	John XIX.	1024
St. Paschalis	817	Benedict IX.	1033
Eugenius II.	824	Gregory VI.	1045
Valentinus	827	Clement II.	1046
Gregory IV.	828	Damasus II.	1048
Sergius II.	844	St. Leo IX.	1049
St. Leo IV.	847	Victor II.	1055
Benedict III.	855	St. Stephen X.	1057
St. Nicholas	858	Nicholas II.	1059
Adrian II.	867	Alexander II.	1061
John VIII.	872	St. Gregory VII.	1073
Martin II. or Marinus	882	Victor III.	1087
Adrian III.	884	Urban II.	1088
Stephen VI.	885	Paschalis II.	1099
Formosus	891		
Boniface VI.	896	CENTURY XII.	
Stephen VII.	896	Gelasius II.	1118

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	A.D.		A.D.
164 Callixtus II.	1119	Martin V.	1417
165 Honorius II.	1124	Eugenius IV.	1431
166 Innocent II.	1130	Nicholas V.	1447
167 Celestine II.	1143	Callixtus III.	1455
168 Lucius II.	1144	Pius II.	1458
169 Eugenius III.	1145	Paul II.	1464
170 Anastasius III.	1153	Sixtus IV.	1471
171 Adrian IV. an Englishman	1154	Innocent VIII.	1484
172 Alexander III.	1159	Alexander VI.	1492
173 Lucius III.	1181		
174 Urban III.	1185		
175 Gregory VIII.	1187		
176 Clement III.	1187		
177 Celestine III.	1191		
178 Innocent III.	1198		

CENTURY XIII.

179 Honorius III.	1216
180 B. Gregorius IX.	1227
181 Celestine IV.	1241
182 Innocent IV.	1243
183 Alexander IV.	1254
184 Urban IV.	1261
185 Clement IV.	1265
186 B. Gregorius X.	1271
187 Innocent V.	1276
188 Adrian V.	1276
189 John XX.	1276
190 Nicholas III.	1277
191 Martin III.	1281
192 Honorius IV.	1285
193 Nicholas IV.	1288
194 St. Celestinus V.	1294
195 Boniface VII.	1294

CENTURY XIV.

196 Benedict X.	1304
197 Clement V.	1305
198 John XXI.	1316
199 Benedict XI.	1334
200 Clement VI.	1342
201 Innocent VI.	1352
202 Urban V.	1362
203 Gregory XI.	1370
204 Urban VI.	1378
205 Boniface IX.	1389

CENTURY XV.

206 Innocent VII.	1404
207 Gregory XII.	1406
208 Alexander V.	1409
209 John XXII.	1410

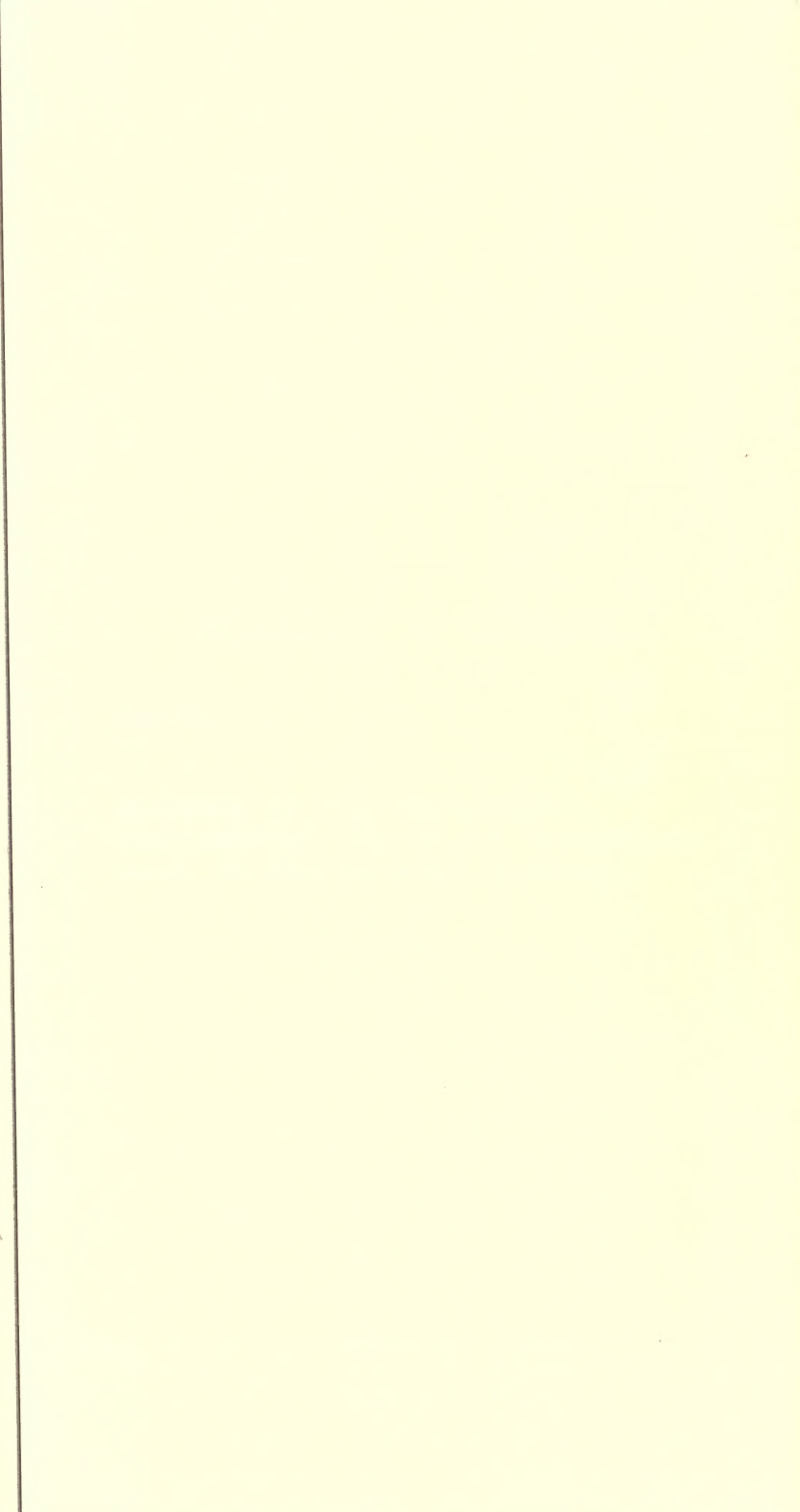
CENTURY XVI.	
Pius III.	1503
Julius II.	1503
Leo X.	1513
Adrian VI.	1522
Clement VII.	1523
Paul III.	1534
Julius III.	1550
Marcellus II.	1555
Paul IV.	1555
Pius IV.	1560
St. Pius V.	1566
Gregory XIII.	1572
Sixtus V.	1585
Urban VII.	1590
Gregory XIV.	1590
Innocent IX.	1591
Clement VIII.	1592

CENTURY XVII.

Leo XI.	1605
Paul V.	1605
Gregory XV.	1621
Urban VIII.	1623
Innocent X.	1644
Alexander VII.	1655
Clement IX.	1667
Clement X.	1670
Innocent XI.	1676
Alexander VIII.	1689
Innocent XII.	1691
Clement XI.	1700

CENTURY XVIII.

Innocent XIII.	1721
Benedict XIII.	1724
Clement XII.	1730
Benedict XIV.	1740
Clement XIII.	1758
Clement XIV.	1769
Pius VI.	1775
Pius VII.	1800



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church from its first establish-
ment to the present century.

